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HISTORY

OF THE

CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

AT

ST. HELENA.

BY

the late General Montholon
GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON, *Marquis de*

THE EMPEROR'S COMPANION IN EXILE,

AND TESTAMENTARY EXECUTOR.

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## PUBLISHER'S NOTICE.

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General Montholon, the companion in exile of Napoleon, was also his executor, and thereby came into possession of all his papers. The Emperor before his death, specially charged it upon Montholon not to publish any memoir or document concerning him, for the space of twenty-five years. Napoleon died in captivity in 1821, and his former companion now publishes a history of the long years passed at St. Helena, and of which partial accounts, only, have so far reached us.

These Memoirs contain matters of the highest interest to the historical student, and will be sought after and read with eagerness by every one.





# HISTORY

OF THE

## CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

### AT ST. HELENA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### THE ELYSEE-BOURBON.

THE Emperor has been made to say, "I have not found any true fidelity except in the old noblesse."

Twice have circumstances placed me near the Emperor Napoleon, at the moment when he had just abdicated the throne.

At Fontainebleau, on the 19th of April, 1814, when I hastened to make him the proposal of carrying him off while on his way in the mountains of Tarare, aided by the troops that I commanded on the upper Loire, and of conducting him into the midst of eighty thousand men composing the armies of the Marshals Augereau, Suchet and Soult. In those vast galleries, formerly too small to contain the crowd of courtiers, I had not found any but the Duke of Bassano and the aides-de-camp Bussi and Montesquiou. The whole court, all the personal attendants, even to the *valet-de-chambre* Constant and the Mameluke Roustan, all had left their unfortunate master and hastened to Paris, in hopes of finding a place in the household of the new master, whom the apostacy of the Senate had just given to France.

At the Elysée, on the 21st of June, 1815, I saw only the Counts Lascases and Montalembert, and the Baron de Montaran, equerry; the former of whom I had never previously met there during the greatness of the empire, although since 1809 they had been on the list of chamberlains; the aides-de-camp Drouot, Flahaut, Labédoyère, Dejean and Corbineau, were in the Chamber of Peers, or at the head of the troops.

At these two periods of dread remembrance, the mass of the people had remained faithful to the elect of their choice. In all the other classes of the nation, fidelity had been the exception.

On the 21st of June, 1815, at half after six o'clock in the morning, the Emperor arrived at the Elysée-Bourbon.

Paris alarmed him. Paris contained his most dangerous enemies, whose active minds, and self-interested intrigues would be likely to endanger him. The others, Prussians and English, were separated from him by a considerable distance; a march of eight or ten days was required to come from Waterloo to Paris, and frequently in that space of time, the Emperor's fortune had changed.

The two Chambers were assembled. They communicated their deliberations to each other; immense crowds of people were collecting outside of the house. The Chamber of Deputies was equally fearful of being dissolved by the Emperor or dispersed by the people.

General Lafayette made the following motion:

"Whosoever becomes guilty of an attempt to dissolve the Chambers, shall be proclaimed a traitor to the country."

This was the first blow levelled at the imperial authority.

This motion being decided, thereby protecting the Chambers against Napoleon, their next step was to place themselves in safety from the people.

A second motion was therefore made and carried, nominating Lieutenant-General Count Becker, member of the Chamber of Representatives, to the command of the guard, appointed to watch over the safety of the legislative body.

The Chambers, reassured by these two measures, continued their deliberations.

The Emperor's first care, on arriving at the Elysée, had been to assemble the ministers and great dignitaries of government, in order to learn the state of public opinion and estimate the defection in the Chambers caused by the news of the disaster of Waterloo.

Should the Emperor appear in person at the Chamber of Deputies, yet covered with the dust of the battle-field? Should he make an appeal to the patriotism of the representatives of France, or should he merely send his brothers or his ministers in his name, to lay before them the perilous state of the country?

The ministers were convoked to meet at seven o'clock. When they arrived, Napoleon's carriage was in readiness to convey him to the Palais-Bourbon.

Three of them advocated his appearance in person at the Chambers, viz :

The Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, minister of justice; General Carnot, minister of Home affairs; and the Duke of Bassano, Secretary of State. But the majority of the council were of a contrary opinion. They thought the Emperor had better avoid exposing himself to the stormy scenes of a debate in which so many passions would be roused against him, under the pretext of the imminent danger of the country, and the enormous sacrifices which circumstances made it necessary to exact. The Emperor yielded.

Had he listened to his brother Joseph, Fouché would only have left the council to go to Vincennes under the accusation of treason to his country, and perhaps the empire, which this man had for a long time been betraying, and whose ruin he completed this day, might have been saved!

The Princes Joseph and Lucien had remained in Paris since the month of April. It was hoped they might regain that influence over the veterans of the republic which had twice raised them to the honour of presiding in the legislative councils; but that hope was not realized. In vain Prince Joseph, in the Chamber of Peers, and Prince Lucien, in the Chamber of

Deputies, used their utmost endeavours to awaken sympathies quite extinct in some, and in others suppressed by the force of events. No doubt their political principles had preserved for them numerous and faithful friends in the ranks of the liberals, and they would have successfully contended against the schemes of the party which, at all hazards, demanded Napoleon's downfall, if the Emperor, instead of returning to Paris, had remained, vanquished, but still threatening, at the head of the army.

The Chambers, which would have bowed, perhaps, before the majesty of the imperial genius, took courage at his absence, and murmured the word "abdication;" and resolutions were passed that a committee of Peers and Deputies should assist the ministers and consult with them about the means of saving the country.

The deliberations of this double council were prolonged till a late hour. The question of abdication was there clearly brought forward, and on the following morning the Emperor found it boldly staring him in his face.

On the 22d of June, at an early hour, the council of ministers was convoked at the Elysée. It was thought that they would repulse the idea of staking the welfare of France on an abdication, which would deprive her of the immense resources of Napoleon's genius; but all of them, with the exception of Cambacérès, Carnot, and the Duke of Bassano, advocated the necessity of this great act of self-sacrifice, and assured the Emperor that he would thereby facilitate the conclusion of the peace, to which they declared him to be the only obstacle.

Appealing to the Emperor's devotion to the French people, was prescribing his decision. Fouché knew this full well. The Emperor dictated the act of abdication with that rapidity of resolution so peculiar to him. An hour after it was communicated by the imperial commissaries to the two legislative chambers, and became publicly known that Napoleon had deposited the crown in the hands of the representatives of the nation.

At the moment, when yielding to the persuasions of the majority of the ministers and those men whom he was accustomed to regard as his trusty friends, the Emperor publicly renounced his authority, Carnot rose and violently opposed this determination. He entreated the Emperor to listen to the voice of the people and not give up, by his abdication, the France of the Revolution to the vengeance of the Bourbonists. He added, with the accents of profound conviction, that in a time of national crisis, safety can only be expected from a dictatorship firm and even terrible if necessary. All was unavailing!

The following is the act of abdication.

#### DECLARATION TO THE FRENCH PEOPLE.

"Frenchmen! when commencing the war to uphold the national independence, I calculated on the union of all the efforts, all the good-will, and the concurrence of all the national authorities. I was justified in expecting success, and braved all the protestations of foreign powers against me. Circumstances have changed, and I now offer myself as a sacrifice to the hatred of the enemies of France: may they be sincere in their declarations, and only have hated me personally! My political life is ended, and I proclaim my son Emperor of the French, under the title of Napoleon II. The ministers now in office will form a provisional council of government. The

interest I feel for my son, prompts me to request the Chambers to organize the Regency by a law, without delay. Be united, to insure the public welfare, and to continue an independent nation.

"Given at the Palace of the Elysée,  
June 22d, 1815."

The two Chambers accepted the abdication, and as a last homage to the self-sacrifice which had prompted it, sent a deputation to the Elysée, thanking the great man, whom they had already ceased to give the title of Emperor, for the devotion he had shown his country.

But this sacrifice was made with one condition, viz: that the king of Rome should be proclaimed Emperor of the French. This proclamation, which seemed naturally to follow the act of abdication, met however, with great difficulties, for the abdication having been accepted, the question of hereditary right was brought into discussion, as if this right, which alone had influenced the act, was not its necessary consequence.

But it must be understood that the Chambers were divided into four very distinct parties: the Bonapartists, the Royalists, the Orleanists, and the Republicans.

The Bonapartist party carried it, and after some speeches, among which those of Messrs. de Béranger, Manuel, and Boulay, (de la Meurthe,) Napoleon II. was proclaimed Emperor of the French.

The other titles of the King of Italy, Protector of the Rhenish Confederacy, &c. &c., had disappeared; the one that remained was sufficiently honourable to console the young King of Rome for his loss of the others, had it only been maintained for him.

But this proclamation of the King of Rome, as Emperor of the French, was but a lure, a deception, created by Fouché's treason. The people and a few influential persons only believed in it. Their confidence was a great misfortune, for had they foreseen the return of Louis XVIII. to Paris, conducted by the ambassadors of the Chamber of Deputies, a frightful reaction would no doubt have taken place, and covered the palace Bourbon with blood, and the act of abdication would have been torn to pieces in the struggle.

Some believed in it, others pretended to do so, and notwithstanding a pretty vigorous defence on the part of the peers, the Duke of Otranto, General Count Grenier, General Count Carnot, the Duke de Vicence, and Baron Quinette, were constituted a provisionary government, and invested with all the power during the interregnum. It will be observed the word regency was already put aside.

The Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, and Duke de Bassano, having refused to keep their respective offices, were replaced by the Counsellors of State, Boulay (de la Meurthe), and Berlier.

All the other ministers continued to perform their duties until the arrival of Louis XVIII. at Paris.

The Duke of Otranto presided over this committee, and rendered all its decrees in the name of the French people. Commissaries, then chosen from among the Chambers, were authorized to treat with the foreign sovereigns, demanding the recognition of Napoleon II. as Emperor of the French.

The Emperor had declared, that if his son was recognized as his successor, his political life should end with the last act of this great drama, and that he would retire as a mere citizen to the United States. This announce-

ment was hailed with delight. A great anxiety existed to get rid of the giant, still dangerous in defeat, whose every movement yet made Europe tremble.

I leave to avenging history the task of relating the intrigues and apostasy of those days, so shameful to the honour of the French Chambers. I shall only here recall the generous efforts of Drouot, Labédoyère and Regnault de Saint-Jean-d'Angely to remind the peers and deputies of the sacredness of their oaths. I shall only say, what is known but to a few, that the Emperor, touched by the expressions of despair from the mass of the people, and their vociferations against the Chambers, submitted to a private council, of which his brother formed a part, the discussion of the question, whether the hesitation of the Chambers in recognizing Napoleon II.; the treason or imbecility which sent ambassadors to the head-quarters of the allies; and finally the evident manifestation of a strong personal feeling for him by the people, did not make it his duty to resume the task of saving the country from either a foreign yoke, or a counter-revolution, by putting himself again at the head of the army, denouncing the treason of some individuals, and appealing to the people for assistance to vanquish the common enemy.

It was in this council that Prince Lucien first betrayed his ambition.

After having set forth the relations he had held for fifteen years with the Republicans, his recent intercourse with them, their forces, their hopes, and his profound conviction that the national crisis would be all powerful, if the Emperor would resign the crown, and consent that he, Lucien Bonaparte, should be invested with the dictatorial power by the people of the faubourgs. He even went so far in his illusions in this eternal hope as to say to the Emperor :

"France no longer has faith in the magic of the Empire, she wants liberty, even to excess; she prefers the Constitution to all the glories of your reign. With me she will want the Republic, because she will believe in it. I will give you the command-in-chief of the armies; with the aid of your sword I will save the Revolution."

The Emperor had listened to these strange words, without betraying his impressions by a single sign. It was Lucien who five days before affected to have no ambition for power, who now, as future dictator, offered his brother the command of the troops of the Republic! The Emperor only turned towards Carnot, requesting him to answer in his name.

"I accept," replied Carnot, "the permission your Majesty gives me to estimate at its full value, the singular proposition which I have just heard made. No one better than myself has a right to call himself the organ of the real republicans; I have stood the test, and declare that not one of them would be willing to exchange the dominion of your genius for that of the president of the council of five hundred !

"The Chambers act under the influence of a disaster without a parallel; the thunders of Waterloo have stunned them:—they betray their duty, without knowing it. You alone can save us from the knout of the Allies. Trust to the people; the excesses of their force will be but a just vengeance. Blucher and Wellington will be arrested by this sight, like the army of the Duke of Brunswick in 1792, on the plains of Champagne, when the people of Paris rose;—the revolution will thus be saved. If, on the contrary, you abdicate, Louis XVIII. will return to Paris, and the counter-revolution will be achieved."

A few moments after the dissolution of this council, Prince Jerome entered the saloon of waiting, having just returned from the army. The young soldier

had done more than might be expected even from a veteran general. To acknowledge his noble conduct during those few days of misfortune, when the most powerful minds sank under the pressure of successive losses, is but rendering justice to the Emperor's youngest brother, whose name stricken out from the list of sovereigns ought at least to be inscribed with the General's on the Arch of Triumph. At Waterloo, he forgot his title of king, to fight under the command of a French general, and his division was covered with glory at the attack on the farm-house of Hougomont. In the retreat he was perhaps still greater than in battle; by his entreaties and activity he arrested the flying troops, rallied them under the walls of Laon, put them under the command of Maréchal Soult, and then exhausted by fatigue and yet bleeding from the wounds he had received, came to inform the Emperor of the reorganization of the 1st, 2nd, and 6th corps; which added to the 42,000 men under Maréchal Grouchy, would make an army of over 80,000 men, with whom he could again immediately commence his operations, to take a bloody revenge on the Duke of Wellington.

His brother Louis, the king of Holland, had given him the example of these noble feelings: he had laid down the crown rather than sacrifice what he considered the interest of Holland, to the will of the Emperor. He had preferred the retired life of a simple citizen, out of the domains of the Empire, to all the royal honours which would have surrounded him at Paris. But the very day on which the allies put their foot on the soil of France, he claimed once more the honour of being a French citizen, and hastened to request his brother to place him in the foremost ranks of his defenders.

I had arrived at the Elysée a few hours before the Emperor. The first person whom I met there was the Duke of Vicence. The alteration of his countenance showed me the state of his mind, and I had to remind myself of the intimacy existing between us, before I could bring myself to risk the question of what was going on.

"All is lost," replied he. "You only arrive to see the Emperor lay down the crown. An impenetrable mystery protects his enemies: the leaders in the Chambers demand his abdication, they insist upon it, and in a week Louis XVIII. will be here. On the morning of the 19th, a little pencil-note was left at my hotel, with the porter, informing me of the destruction of the army. The same information was conveyed to Carnot, in a manner equally mysterious: however, the last telegraphic despatch having announced a victory, we both hastened at the same time to the Duke of Otranto. He assured us with his corpse-like coldness, that he knew nothing. But I do not doubt that he knows every thing. Events follow with the rapidity of lightning, further illusions are impossible;—all is lost! and I repeat, the Bourbons will be here in a week!"

For forty-eight hours I had not left the Palace Elysée, neither night nor day; the Emperor, having observed this, said to me, when I came to announce the Prince Jerome; "There is no one here but you then?" This circumstance probably suggested to him the idea of taking me along with him to Saint Helena.

After Prince Jerome left him, the Emperor walked up and down under the large trees in front of his cabinet, apparently deeply absorbed in meditation; suddenly he stopped before the glass door of the antechamber, tapped lightly on the window pane, and made me a sign to approach.

"Where is Simonville?"

"I do not know, Sire; he left Paris about three months ago, and is, I suppose, at a country seat near Coutances."

"But your mother is at Paris? He has no doubt written to her,—what does he tell her?"

"I have not seen her since your Majesty's arrival."

Without saying any thing further he took several turns in the avenue. I was debating with myself whether I had not better withdraw, and slackened my pace to let him move further on, when he turned back towards me.

"Bertrand hesitates to accompany me; Drouot refuses; you will follow me, will you not?"

"I will, Sire," I replied, without reflection.

A sudden emotion governed my whole being, produced as much by his voice as by his look.

At this moment we heard a great tumult under the terrace of the Elysée-Bourbon, occasioned by two regiments of arquebusiers, of the guard, composed of volunteers enlisted from the artisans of the faubourg Saint-Antoine, who were passing in disorder before the garden, at the head of an innumerable column of the people, demanding, with loud cries, that the Emperor should put himself at their head and conduct them to the enemy; and that he should suffer them to seek justice for themselves against the traitors who spoke of sending commissaries to the enemy's head-quarters for the purpose of selling France, as they had done in 1814.

These regiments belonged to those under my command. The Emperor ordered me to make them return to their post; then, showing himself to the people, he harangued them, and endeavoured to allay their excitement.

One of the orators of the populace replied to him in a speech, in which he mentioned the 18th Brumaire.

The Emperor interrupted him, and, raising his voice, said,

"You recall to my remembrance the 18th Brumaire, but you forget that the circumstances are not the same. On the 18th Brumaire the nation was unanimous in its desire of a change. A feeble effort only was necessary to effect what they so much desired. Now, it would require floods of French blood, and never shall a single drop be shed by me in the defence of a cause altogether personal."

The two regiments obeyed the orders I had transmitted to them; but, upon my return to the Emperor, I could not refrain from expressing my regret at his having arrested the hand of the people, strong enough in itself to have saved Paris from the pollution of the enemy; and, suffering myself to be carried away by my conviction and devotion, I ventured to point out the difference which, notwithstanding all he had said, existed between the situation of the 18th Brumaire and the one in which we now found ourselves. At the former period an established government had to be overthrown by means of the army; while now, the legitimate government of France, together with the people, had only to be saved, and the latter, if left to themselves, would be able to punish the traitors.

Napoleon, who thus far had permitted me to speak, interrupted me at this point.

"Putting the brute force of the mass of the people into action," said he, "would doubtless save Paris, and insure me the crown, without incurring the horrors of civil war; but it would be likewise risking thousands of French lives; for what power could control so many various passions, so much hatred, and such vengeance?"

"No, there is one thing you see I cannot forget; it is, that I have been escorted from Cannes to Paris amidst the bloody cries of 'Down with the

priests! Down with the nobles!' No, I like the regrets of France better than her crown."

I was silent; respect prevented me from pressing the subject further.

Fouché and the royalist committee, although both acting for a different purpose, found themselves momentarily united in their efforts to give strength to the belief, that Napoleon's abdication in favour of his son, would be the anchor of salvation against the entrance of the allies into Paris, and the return of Louis XVIII. The leaders of the two Chambers, and every one who had or might have any sort of influence upon the legislative assemblies, had received private communications on the subject of the negotiations, said to be pending for the last two months, (without the Emperor's knowledge), between Fouché and the cabinets of Vienna and St. Petersburg. The abdication of the Emperor, it was further intimated, would save the empire, and the fruits of the French Revolution, still preserved in him; and the proclamation of the King of Rome arrest the progress of the allied armies as if by magic.

All these pretended negotiations of the Duke of Otranto, were nothing else than the mission with which Prince Metternich had intrusted M. Vernier, and which the Duke of Vicence had revealed to the Emperor in the early part of April. At that time a private agent of Prince Metternich was circumvented by the secret police of the Tuilleries. He believed himself to be in communication with an intermedial invested with the entire confidence of Fouché! He revealed all he knew, delivered the letter of which he was the bearer, and left Paris with a false answer, written by the Duke of Otranto, in which Bâle was proposed as the rendezvous for the negotiation, in order, said the letter, to be out of the reach of the Emperor's direct police.

Thus, the Emperor could personally act upon the overtures of the Austrian Premier, if they were sincere, and thwart his intrigues, if, as he feared, M. de Metternich had any hostile plans.

I deem it proper to mention, in this place, what is perhaps not known, that, from the time of the exile to Elba, Austria had entered into discussions upon the probability of a revolution in France, and had authorized General Koller, who went twice secretly to Porto-Ferraio, to sign a project of treaty with General Bertrand, to insure themselves against the rancour toward Austria, which might have been created by her conduct in 1814, when from Fontainebleau the Emperor offered to abdicate in favour of the King of Rome, which she refused.

Amid this tumult of hopes and regrets, two inexplicable thefts occurred at the Elysée. A case of snuff-boxes, enriched with diamonds, which had just been sent by the grand-chamberlain, were laid by General Bertrand on the chimney-piece of his saloon. He stepped to the window for a few minutes with a messenger of M. de Montesquiou, during which time, only one person had entered. When General Bertrand came to retake the case, it had disappeared.

But this is nothing compared to what occurred to the Emperor himself. One of his ministers had brought him several millions of negociable paper; stock of canals and orders of payment for timber. After counting them, the Emperor had deposited them, together with a complete list of the remittances, under one of the pillows of his sofa. The minister was followed by a gentleman, who the Emperor was in the habit of receiving in his cabinet since the campaign in Italy, and who from the high positions he had occupied, was placed far above suspicion. No other person had entered the



cabinet up to the moment when the Emperor went to put the valuable parcels into his secretary. He observed that they had been handled, and upon examination found them incomplete. Fifteen hundred thousand francs were missing. Who had taken them? Here was a mystery equal to that of the diamonds.\*

On the evening of the 23rd, quite preoccupied by the thefts which had deprived him of a considerable portion of his resources, the Emperor recollected that Count Perregaux, one of his chamberlains, was a partner of the house of Laffitte. He sent for him; requested him to ask the head of this house if they could open a banking credit abroad, for him, of four or five millions against a remittance of equal amount in gold or good paper. Count Perregaux did not hesitate to accept this proposal, and on the same evening the money was received by M. Laffitte, who had immediately come to the Elysée-Bourbon.

The interview was rather singular. The Emperor expected to find in M. Laffitte only a monied man, and a lucky speculator; but after exchanging a few words he immediately recognized the man of superior mind, and forgetting the object of his visit, discussed the high political questions which engrossed his thoughts, and forced M. Laffitte to acknowledge all the dangers to which the conduct of the Chamber of Deputies exposed the interests won by thirty millions of Frenchmen over a few thousand privileged individuals, whom the armies of Blucher and Wellington were to bring back to Paris. Then returning to Blucher, he questioned M. Laffitte upon the degree of influence he had exercised upon the decision of Maréchal Marmont on the 30th of March, 1814. It was indeed M. Laffitte, who by making all the chords of the patriot of 1789 vibrate in the heart of De Marmont, and terrifying him with the sack of Paris, had made him forget all that he owed to the Emperor.

On the 24th, the Parisian populace assumed an attitude so threatening to the leaders of the Chambers, and the crowd increased so rapidly in the environs of the Elysée, filling the air with cries of menace against the traitors, that the provisional government used every exertion to determine the Emperor to leave Paris for Malmaison, and remain there until arrangements could be made for his embarkation and final departure for the United States. Fouché saw that he could only attain his object by deceit and apparent devotion; and when the noise of the tumult out of doors was heard in the saloon of waiting, he had the audacity to exclaim,

"Do you hear the people of Paris, gentlemen? They are the same to-day, as in 1793, sublime in their patriotism." Then casting a glance at the Count de Lascazes and the Duke de Vicence;

\* The Emperor had no banker. He had never conceived the idea that fate might condemn him to the necessity of creating foreign resources for himself, against the ingratitude of France. In 1814 he left 400 millions in the hands of the Bourbons, and trusting in the good faith of the treaties, set out for the island of Elba, taking with him only 15,000 napoleons, the remnant of his campaign privy-purse. These 400 millions were his personal property; they had been acquired partly by diplomatic treaties and partly accumulated through the management of his civil-lists of Italy and France. In this way he had formed his estate, both personal and official.

The imperial civil-list amounted to 25 millions paid by the treasury, and about 9 millions of revenues from the demesnes of the crown.

The civil-list of Italy was 10 millions. The average of the yearly savings made on the two crowns, was about 9 millions. The capital which had therefore accumulated to the first of January, 1814, was over 100 millions.

The Emperor's will proves that he did not voluntarily make any change in the employment of his treasure.

"Carnot and myself," continued he, "are not suspected by those sublime people, for our oaths to them are signed in the blood of Louis XVI."

Eight days after, this ex-member of the convention, opened the gates of Paris to Louis XVIII.

On the 25th, at sundown, after having officially demanded of the provisional government two frigates to convey him to America, the Emperor left the Elysée, in the carriage of the Count de Lascazes, and passed the night at Malmaison.

On this occasion the Emperor had taken care to exchange the uniform of the chasseurs of his guard, which he usually wore, for a brown coat and a round hat; for the people would not have suffered him to pass had they recognized him.

Thus, on the 25th of June, 1815, the Emperor Napoleon, disguised, and almost fugitive, left this capitol, which he was doomed never to see again, and to which his remains, only, were to return on the 15th of December, 1840.

## CHAPTER II.

## LA MALMAISON.

AFTER the abdication was signed, all the officers of the imperial household discontinued their service, except those among us whose devotion attached them to the ill-fortune of the Emperor. A decree decided our offices as follows:

Count Bertrand, Grand-Marshal.

Generals Savary, Lallemand, Montholon, and Gourgaud, aides-de-camp; two officers of French ordnance, Resigny, leader of a squadron of horse, and Captain Planar; the latter was attached to the topographical cabinet. Several Polanders, of the light-horse of the imperial guard, obtained the honour of accompanying the Emperor as officers of ordnance. I regret that I am unable to recollect their names.

Count Lascazes, Chamberlain.

M. Emmanuel de Lascazes, page.

Messrs. Marchand, first *valet-de-chambre*; Saint-Dennis, and Noverras, *valets-de-chambre*; Cypriani, *maitre-d'hotel*; Pierron, steward.

On the 26th of June, I was on duty at Malmaison, when General Becker presented himself, to take command of the guard, and to watch, said the order he carried, over the person of the Emperor.

From that day was dated the captivity of Napoleon; for on that day the freedom of his actions ceased.

On the 25th of June, while in attendance of the session at the legislative palace, General Becker had received the following letter, conveyed to him by an *aide-de-camp* of Prince Eckmuhl.

*The Minister of War, to General Becker.*

PARIS, June 25th, 1815.

"GENERAL:

I have the honour to inform you, that you have been appointed to the command of the guard of the Emperor, stationed at Pruel, by a decree of the government committee, dated June 25th.

I shall communicate your appointment to Lieutenant-General Count Drouot, commander-in-chief of the imperial guard, and to Lieutenant-General Baron Dériot, chief officer of the staff, of the same.

Receive General, &c."

For the Minister of War, by order of the Counsellor  
of State, Secretary General.

(Signed)

"BARON MARCHAUX."

The *aide-de-camp* at the same time requested General Becker to proceed immediately to the ministry, to receive his instructions.

As soon as he arrived at Malmaison, General Becker was introduced to the Emperor. The general bowed and presented the minister's letter.

"Sire," said he, "here is an order, charging me, in the name of the provisional government, with the command of the guard whose duty is to watch over your personal safety. I hope your majesty will believe in the fidelity with which I shall fulfil my instructions."

"Yes sir," replied the Emperor; "but it seems to me I ought to have been officially informed of an act, which I consider merely a matter of form, and not a measure of surveillance, to which it was unnecessary to subject me."

"Sire, I repeat to your majesty, that it is solely for the purpose of watching over your safety that I have accepted this commission. If your majesty has any doubts I would request you to speak them. I am an old soldier, who, so far, has not learned to obey any other voice. They may write to me whatever they will, but I have accepted this command only to watch over your safety."

While uttering these words the general could not control his emotions; the sight of this great reverse of fortune almost broke his heart, and involuntarily tears moistened his eyes.

The Emperor observing it, said to him with a sad yet kind smile:

"Calm yourself, general; I am happy to see you near me. If I had had the choice of an officer, I would have named you in preference; for I have long since been acquainted with your loyalty."

He then invited him to follow him into the park.

"Well!" inquired he, "what are they doing and saying at Paris?"

"Sire, the parties reason very differently about your majesty's abdication, and the proclamation which makes your son heir to the crown. A portion of the higher classes are disposed to receive the foreigners a second time; but the remnants of the army have remained faithful to you, and are assembling under the walls of the capitol.

"A great proportion of the citizens and the whole people of Paris seem determined to defend themselves; and if a powerful hand could rally all these elements to make a last effort,—nothing would be hopeless, perhaps."

Thus, even he, who was sent to treat the Emperor as a prisoner, advised him to take up again the sword of Marengo and Austerlitz, and march right against the enemy.

At Paris, the whole night, from the 25th to the 26th, had passed in agitation, in going and coming; in inquiries of what the Emperor would do, and suppositions on the probable effects of the events of the day upon him. The leaders could not believe in this retirement without a struggle, this last defeat without a conflict. Their success appeared to them a dream: they felt alarmed at the silence reigning at Malmaison. Even ourselves, the witnesses of what we called in our devotion the Emperor's apathy, we were hoping for the awaking of the lion.

The Emperor betrayed but one wish, that was the arrival of the passports, for which he was waiting to start. He had reserved to himself, when abdicating, the appropriation of two frigates, to carry him to America, and it had been said that the grand-maréchal would make all the necessary arrangements for the travelling service and for an establishment in the United States.

However, on the 22d of June, that is, the very moment he became president of the government-committee, the Duke of Otranto gave orders not to let any thing go out of the Tuileries or the ward-robe of the Crown, without an order signed by him. It was only on the night from the 26th to

the 27th of June, that the government, yielding at length to the ardent prayers of the grand-maréchal, transmitted to him through the Counsellor of State, Berlier, the decree of the government-committee, by which two frigates were at the Emperor's disposal, to convey him to the United States.

During the night of the 27th, the Duke of Otranto sent word to General Bertrand, that the keepers of the household were authorized by virtue of a decree of government, to deliver up to him in exchange for his receipts, in which must be set forth his reasons for each requisition, the following articles, viz:

A service of silver of twelve covers.

The porcelain set, called head-quarters.

Six sets, of twelve covers each, of damask table-linen.

Six sets of house-linen.

Twelve pair of sheets, first choice.

Twelve pair of sheets, for servants.

Six dozen chamber-towels.

Two travelling carriages.

Three saddles and bridles for out-riders.

Four hundred volumes at choice, from the library of Rambouillet.

A few geographical maps.

One hundred thousand francs for general travelling expenses.

This was the exile-outfit granted to the Emperor Napoleon by the man that he had made a duke; besides receiving from the Emperor a fortune producing him an annual income of 200,000 francs.

On the morning of the 27th of June, the minister of war wrote to General Becker the following letter:

“PARIS, June 27th, 1815.

“GENERAL:

“I have hereby the honour of transmitting you a decree which the government committee orders you to communicate to the Emperor Napoleon, and at the same time intimate to his majesty, that the circumstances having become so very imperious, it is indispensably necessary for him to determine on setting out for the island of Aix. This decree has been rendered necessary as much for his personal safety, as for the interest of the country, which must ever be dear to him.

“If the Emperor does not come to a speedy resolution, on the notification of this decree, *you must exercise the strictest surveillance to prevent the Emperor from leaving Malmaison*, and to avoid any attempts against his person. You must therefore guard all the avenues around Malmaison. I shall authorize the first inspector of the *gendarmérie*, and the commander of Paris, to put at your disposal as many gendarmes and troops as you may demand.

“I repeat to you, General, that this decree has been given entirely for the interest of the country and the personal safety of the Emperor. Its prompt execution is therefore indispensable. The destiny of his majesty and his family depend on it.

“I need not say to you, General, *that all these measures must be taken with the greatest possible secrecy.*

“Receive, General, &c. &c.

“The Maréchal, Minister of War,

“PRINCE D'ECKMÜHL.”

On their part the government committee wrote to him as follows :

" PARIS, June 28, 1815.

" TO GENERAL BEKER :

" The committee send you a copy of the new instructions given to the Minister of the Navy. You must, as far as you are concerned, conform strictly to this new arrangement, and to the preceding instructions you have received from the Minister of War, relative to the departure of NAPOLEON.

" The Duke of OTRANTO, CARNOT, CAULINCOURT,

" Duke of VICENCE, COUNT GREMIER, QUINETTE."

We underline the name of Caulincourt, which the Emperor would doubtless have been astonished to find at the bottom of a letter in which he was abruptly called merely *Napoleon*, if indeed any thing could have now astonished the exile of Elba, who was soon about to become the captive of Saint Helena.

However, in spite of all these letters, the Emperor obstinately continued at Malmaison. We augured well from this kind of mute resistance to the orders of the provisional government ; the latter had also become alarmed, and during the day of the 27th sent for General Beker to come to Paris.

The committee then ordered him to start that very evening, incognito, with the Emperor, and accompany him to Rochefort.

At the same time, he received, through General Berlier, a passport, by virtue of which the committee had authorized General Beker to proceed to that city *accompanied by his secretary* and a servant.

'This secretary was to be the Emperor !

We shall here give this curious document :

" The government committee orders all the civil and military officers, to let Count Beker, Lieutenant-General, deputy of the Chamber of Representatives, pass unmolested ; he is going to Rochefort accompanied by his secretary and a servant. The committee expressly enjoins them not to suffer any delay or obstacle to impede the journey of Count Beker, but on the contrary, afford him every assistance in case of need.

" Given at Paris, June 26, 1815.

" BERLIER."

The Emperor, during the rest of the day, did not appear to occupy himself with this order, and made no preparations for travelling. Only the next day, 28th of June, he sent for Count Becker, and informed him that he would not start until he had received a safe-conduct, which he considered necessary to his security. Consequently he wished him to write to the Minister of War ; the Emperor then dictated nearly all the following despatch :

" MALMAISON, June 28th, 1815.

" MONSIEUR :

" Having communicated to the Emperor the decree of government relative to his departure for Rochefort, his Majesty has ordered me to inform your Highness, that he renounces this journey, because the intercourse not being free he finds no sufficient guarantee for the safety of his person.

" Besides, after reaching there, the Emperor would consider himself a prisoner ; since his departure from the Isle of Aix depends on the arrival of the passports for America, which will no doubt be refused to him.

" In consequence of this interpretation, the Emperor is determined to receive his sentence at Malmaison ; and while awaiting what may be decided

upon his fate, by the Duke of Wellington, who the government may inform of this determination, Napoleon will remain at Malmaison; persuaded that they will undertake nothing against him, unworthy of the nation and its government.

(Signed)

"Lieutenant General Count BEKER."

However, the remnant of courtiers which at first had survived the departure from the Elysée-Bourbon, by degrees disappeared at Malmaison. These saloons, where formerly Queen Hortense did the honours with such perfect grace, and where she now received her step-father with an affection so respectful, a tenderness so touching, became more and more deserted. The great dignitaries of State, the Marshals of the Empire had all disappeared.

Louis XVIII. was approaching, and their eyes were directed to the point, which brought back to them, along with a new master, the same high positions they had already been in fear of losing. An *aide-de-camp*, or general officer covered yet with the dust of a skirmish, were all who appeared from time to time, bringing news, or coming in vain to solicit orders. The Emperor kept himself more and more isolated, and the grand-marshal, or the aid-de-camp on duty alone had access to him.

But it was not with the people, as with the courtiers. From all sides they assembled to express their despair at the Emperor's abdication, and beseech him not to abandon the country to the direction of traitors, who would return the crown to the king of the nobles. This was the title they generally gave Louis XVIII.

While the official preparations were going on for the departure of the Emperor, an incident occurred, which might have had the most important consequences.

On the morning of the 29th of June, we were aroused by the cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" "*down with the Bourbons!*" "*down with the traitors!*" It was Brayer's division returning from the Vendée, which had halted before the railing of the *château*. The soldiers refused to take another step, declaring that they were determined to have their Emperor back, and would go themselves, take him, and place him at their head, if their officers did not consent to interpret their wishes to him.

General Brayer yielded to the desire of his men; halted on the road, and came and asked to see the Emperor. I was on duty: thinking the Emperor was asleep, I went to awaken him; but, however, I found him in the library, sitting at the window, with his feet on the window-sill, reading Montaigne.

"What is it?" said he, turning round.

"Sire, General Brayer has returned from the Vendée with his division."

"Well, what does he want of me?"

"He begs to see your Majesty in the name of his soldiers, who on learning your presence at Malmaison, are crying aloud for your Majesty to put yourself at their head."

General Brayer was admitted to the Emperor.

A quarter of an hour after, his division continued their march toward Paris, with the cries of *Vive l'Empereur!* and in the full expectation of soon again seeing him on the field of battle.

Indeed the Emperor informed General Beker, that he had delayed his departure for some hours for the purpose of sending him to Paris, to submit a new proposition to government. This proposal was an offer to retake the command of the army in the name of Napoleon II.

The General, astonished, endeavoured at first to evade this mission.

"Sire," said he, "may I dare, respectfully to make the observation, that considering my position, such a message had much better be carried by an officer of the imperial household, than a member of the Chambers and a commissary of government, whose instructions are only to accompany your Majesty."

"General, I have confidence in your loyalty; and on the contrary have entrusted you with this mission in preference to any one else. Fulfil it instantly, and you will render me a new service."

"Sire, since my devotion can yet be useful to your Majesty, I do not hesitate to obey."

General Beker took his departure for Paris, without a moment's delay. On arriving at the bridge of Neuilly, he found it necessary to leave his carriage, as barricades had been erected on the bridge; and he was compelled to creep over the parapet at the imminent risk of his life. On the opposite side he found a cab, which he took possession of.

The General was immediately admitted, on being announced. The government committee was sitting in permanent session; his presence excited a surprise, which no one endeavoured to conceal. They had believed he was already with Napoleon on the way to Rochefort.

But their astonishment increased when the General explained the object of his mission.

"Gentlemen, the Emperor sends me to tell you that the situation of France, the wishes of the patriots and the cries of the people, all claim his presence to save the country. It is no longer as Emperor, that he asks the command, but as a *General*, whose name and reputation can yet exercise a great influence on the destiny of the Empire. After repulsing the enemy, he promises to go to the United States; there to fulfil his destiny."

A few lines dictated to General Beker by the Emperor, developed the plan of operations, insuring all the chances of success, to drive back beyond the frontiers, in a few days, the army of the allies, and avenge France for the disasters of Waterloo. 80,000 men were gathering near Paris: this was 30,000 more than the Emperor had in the campaign of 1814, although he had then fought three months against the large armies of Russia, Austria, and Prussia; and France well knew that he would have been victorious in the struggle, had it not been for the capitulation of Paris. It was, moreover, 45,000 men more than *General Bonaparte* had headed, when he crossed the Alps and conquered Italy.

The provisional government instead of accepting this proposition, received it with a sort of terror. The president made General Beker sit down near him, and without consulting any of his colleagues, said to him:

"Monsieur, why have you accepted such a mission, when it was your duty to urge the Emperor to hasten his departure, for the sake of his personal safety, which we cannot any longer guarantee? The enemy is rapidly approaching Paris, and the reports of our Generals who arrived this morning, bring us the announcement of a great defection in the army. Here," added he, throwing a bundle of letters before General Beker, "read these despatches of Generals Grouchy, Vandamme, and others, and you will see if a longer delay does not expose his Majesty to fall into the hands of the enemy."

General Beker took the letters, and looked over them in silence.

"Now, General," said the Duke of Otranto, while he was thus occupied, "tell me frankly, who was with the Emperor when he gave you this message?"



The General had no motive for not answering. He mentioned among others the name of the Duke of Bassano.

"I see now," said Fouché, "from whence this counsel has emanated. But tell the Emperor, his offers cannot be accepted, and that it is of the most vital importance for him to proceed to Rochefort, where he will find himself much safer than in the environs of Paris."

"I am ready to return to Malmaison, *Monsieur le duc*," answered General Beker, "but I wish to carry with me, at least a written document on the result of my mission; for if I return to the Emperor, with merely a verbal answer, his Majesty might doubt the zeal and anxiety I have exerted in the execution of his mandate."

"Be it so!" replied the Duke of Otranto, and he precipitately wrote the following note, addressed to the Duke of Bassano:

"The provisional government, being unable to accept the proposition made by General Beker on the part of his Majesty, from considerations which you will be able to justly appreciate yourself, entreat you, Duke, to use the influence you have continually exercised over his mind, in advising him to start without delay, the Prussians being already on their march upon Versailles, &c.

(Signed)

"Duke of OTRANTO."

While the Duke of Otranto was writing, his colleagues had not once broken the silence. Gloomy and taciturn, Carnot was walking up and down one corner of the room. The Duke of Vicence, Baron Quinette and General Gremier were sitting in silence around the table. General Beker threw a last inquiring glance at them; he read in their features a fixed resolution. He took the letter from the hand of the Duke, and departed, his heart devoured by grief. He then got into a carriage of the court, placed at his command by the Duke of Vicence, to take him to the bridge of Neuilly, which he crossed in the same manner as before.

Half an hour after, he re-entered the court-yard of Malmaison, where he found a great commotion of equipages, officers on horseback, &c. General Beker inquired into the cause of all this noise, and was told by Monsieur de Montaran, equerry on duty, that the Emperor intended to take horse and join the army.

He had not doubted for an instant that the proposition would be accepted, and had already made his preparations.

General Beker entered the Emperor's cabinet, where he found him alone.

"Well?" said the Emperor, quickly.

"Sire, in approaching your Majesty with the air of affliction which you will perceive on my countenance, I think I shall make you sufficiently understand that I have been unsuccessful in my mission. Here is a note for the Duke of Bassano from the Duke of Otranto, president of the government committee. It will explain to your Majesty the considerations that are opposed to the execution of your project. I have demanded this letter, in order to prove to you, that I have used all my efforts to make the provisional government accept the last offer of your services. Finding the Duke of Bassano no longer here, I put this note into your hands, and assure you that they are very anxious at the Tuileries, to hear of your departure for Rochefort, for it appears that the enemy is approaching with rapid strides upon Saint-Germain and Versailles; and the least delay may endanger your person."

The Emperor listened in gloomy silence : then with his usual soberness of reflection, in all things relating to him personally, he said :

"Those people do not know the state of public opinion, when they refuse my proposal ; they will repent it."

Without a single muscle of his countenance betraying his emotion, he added :

"Give the necessary orders, then, for my departure, and as soon as every thing is ready, let me know."

The delay was not long. An hour after General Beker returned ; a *calèche* without arms, was in waiting with four post horses ; a courier held himself in readiness to start, in order to procure relays.

The Emperor was dressed in a large green overcoat, sky-blue pantaloons, and a round hat. He traversed the vestibule, and entered the garden where his servants, who came all in tears, were waiting to take leave of their master.

His forehead at this moment was sublime in its calmness and serenity.

He reached the gate of the park where the *calèche* was in waiting, and stepped hastily into it ; the Grand-Marshal Bertrand took a seat beside him ; opposite the Emperor sat the Duke de Rovigo, and opposite the Grand-Marshal, General Beker. General Gourgaud mounted the coach-box.

At 6 o'clock in the evening the carriage drove off amid a profound silence.

The Emperor had taken the road to Rambouillet.

A few hours after his departure, conformable to the orders I had received from the Grand-Marshal, I set out with the carriages bearing the imperial arms, taking the road to Saintes.

During his sojourn at Malmaison, the Duke of Bassano had brought him the letters of the sovereigns, and the book containing his autographical correspondence ; also the port-folio in which he was in the habit of enclosing private papers, whose contents were reserved for no other eye than his own.

Queen Hortense was admirable in her devotion : her diamonds and all that she possessed of disposable valuables, she offered to the Emperor : and when he declined her offers, she employed a ruse to force his acceptance. There was never seen a more complete abnegation of all foresight of personal interest. Her loving soul did not comprehend the existence of any other interest for her than that of giving her unhappy father a testimony of her filial love.

## CHAPTER III.

## ROCHEFORT.

ALTHOUGH I did not personally accompany the Emperor on the journey, it may well be supposed that I have carefully collected every circumstance which is material, so as to be able to give a faithful account of the most minute details.

The instructions of the Provisional Government enjoined General Beker not to allow the Emperor to stop in the towns; but towards ten o'clock in the evening, the journey having been so far performed with the most perfect silence, the Emperor expressed a desire to stop at Rambouillet. He was probably exhausted by the power and depth of his emotions—emotions so much the more oppressive, as they had been always mastered and concealed.

General Beker immediately ordered the postilions to drive to the *Château*, and not to the Post.

The Emperor clung with such tenacity to Paris, that he could not force himself to decide on having recourse to flight.

A quarter of an hour after having sat down to table, the Emperor arose and retired into his apartments with the grand marshal. As he had not said that he would pass the night at Rambouillet, orders were momentarily expected for proceeding. An hour having been passed in expectation, the grand marshal was at length perceived coming from the Emperor's chamber, and he announced that the Emperor, feeling himself indisposed, had gone to bed.

On the next day, the 30th of June, the journey was resumed at eleven o'clock, and by day-break the next morning the party reached Tours, without the occurrence of any event to disturb the profound melancholy of the route.

At Tours the Emperor only stopped for a moment, and during that moment, he conversed with M. de Méramont, who had formerly been his chamberlain, but was, at that time, Prefêt of Indre and Loire, whom he had sent for through the Duke of Rovigo. He then pursued his journey towards Poitiers, where he took some repose at the the Hotel of the Post, outside the city.

During the halt, General Beker wrote to the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, giving him notice of the Emperor's approach, and requesting him to come and meet him on his arrival.

This despatch was forwarded by a courier on horse-back at full speed.

They proceeded on their journey, and reached the town of St. Maixent, where a serious event was very nearly compromising the safety of the Emperor.

Seeing a carriage with four horses stopping at the door of the Post-house, the whole population, excited by the different reports which they had heard from Paris, and by the warmth of their passions, which increased in proportion as the party approached La Vendée, rushed eagerly in front of the carriage, and with uncontrollable eagerness and curiosity, pressed around the travellers. The passports, different in form and appearance from those

which were usual, only served to augment their curiosity, while some began to assume the character of defiance. An officer of the national guard carried the general's passport to the town hall, to submit it to the municipal officers, who were then sitting in permanent assembly.

During this delay the crowd continually increased, and began to assume a menacing aspect. Fortunately General Beker recognized in the middle of the mass an officer of *Gendarmerie*, who had formerly served under his orders. He made him a sign to approach, made himself known, and begged him to go to the town hall, and bring back his passport. The officer departed in all haste on his mission, and returned in a moment afterwards, not only with the passport, but with a further permission from the magistrates. He then went in front of the carriage, pushed aside the crowd, and made room for the horses, which were driven off at a gallop in the direction of Niort.

A similar occurrence happened to the Emperor on his journey to his former exile, in passing through the village of D'Orgen, where the crowd was near pulling him to pieces.

On arriving at Niort, the Emperor, worn out with fatigue, expressed a desire for some repose, in consequence of which, the postilions, instead of driving to the Post, were ordered to stop at a small inn of modest appearance, from whence they were to start early the next morning. It was late, and they did not take the trouble to put the carriage under cover; it remained standing before the door. The Emperor ate but little of the hasty supper which had been prepared for him, and retired to his chamber without any one in the house entertaining a suspicion of his real quality. The heat was intense; and at the early dawn, he opened his window, and, observing a balcony, he went out to enjoy the pleasure of breathing the fresh air more freely.

He had scarcely occupied the balcony for a few minutes, when Lieut.-Col. Voisin, on his way to early parade, passed the inn. He was surprised at seeing a person in a dressing-gown of white bombazine, with an ill-tied handkerchief on his head, walking on the balcony at such an unseasonable hour; he stopped—looked at him; and recognized the Emperor.

His first thought was to proceed immediately to the quarters of his regiment, and to order his soldiers to mount; but on reflection, he went to the house of the Prefect, and impressed him with an idea of the duty which gratitude imposed upon them, of showing proper respect to the Emperor, and the latter determined to accompany the Colonel immediately to the inn, to beg the Emperor to accept the Hotel of the Prefecture as a lodging during the time of his stay at Niort.

The news of his presence in Niort soon spread through the town, and amongst the troops; the enthusiasm was such as to prevail over every other consideration. Both people and soldiers exhibited a degree of fanatical exultation. A halt of a few hours was changed into a sojourn of forty-eight hours, and was only terminated by the Emperor's issuing orders for departure. The popular demonstrations had assumed a very serious character, and two regiments of cavalry in garrison at Niort wished, at all risks, to conduct the Emperor into the midst of the army of the Loire.

The army of La Vendée, commanded by General Lamarque, and the army of the Gironde at Bourdeaux, under General Clausel, exhibited the same disposition. Nothing appeared easier than to accuse the provisional government of treason, and to march upon Paris at the head of between 20 and 25,000 men, escorted by 100,000 fanatical peasants. The state of things was communicated by writing to the two generals above mentioned, and

General Clausel answered, that he was ready to bring 10,000 men, whom he had under his command. General Lamarque negotiated. He did not feel it to be consistent with his duty to act in person against a government appointed by the Chambers, but he fully perceived the danger to which the country was exposed, and was ready to fight against its enemies. On the other hand, the Emperor, in writing to Lamarque and Clausel, had rather yielded to the urgent requests of the Duke of Rovigo and General Lallemand than followed his own opinion, for he felt a real repugnance to the resumption of power, and could not, moreover, believe it possible that the provisional government would allow the Bourbons to re-enter Paris; in addition, he felt himself restrained by an unfeigned aversion to having the social destinies of France committed to him for a second time. In fine, this new revolution came to nought, like those by which it had been preceded; and at four o'clock on the morning of the 3rd of July, the Emperor descended the steps of the Prefecture, thanking the people, whilst he was getting into his carriage, for the generous reception which they had given him. Cries of "VIVE L'EMPEREUR!—REMAIN WITH US, SIRE!" re-echoed from all sides; but the imperial exile made a signal with his hand to the postilions, and the carriage was driven off at full speed.

The shouts of respect and devotion to his person which followed his departure, long resounded in our ears.

General Beker had availed himself of this halt, to write to the provisional government the following report:

"NIORT, July 2nd, 1815.

"In order to accelerate the delivery of my report to the provisional government, I have the honour to inform them directly, by an extraordinary courier, that the Emperor arrived last night at Niort, very much fatigued, and very uneasy concerning the fate of France. Without being recognized, the Emperor has shown himself very much alive to the curious restlessness and avidity with which news is everywhere sought after on his journey. The demonstrations of interest which have been shown, have often caused him to say: 'The government is ill acquainted with the spirit of France, and has been too hasty in sending me away from Paris. Had it accepted my proposition, the whole state of affairs would have been changed. In the name of the nation, I could still exercise a great influence in political affairs, and support the negotiations of the government by an army, to which my name would serve as a rallying point.'

"On his arrival at Niort, his Majesty was informed by the Maritime Prefect of Rochefort, that since the 29th of June, the English squadron had doubled the number of its cruisers, and its vigilance, so as to render the departure of the frigates impossible.

"In this state of affairs, the Emperor is anxious that the Minister of Marine should authorize the captain of the frigate, of which he shall go on board, to communicate with the commander of the English squadron, should extraordinary circumstances render this step indispensable, as well for the personal safety of his Majesty, as to spare France the grief and shame of seeing him carried off from his last asylum, to be delivered over to the discretion of his enemies.

"In these difficult circumstances, we wait anxiously for news from Paris. We entertain the hope that the capital will defend itself, and that the enemy will give you time to see the issue of the negotiations commenced by your ambassadors to reinforce the army in order to cover Paris. (This phrase and

that which follows were suggested by the Emperor.) If in this situation, the English cruisers prevent the frigates from putting to sea, you could dispose of the Emperor as a general eagerly desirous only of being useful to the country.

(Signed) "LIEUT. GENERAL COUNT BEKER."

On the 4th of July, two letters were despatched from Paris, addressed to Count Beker, one from the Minister of War, conferring upon him the right of calling out the armed force, if necessary, to compel *Napoleon Bonaparte* to leave France. It ran as follows:—

"PARIS, July 4th, 1815.

"GENERAL BEKER,—The commission of government has given you instructions relative to the departure of *Napoleon Bonaparte* from France.

"I entertain no doubt of your zeal to accomplish the object of your mission. With a view of facilitating it as much as in my power, I have issued orders to the generals commanding in La Rochelle and Rochefort, to supply you with *the necessary force*, and by all the means at their disposal to support such measures as you may deem suitable for the full execution of the orders of the government.

"Accept, General, the assurance of my high consideration.

"For the Minister of War,

"THE SECRETARY GENERAL,  
"Councillor of State."

The second was the reply to the despatch forwarded from Niort, and was as follows:

"PARIS, July 4th, 1815.

"GENERAL BEKER,—The commission of government has received your letter, written from Niort, and dated the 2d of July. *Napoleon* ought to embark without delay. The success of our negotiations principally depends upon the assurance of this fact which the allied powers wish to receive, and you do not know to what extent the safety and tranquillity of the state are compromised by these delays. Had *Napoleon* adopted his resolution immediately, his departure would not have been impossible on the 29th. The commission, then, *places the person of Napoleon* under your responsibility. IT WILL BE YOUR DUTY TO EMPLOY SUCH MEANS OF FORCE AS MAY BE NECESSARY, *treating him with becoming respect. See that he reach Rochefort without delay, and take means for his immediate embarkation.*

"As to the services which he offers, our duties towards France, and our engagements to foreign powers, do not permit us to accept of them—and you will no longer entertain such proposals. Finally, the commission sees inconveniences in *Napoleon's* communicating with the English squadron, and cannot, therefore, grant the permission required for that purpose.

(Signed)

"THE DUKE OF OTRANTO, CARNOT,  
CAULINCOURT DUKE OF VINCENZA,  
COUNT GRENIER, QUINETTE."

Notwithstanding this, wherever *Napoleon* was recognized on his journey, he was saluted by the acclamations of the people. These acclamations caused the last radiance of joy and pride to brighten his countenance. On passing out of the towns and villages, he pointed out to General Beker and the other companions of his journey, the infectious marshes, which at that time were

covered with ricks of hay, and said :—" You see, General, that the population cheerfully recognize the prosperity which I have created in their country, and that wherever I pass, I receive the blessings of a grateful people."

On the 3rd of July, at eight o'clock in the morning, we arrived at Rochefort. The Emperor alighted at the Hotel of the Maritime Prefecture, and was received as a sovereign by Baron Banafour.

It was on the same 3rd of July, that Paris for the second time opened its gates to the enemy.

During almost the whole of the journey, the Emperor had continued melancholy, although his demeanour had never ceased to be calm and majestic.

A few words which occasionally escaped him, betrayed the manner in which his thoughts were occupied with the future, and showed that, at the bottom of his heart, he still cherished a hope of being again recalled by those, who, on the contrary, manifested such an extraordinary haste to be relieved from his presence. During the whole of the journey—not a word either of his wife or son. From time to time he took a pinch of snuff from General Beker's box, and as the box happened to be adorned with a portrait of Marie Louise, the Emperor once took it into his hand, looked at it for a moment, and returned it without uttering a syllable.

The arrival of Napoleon produced a profound sensation in the town; the whole population was immediately in movement, and filled the gardens of the Prefecture with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur.*" These cries were repeated with so much frequency and earnestness during the whole day, that in the evening the Emperor thought it his duty to yield to these prolonged marks of affection, and appeared on the terrace, accompanied by the Maritime Prefect and his suite.

The reasons of our sojourn at Rochefort till the evening of the 8th July, when we embarked to go on board the Saale, are a mystery which I have never been able to fathom, for I can never bring myself to believe that we remained five days at Rochefort to wait for some boxes, directed by mistake to La Rochelle, containing matters which constituted a part of the grand marshal's appointments in the Island of Elba; but what is still more inexplicable, is that these same boxes never reached Longwood. On the 10th of May, 1821, they had lain five years and a half at the custom house in St. Helena, addressed to a person in the suite of the grand marshal, as is proved by a letter of that date written to me by Sir Hudson Lowe, asking whether he should cause them to be delivered according to their address, in consequence of the application which had been just made concerning them, or whether he should consider them as a part of the Emperor's personals, and send them to me.

My answers could not be a matter of doubt; the contents of these boxes were not comprised in the inventory which I had received, and I had, therefore, no legal right to receive them; I am ignorant what became of them.

It will be remembered that two frigates had been placed by the provisional government at the disposal of the Emperor; they were the Saale and the Medusa. The frigates were anchored under the protection of the batteries of the Isle of Aix, and under the command of Captain Philibert, whose pennant was hoisted in the Saale.

The Medusa, Captain Ponét, was placed under the command of the captain of the Saale.

On arriving at the Hotel of the Prefecture, a council was called by the orders of the general, but conformably to the desire of the Emperor; it was

composed of superior officers, military and naval—among whom was Admiral Martin.

The question to be discussed was, the safest course to be adopted to insure the Emperor's voyage to the United States.

It was, unfortunately, too late; since the 29th of June, the English cruisers off the coast had been doubled, and it was unanimously decided that it was impossible to leave the harbour without falling into the hands of the enemy.

Other means were then thought of and proposed.

General Lallemand was commissioned to go and sound the dispositions of Captain Baudin, who was in command of the *Bayadère*, at the mouth of the Gironde. He brought back the assurance that the captain was devoted to his Majesty—would receive him with the greatest distinction, and place his corvette at his disposal.

At the same time, the naval officers of Rochefort offered to act as the crew of a small sloop belonging to a Danish merchant, who was father-in-law of one of them, named Besson, or, if the Emperor preferred it, of two *chasse marées*, with which they would attempt to convey him to America. The embarkation was proposed to take place during the night; and these brave young men entertained neither doubt nor fear.

Count Las Cases was commissioned and empowered to arrange the whole affair with Lieut. Besson, on behalf of his father-in-law, and to provide all the necessaries for the voyage. These parties signed an agreement in form following:—

**AGREEMENT** between Count Las Cases on the one part, on account of whom it may concern, and Lieut. Besson of the imperial navy, on the other, on account of Mr. P. P. D'Offendorff, a native of Denmark.

"We, the undersigned, mutually engage to abide by the articles herein-after stipulated, and express our acquiescence by our hands and seals. Count Las Cases agrees on his part to place the sum of 25,000 francs at the disposal of Mr. Besson, provided the latter fulfil all the conditions hereinafter stated, article by article."

"Art. 1. The Count Las Cases places the sum of 25,000 francs in cash, at the disposal of Mr. Besson, for which Mr. Besson is to be accountable to Count Las Cases, without interest, at whatsoever period the whole sum may be returned.

"Art. 2. Mr. Besson binds himself to Count Las Cases, to fulfil the following conditions, by mean of the ship *Magdeleine*, of ninety tons, sailing under the Danish flag, belonging to the above-named Mr. P. P. Fruhl d'Offendorff, and of which he is the consignee.

"Art. 3. Mr. Besson agrees immediately, and without the loss of a moment, to put the ship *Magdeleine* in a fit condition for a distant voyage; to provide her with a cargo of brandy, which he will purchase with the 25,000 francs, placed at his disposal by the Count Las Cases; and engages strictly to follow the orders of his passengers, whom he binds himself to convey to their destination.

"Art. 4. As soon as the above-named sum of 25,000 francs shall be paid into the hands of Mr. Besson, the voyage, which he has engaged to perform, shall commence; and in case the voyage should not take place, in consequence of orders received from the passengers, Mr. Besson is to receive from Count Las Cases a sum of 2,500 francs, as an indemnity. Should Mr. Besson wish to continue the voyage on his own account, which he is at full liberty to do, the sum of 2,500 francs is not to be paid.



" Art. 5. In case the voyage be made on account of the passengers, and they are safely conveyed to their destination, Count Las Cases, or some one acting for him, shall pay to Mr. Besson a sum of 5,000 francs, or the latter shall be indebted to Count Las Cases in the sum of 20,000 francs only. In case, however, the produce of the sale of the ship's cargo should amount to 30,000 francs, the payment of 5,000 francs by Count Las Cases is not to take place, it being understood that the 5,000 francs in question are to meet the expenses of the Magdeleine.

" Art. 6. In case unforeseen events should lead to the loss of the vessel or cargo, Mr. Besson is, by that fact, released from all obligations to Count Las Cases, on account of the 25,000 francs received by him.

" Art. 7. Should Mr. Besson be obliged to incur any extraordinary expenses by the orders of his passengers, such expenses are to be repaid by said passengers, as well as any delay in the departure of the ship after the time fixed, at the rate of fifty francs per diem. Such delays not to be reckoned, till eight days after the ship is completely ready for sea.

" Art. 8. The voyage is to be considered complete, when the passengers shall have been conveyed to their destination, or when the ship shall have arrived at the port designed by Captain Besson, if the voyage be not undertaken on account of the passengers.

" In both of which cases, the above-named sum of 25,000 francs, shall not be paid to Count Las Cases, till six months after the safe arrival of the ship Magdeleine.

(Signed in duplicate)

" THE COUNT LAS CASES,  
" BESSON.

" Rochefort, July 6, 1815."

During the time in which these arrangements were being made, the General wrote the following letter to Paris, informing the government of the difficulties which he experienced;—

" ROCHEFORT, July 4, 1815.

" I have the honour to inform the commission of government, that the Emperor arrived here yesterday morning at eight o'clock, having received from all the inhabitants of the districts through which we passed, the strongest testimony of their respect, of their regret, and enthusiastic attachment to his person.

" Immediately after our arrival at Rochefort, the superior officers of the navy declared it to be impossible to sail from the roads of Aix, as long as the English kept such a large number of cruisers on the station in sight of our ships.

" In consequence of this opinion of a council of war, preparations are being made to get ready a corvette, lying in the Gironde, and to arm a brig, in order to take advantage of either of these opportunities, should the cruisers remain off the Pertuis, and leave the mouth of the Gironde open, so as to favour the escape of the corvette.

" As the success of this manœuvre is all but certain, he is anxious to obtain passports, which the English, interested in the departure of Napoleon, can no longer refuse. Prince Joseph having come *incognito* to Niort, to take leave of his brother, set out again for Saintes, from whence he proposes to retire to a country-seat in the interior of France, to await the determination of the fate of his family. The prince has been compromised by one of the *garde du corps* who raised a mob against him and some persons in the suite of the Emperor, on their way to Saintes, in order to go to

Rochefort. The movement was suppressed by the national guard, who caused both the persons and carriages to be set at liberty.

"The Emperor is in perfect safety at Rochefort; he does not show himself, although the inhabitants exhibit a great desire to see him, in order to express their gratitude for all the benefits which he has conferred on this country.

"We are in expectation that M. Otto will obtain the passports, and whilst waiting for his arrival, the best means are adopted to take advantage of any changes favourable to the Emperor.

(Signed)

"COUNT BEKER,

"Lieutenant General."

The council of the admiralty met daily; the Emperor was present at all their sittings, taking a part, article by article, in all their deliberations. In one of these meetings Admiral Martin mentions Captain Baudin,\* commander of a corvette in the river.

On the same day on which Count Las Cases signed the agreement already referred to, the minister of marine became impatient at knowing the Emperor had not yet left Rochefort, and wrote the following letter:

#### TO THE MARITIME PREFECT.

"PARIS, July 6th, 1815.

"SIR,—It is of the utmost importance, that the Emperor should leave the soil of France as quickly as possible. The interest of the state and the safety of his person imperatively require it.

"Should circumstances not permit his departure in one of the frigates, it will, perhaps, be possible for a pilot boat to deceive the English cruisers, and in case this method be deemed suitable, it is not necessary to hesitate in putting one at his disposal, in order that he may set out in twenty-four hours.

"Should this plan be unacceptable, and should he prefer going on board one of the ships of the English squadron, or directly to England, he is requested to address to us a formal and positive demand in writing, and in that case you will immediately put a flag of truce at his disposal, in order that he may adopt either of these alternatives.

"It is indispensable, that he should not disembark on the French territory; and you cannot be too precise in your instructions on this point to the commander of the vessel on board of which he may now be, or on which he may embark.

"I forward you a decree on this subject, which has been just passed by the government, and send a copy of the same to General Beker. The terms are such, that I have nothing to add, beyond what I have already said to you, to remove all difficulties in the way of his departure, as far as in your power. I cannot too strongly repeat, his departure is a matter of the greatest urgency. He must not, however, be allowed to depart in a pilot boat for the United States, or in a flag of truce for the English squadron or for England itself, till he shall have made a formal and positive request in writing to that effect. This restriction, with which he will be made acquainted by General Beker, will make him feel that one of the great reasons for the urgency of his departure is founded upon the interest taken respecting his personal safety.

\* At present a Vice-Admiral.

"Should a flag of truce be sent, you will draw up the sailing orders according to the usual form.

"I subjoin an extract from the decree of the government, which you will append to the instructions of the commander of the flag of truce, in order to regulate his conduct. You will, in like manner, give this extract to the commander of the boat for the United States, should the Emperor select that alternative.

"You will be careful to appoint as commander of the vessel, a good officer, who understands how to combine the greatest firmness of purpose, with the observance of the respect necessary in such a delicate affair.

"Accept sir, the assurance, &c.

"THE DUKE DECRES.

"P. S. It is well understood, that if the departure of the two frigates be possible, no changes have been made in the orders given for conveying him to the United States in that manner."

On his part General Beker received despatches upon despatches, in order to hasten the departure of Napoleon; but the general always continued to maintain a bearing worthy of himself towards the Emperor, appreciated the force of events, and remained perfectly neutral in all those discussions which took place daily in the council on the means of his departure, in aid of which he was to operate.

At length, on the 8th of July, at the close of a discussion, during which the General had continued to maintain his habitual reserve, the Emperor said to him—"Well, General, and what do you think of all this?—Every one offers me his opinion except you."

"Sire," answered General Beker, "I am not in a position to give an opinion, or advice to your Majesty, and for this reason I abstain. In a case so important, and in which there are chances to run, I might, perhaps, have reason at some future time to reproach myself with the consequences of my advice in the resolution adopted, should that resolution, instead of conducting you to America, cause you to fall into the power of the English. The only advice which I dare venture to give your Majesty, is that of adopting a prompt determination, and of carrying into effect, as speedily as possible, the plan which you may adopt.

"The fate of France is unhappily determined; your Majesty may wait till agents are sent in your pursuit; from that moment the scene changes, Sire; the powers which I now hold from the provisional government, cease, and your Majesty will be exposed to new dangers, of which it is difficult to foresee the result."

In pronouncing these words, the General was so affected, that his words produced a strong sympathetic emotion on the Emperor in his turn.

"But, General," said he; "should these events occur, you are incapable of giving me up?"

"Your Majesty," answered General Beker, "knows that I am ready to lay down my life for you; in such a case, however, my life would not save you. The same people who crowd under your windows every evening, and oblige you to show yourself, would, perhaps, prefer cries of another kind, if the scene were changed. Then, Sire, I repeat it, your Majesty, already threatened, would be completely compromised—the commanders of the frigates, receiving orders from the ministers of Louis XVIII., would disregard mine, and that would render your safety impossible. Reflect upon the urgency of the circumstances, Sire, I beseech you."

"Well!" said the Emperor, "since it is so, give the necessary orders for proceeding to the Isle of Aix."

The general obeyed, and then wrote as follows to the provisional government:

"ROCHEFORT, July 8th, 1815.

"I have already informed the commission of government, that the Emperor arrived at Rochefort on the morning of the 3rd inst., and was only waiting for a favourable conjuncture, to put to sea. Contrary winds and the increased force and redoubled vigilance of the English cruisers, have rendered it impossible for any ships to sail from the Pertuis.

"In this condition of things, his Majesty not having received the expected passports, and being left wholly to his own resources, will go this evening to the Isle of Aix, in order to be near the frigates, and to be able to take advantage of any favourable opportunity, should the winds at all favour their departure.

"As to the person of the Emperor, which your Excellency has anew placed under my responsibility, by your despatch of the 4th inst., all necessary precautions are taken to guarantee Napoleon against the attempts of his enemies. His Majesty is here in the midst of a people who are grateful for the services which he has rendered, and the feelings and behaviour of the troops and the navy leave nothing to be desired with respect to their former sovereign. However difficult my mission may be, in consequence of my double relation towards the Emperor and towards the government, I shall fulfil it, I trust, to the satisfaction of both, by being guided wholly by the principles of the highest honour.

(Signed)

"COUNT BEKER,  
"Lieutenant General."

On the same evening, the Emperor, in a carriage, surrounded by the whole population, and attended by his suite, proceeded to the shore, where the pinnacle of the Saale received him and his suite, and immediately made sail towards the roads of the Isle of Aix. On the way, however, the Emperor gave counter orders; instead of going to the Isle of Aix, he ordered to steer for the frigate, on board of which he arrived at eight o'clock on the evening of the 8th of July.

On the morning of the 9th, Napoleon rose at break of day; his intention was to go to the Isle of Aix, and the boats of the Saale were placed at his disposal, and received himself and his suite. As they advanced towards the landing-place, where nothing was at first to be seen but the sentinels, the whole became covered with officers, soldiers, and people.

The Emperor had scarcely landed, when cries of "*To the army of the Loire*," resounded from all sides; thus, at the very extremity of France, on this small spot of earth, separated from the mainland, the cries were the same as at the Elysée Bourbon and Malmaison.

On his return to the frigate, the Emperor found the Maritime Prefect on board, who communicated to him the letters of the date of the 6th of July, mentioned above.

During the day of the 10th, the Bellerophon came to anchor in the Basque roads.

The Emperor passed the day on board the frigate. A friend who had been despatched to reconnoitre the coasts, returned during the morning, and confirmed the impossibility of being able to leave the roads of Aix, and gain the sea.

In the night between the 10th and 11th, the Duke of Rovigo and Count Las Cases were sent to the commander of the English squadron, to ask if he had received any instructions relative to the departure of the Emperor for America, or if, not having such, he should think himself authorized to allow the frigates, or any other French or neutral ship with the Emperor on board, and bound for the United States, to pass free.

The English captain declared that nothing contained in his instructions differed from the ordinary rules of a state of war, and that, consequently, he would attack the frigates, or any other vessel under the French flag, which should attempt to leave the roadstead. As to a ship under a neutral flag, he would cause her to be visited and searched according to the usual law of blockade. But, nevertheless, considering the great and exceptional nature of the communication made to him, he would instantly go and refer the subject to the admiral in command, who was cruising off La Rochelle.

He at first received the Duke of Rovigo and Count Las Cases with the greatest respect, and insisted strongly upon their taking lunch with him and the commanders of two sloops under sail at the entrance of the harbour.

Count Las Cases had been for some years in England as an *émigré*, and was acquainted with English. He therefore understood during lunch, some conversation which Captain Maitland supposed was only understood by his officers, and this circumstance derived some importance from the position of the captain, who was a near relation and intimate friend of Lord Lauderdale. The circumstance was also afterwards made a matter of bitter reproach against Las Cases. The English accused him of having violated his honour, because, as they affirmed, he had positively declared that he was unacquainted with their language, when the question was put to him at the commencement of the conference. This, however, is not correct. The question was put collectively, and the Duke of Rovigo alone answered in the negative.

This mystification and piece of diplomatic chicanery proved, in fact, rather detrimental than useful, for no doubt the information thus gained by surprise from Captain Maitland and his officers contributed to induce the Emperor to decide on surrendering himself to the English.

This step had no other result than that of exciting the vigilance of the enemy, and the Emperor's situation became more complicated than ever. It was then that Captain Ponét of the *Medusa* came and offered to devote himself and his ship to his escape.

The proposition of this second Curtius was as follows: He proposed, under favour of the night, to take the lead of the *Saale*, to surprise the *Bellerophon* at anchor, to engage her in close combat, and to lash his vessel to her sides, so as to neutralize her efforts and impede her sailing. The engagement might last two hours, at the end of which the *Medusa*, carrying only sixty guns, and the *Bellerophon* seventy-four, she would necessarily be destroyed, but during this time, the *Saale*, taking advantage of the breeze which every evening blew from the land, might gain the sea, and a sloop of twenty-two guns, and a ship's pinnace, which comprised the remainder of the English flotilla, could not detain the *Saale*, which was a frigate of the first class, carrying twenty-four pounders between decks, and thirty-six pound carronades in her upper deck.

Two circumstances were opposed to this heroic project; the refusal of Captain Philibert, of the *Saale*, and the repugnance of the Emperor to sacrifice a ship and her crew to his personal safety.

The 11th was passed amidst a number of schemes proposed and abandoned, in a state of hesitation, like that which had lost all at Elysée and Malmaison. After the whole arrangement was made with the Danish ship, the Emperor hesitated to trust his safety to a merchant vessel. Cæsar was not more confident in his fortune.

On the 12th, the Paris journals were received, conveying intelligence of the entry of the allies into Paris, the proclamation of King Louis XVIII., and his establishment in the Tuileries.

The effect which this news produced upon the Emperor, and us all, may be readily supposed.

On the 13th, Prince Joseph came to the Isle of Aix, once more to embrace his brother. He had made sure of his departure from Bourdeaux for America, and being always the most devoted friend of the Emperor, he came to beseech him to take advantage of their close resemblance—to offer to remain in his stead in the Isle of Aix, and to assure him that his departure from Bourdeaux and his voyage to America would meet with no obstacles whatever, because all his measures were well taken. The Emperor could not resolve to accept the offer. He would never consent that his brother should expose himself to dangers which belonged to his destiny alone, and therefore forced him to leave the Isle of Aix, and gain the Gironde, whilst the communications were still sufficiently open, and that he might avoid the risk of falling into the hands of the royalists, who were already become threatening.

In the evening all preparations were made for going on board the *chasse-marées* during the night, and accepting the proffered services of the young officers of the navy, who proposed to form their crews.

The night, however, passed away without any order for embarkation being received, and, towards four o'clock in the morning, General Lallemand and Count Las Cases were sent a second time on board the Bellerophon, apparently for the purpose of obtaining an answer from the admiral, but, in fact, to ascertain if Captain Maitland would express officially, with respect to the eventual determination of the Emperor to throw himself upon the hospitality of England, the same opinion which Las Cases had understood him to express in his conversation with the English officers.

Captain Maitland's answers were distinct and positive. He had yet received no instructions, but he was in hourly expectation of their arrival; he was authorized to receive the Emperor on board in order to convey him to England, and, according to his opinion, the Emperor would receive in England all that attention and respect to which he could lay any claim. He added, "*I am anxious that it should be well understood that I am only expressing my own personal opinion on this subject, and have in no respect spoken in the name of the government, having received no instructions either from the admiralty or the admiral.*"

On the return of Count Las Cases, the Emperor hesitated long as to the course which he ought to pursue, and I have reason to believe that he would have gone secretly on board the Bayadère, which, it will be remembered, Captain Baudin kept at his disposal in the mouth of the Gironde, had not private interests exercised a powerful influence in restraining him from a course which would have necessarily excluded a considerable number of us from having the honour of accompanying him, and delivered us up to the enmity and malice of the royal administration, which was already in action in Rochefort.

It is true, however, that ever since the Emperor's sojourn in Malmaison

his mind was impressed with the conviction of the grand marshal and Count Las Cases, that he had reason to expect a magnificent reception in England, and that the extent and greatness of the popular ovation would be increased by the testimony of esteem, which would be given by the Emperor in throwing himself upon the hospitality of England. During his sojourn at Malmaison, he had said to Queen Hortense—"Give myself up to Austria, never!—she has seized upon my wife and my son! Give myself to Russia, that would be to a single man; but to give myself up to England, that would be to throw myself upon a people."\*

Towards two o'clock, the Emperor summoned us to a privy-council, and, concealing from us none of the serious dangers of his position, he submitted to us the following question :

"Ought I to-night to attempt going on board the *Bayadère*—to endeavour to pass through the English ships, either in the Danish vessel or in the *chasse marées* of the young naval officers—or ought I not rather resolve to throw myself upon the hospitality of England, and accept Captain Maitland's offer?"

The grand-marshal, the Duke of Rovigo, General Lallemand, and Count Las Cases, were of opinion that he should go on board the *Bellerophon*, having first sent an aid-de-camp, who should be despatched to England with an autograph letter from the Emperor to the Prince Regent. General Gourgaud and myself alone were of a contrary and directly opposite opinion, which we endeavoured to enforce, by showing that it would be a thousand times better to run all the risks enumerated in the frank and devoted reply of Captain Baudin, who said he would take upon himself the charge of conducting the Emperor to the extremity of the world. In fact, if it proved impossible to escape the English cruisers, and to reach the American soil, going to England was a *pis-aller*, to which recourse might always be had. It was a complete illusion—we repeated it twenty times to the Emperor—a complete illusion to confound the intentions of the English ministry, with the public feeling of the English nation; that sound and calm reason ought to dispel this illusion, and recal to his recollection that the policy of St. James's had always been guided by a hatred for his person; and that those ministers who had encouraged and sanctioned the incessant conspiracies of the royalists—from that of the infernal machine, and the attempt at assassination by Georges Cadoudal, down to the treasons of 1814—could not, without being false to themselves and their convictions, receive the Emperor in England in any other way than as a trophy of Waterloo.

Unhappily, Gourgaud and myself were very young, and we had to contend against influences of long standing, well deserved, and justified, it must be acknowledged, by years of noble devotedness and the exercise of the highest functions of the state. The attempt to make our opinion prevail over that of the Duke of Rovigo and the grand marshal, was a difficult thing; we were beaten, and ought to have been so.

\* Lord Castlereagh had caused a communication to be made to the Emperor, through the medium of the Duke of Vicenza, and during the negotiations of Fontainebleau. "Why," said his lordship, "does not Napoleon come to England instead of going to the Island of Elba? He would be received in London with the greatest consideration, and would there experience a treatment infinitely preferable to his exile upon a miserable rock in the Mediterranean. He ought not, however, to attempt to make his retirement to England a subject of negotiation, because this would lead to long delay, and give rise to difficulties. Let him give himself up without conditions; let him give this splendid testimony of his esteem for an enemy who has contended valiantly against him for ten years. He will be received by England with the most profound respect, and he will find that it is much better to trust to English honor than to any treaty which could be negotiated in the present circumstances."

On leaving the council, Count Las Cases and General Gourgaud were ordered to proceed to the *Bellerophon*, the former to communicate the Emperor's resolution to Captain Maitland, and the latter to convey to England the following letter, written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent :—

“ROCHEFORT, July 13, 1815.

“ROYAL HIGHNESS,—The sport of those factions which divide my country, and an object of hostility to the greatest powers in Europe, I have finished my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to sit down by the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of their laws, which I claim from your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most constant, and most generous of my enemies.

“NAPOLEON.”



## CHAPTER IV.

## THE BELLEROPHON.

On the 15th of July, at daybreak, the Emperor, dressed after his traditional fashion—that is, with his small hat, green coat of a colonel of the chasseurs of the guard, and his sword at his side—left the Isle of Aix, and entered one of the Epervier's boats, which was to convey him on board the Bellerophon. The white flag was already flying upon the posts and in the roadstead, the Epervier brig being the only vessel which still retained the national colours.

General Beker accompanied the Emperor, less with a view of discharging the commission, with which he had been entrusted by the provisional government, than with that of paying the last mark of respect and honour to his Majesty.

Like all who have ever been admitted to the familiar acquaintance of the Emperor, he had felt all the force of that irresistible attraction, which his powerful nature exercised over those who came within its sphere. Having gone on board the Epervier, he respectfully approached the Emperor and made a deep obeisance.

"Sire," said he, "does your Majesty wish that I should follow you to the Bellerophon, conformably to the instructions of the government?"

"No, no," quickly replied the Emperor, with that sagacity of mind which was peculiar to him; "no, not at all. No one will desire you to say that you have delivered me up to the English; and, as it is in accordance with my own determination that I proceed to their squadron, I do not wish such an accusation to be left resting upon France."

General Beker wished to reply, but his voice failed, and he burst into tears.

"Embrace me, General," said the Emperor, with that melancholy serenity of countenance which had never forsaken him for a single instant. "I thank you for all the care you have taken of me; I regret that I did not earlier enjoy your intimate acquaintance, I would have attached you to my person. Adieu, General—adieu."

Sobs deprived the General of the power of speech; a few words, however, struggled forth, and their import was understood. "Adieu, Sire, may you be happier than we!" He then left the brig and returned towards the frigate.

In the meantime, the brig had raised her anchor and advanced towards the Bellerophon, preceded by her boats.

Napoleon descended into Captain Maitland's boat, steered by his first lieutenant, and was followed by the grand-marshal and the Duke of Rovigo.

At the moment in which the boat reached the Bellerophon, the crew manned the yards, and the marines were drawn up on the deck, but the Emperor was not received by a salvo of guns.

The captain, attended by his officers, awaited the Emperor at the gangway, and immediately offered to conduct him to the cabin, which had been prepared for his reception with as much luxury and comfort as was possible at sea, in so short time, and on board ship.

The Emperor, who, during the whole time of his sojourn at Rochefort and the Isle of Aix, had worn an ordinary coat, resumed, as we have said, the uniform of the chasseurs of the guard, on the morning of the 15th, and we also put on our uniforms. Las Cases preferred a military costume to that of a civilian, a councillor of state, or chamberlain, and assumed the dress of a captain in the navy. He had served in the navy before the Revolution, and the Restoration having reckoned every four years to the emigrants as a step in promotion, he became a captain in 1815, and received his brevet, as well as the cross of St. Louis, which belongs of right to all who have passed twenty-five years in the service.

The Emperor had no sooner set foot on board the *Bellerophon*, than he said—"Captain Maitland, I come on board your ship to place myself under the protection of the laws of England." The captain only answered by a low bow, and a few moments afterwards presented his officers to the Emperor.

At the moment when the *Epervier* was about to withdraw, after having discharged this last duty, which was to give her name a place in history, Marshal Bertrand delivered to the captain the following letter, addressed to General Beker :

" July 15th, 1815.

" MY DEAR GENERAL,—We have arrived on board the English ship. We must commend the reception which has been given us, and it is now our duty to thank you for the care which you have taken of us. I beg you to inform Madame and the Princess Hortense, who are in the neighbourhood of Paris, that the Emperor is well, and to convey the same intelligence to Prince Joseph, who is somewhere in the neighbourhood of Rochefort.

" I herewith send you a copy of the letter written by the Emperor to the Prince Regent ; it is unnecessary to remind you not to show it to any one for fifteen days, at least. You will readily see how inconvenient it would be that its contents should be known before they have been published in the English newspapers.

" Retain, my dear General, an agreeable recollection of me, and accept the renewed assurance of my sentiments of consideration and respect.

" BERTRAND."

On his part, General Beker, whose mission was now at an end, wrote to the minister of war.

" ROCHEFORT, July 15th, 1815.

" MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your excellency, that the mission with which I have been charged by the provisional government, that of accompanying the Emperor to Rochefort, has been, this day, accomplished in the roads of the Isle of Aix, at three o'clock in the morning. His Majesty, convinced of the impossibility of proceeding to America on board a ship of war, disdained to have recourse to any secondary means to favour his voyage to the United States, and has adopted the noble resolution of writing to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent of England, claiming hospitality from him and the English nation.

" In consequence of this determination, the Emperor has gone on board the English ship *Bellerophon*, Captain Maitland, who, by virtue of orders received from his government, has given his Majesty a reception worthy of the high rank which he has occupied among the sovereigns of Europe.

" Should your excellency desire it, I shall have the honour, on my arrival in Paris, to give in a more detailed report of the execution of the orders

confided to me. I confine myself, this evening, to the confirmation of the fact of Napoleon's reception on board a British ship of war, and his departure for Great Britain; this step he has adopted, repeating his anxious wishes for the re-establishment of peace, and the independence of the country.

(Signed)

"COUNT BEKER,  
"Lieutenant-General."

Whilst General Beker's despatch was on its way to announce to Louis XVIII. that he was really King of France, we were pursuing our course towards England.

At ten o'clock in the evening, we fell in with the admiral's ship, coming towards us under full sail. Having made a signal to us to cast anchor, she anchored close alongside the Bellerophon. The admiral came to pay his respects to the Emperor, and to request him to do him the honour to pay him a visit next day on board his ship, which was very appropriately named the *Superb*. The Emperor conversed for a long time with Admiral Hotham, appeared satisfied, and accepted the invitation to breakfast on board the *Superb*.

Every preparation was made on board the admiral's ship, as for a royal entertainment, and the Emperor was received with all the honours usually paid to crowned heads; the admiral and all the officers of the squadron emulating each other in testifying their respect, and we were struck with the great pains which was taken to make us forget our cruel position.

During the passage, the Emperor dictated the following abstract of his position at the Isle of Aix:

"The English squadron was not strong; two corvettes were stationed off the mouth of the Gironde; they blockaded the French corvette, *Bayadère*, and gave chase to the Americans which daily sailed from the river in great numbers. At the Isle of Aix, we had two frigates of the first class, the *Saale* and the *Medusa*, the Corvette *Vulcan*, and the brig *Epervier*. The whole of these were blockaded only by one 74 of small size, and two smaller vessels. Captain Ponét of the *Medusa* offered to force a passage, by engaging single-handed, and at close quarters, with the English ships. There can be no doubt, that by running the risk of sacrificing one or two ships, we might have effected a passage, but Captain Philibert of the *Saale*, who commanded in the roads, refused to concur, and even threatened to use force, if any vessel under his orders should attempt to force a passage. It is probable that this officer had received direct instructions from Fouché, who was already openly acting as a traitor, and wished to use all means to deliver me up to the Bourbons. There was no longer any hope of being able to reach the sea by means of the frigates, said to have been put at my disposal by the provisional government, and I landed on the Isle of Aix.

"The garrison of the Isle of Aix was composed of an admirable regiment of marines, on which I could reckon; the officers had given me assurance of their devotion to my cause.

"The commandant of the island had been one of my former soldiers in Egypt, and the young officers of the navy promised to man the Danish brig, which belonged to the father-in-law of one of them—or two *chasse-marées*—in which they declared themselves ready to make their way through the English blockading ships during the night, and thus to gain the coast of America. It would have been necessary, however, to have touched at some part of the coast of Portugal for supplies, either with the brig, or the *chasse-marées*.

"Under these circumstances I called a privy council, composed of the officers of my suite—informed them of the impossibility of any longer calculating on reaching America by means of the frigates; and after having unreservedly explained to them my position, I requested them to give their opinions on the course which it seemed best to adopt.

"Two courses of action presented favourable chances, to try the fate of arms in France, or to appeal to the hospitality of England.

"In order to commence the former, I could have placed myself at the head of 1,500 marines, full of zeal, and completely devoted to the cause of their leader. They would have conducted me to Rochefort, where I should have been reinforced by the garrison of that city, whose spirit was excellent. The garrison of La Rochelle was also confidently to be reckoned on; it was composed of four battalions of confederates, who had offered their services, and were in a condition to form a junction with General Clausel, who commanded at Bourdeaux, and had protested his inviolable attachment to the cause of the empire; and further, this would have made it easy to unite the armies of La Vendée and the Loire, and to maintain a civil war, if we could not have succeeded in re-entering Paris. But the chambers were dissolved, from 50 to 60,000 foreign bayonets were in France, and were arriving from all sides. Civil war could have had no other result than that of placing me as Emperor in a better position to obtain arrangements more favourable to my personal interests; but I had renounced sovereignty, and only wished for a peaceful asylum; I could not, therefore, consent to expose all my friends to destruction for such a result—to be the cause of the desolation of the provinces, and finally, in a word, to deprive the national party of its true supports, by which, sooner or later, the honour, and independence of France would be established. I only wished to live as a private individual.

"America was the most suitable place—the country of my choice; but finally England itself with her positive laws, might be also a proper asylum. It appeared from the language of Captain Maitland, that the *Bellerophon* would convey me to England, where I should be under the protection of the English laws; and it was reasonable to believe that the English people were too fond of glory, to fail in taking advantage of a circumstance which would form one of the brightest pages in the history of their country. I determined to go on board an English ship: but assuredly I would not have taken this course, had I entertained any suspicion of the unworthy treatment which was reserved for me. My letter to the Prince Regent was a public declaration of my confidence in the generosity of my enemies, and Captain Maitland, to whom it was communicated before my going on board the *Bellerophon*, having made no observation on its contents, by this fact alone recognized and consecrated the sentiments which it contained."

The state cabin was assigned to the Emperor, whilst the ante-room served as a dining-room and as a waiting-room for those who were in attendance. To the right and left of this apartment, two small cabins were hastily constructed, one to resemble a dressing-room, and the other to serve as a sleeping place for the valet-de-chambre. Every night an aide-de-camp slept on a mattress laid across the door of the Emperor's cabin, and the same etiquette was observed on board the *Bellerophon*, as had been done at the Elysée; in this arrangement, Captain Maitland acquiesced. Two sentinels as a guard of honour were stationed, by his orders, at the entrance to the ante-chamber.

Contrary winds rendered the passage from Rochefort to the coast of Eng-

land slow and disagreeable. The Emperor suffered from the sea, without however being really sea-sick.

We remarked, at a later period, that he was never really ill at the worst moments, although always suffering more or less inconvenience, except during those twenty-one days of calm, to which the ship was condemned to submit under the line; on the other hand, almost all of us were grievously ill at the commencement of the passage, but completely sea-worthy before we arrived at Torbay. Count Las Cases alone suffered to the very last in bad weather, probably on account of his age, and the delicacy of his constitution. This circumstance led the Emperor to regret that Las Cases had assumed a naval uniform, which rendered his sea-sickness a continual subject of amusement to the English sailors, and annoyed the Emperor's national *amour-propre*. The Emperor wished him to assume the uniform of a councillor of state, but he told him he had not brought one; and he was obliged, therefore, to adopt the dress of a plain civilian. It was on this occasion, that the Emperor, having observed that he wore only the blue ribbon of the order of *réunion*, took a ribbon of the *legion of honour* from his dressing box, and giving it to him, said—"Place that in your button-hole, if you still recognize in me the right of repairing the wrong of not having conferred it earlier."

Notwithstanding the very respectful and honourable reception given to the Emperor on board the *Bellerophon*, we afterwards knew that there existed, at first, very strong prepossessions against us among the officers, as well as amongst the ship's crew. Several of them acknowledged it as an *amende honorable*, when an intercourse of some days with us had convinced them of their error. None of them had ever been able to approach the Emperor, without being filled with admiration of his goodness, and struck with that greatness of mind of which he gave proofs on every occasion; his calumniators could not, indeed, comprehend his genius; they never tried, but cruelly abused and maligned this great man, by supposing him to be the concentration of all manner of vices and defects; in a word, he was the ogre of our popular fables, living upon human flesh, and reigning merely by the aid of his Mamelukes, *gendarmes*, and secret executions. As to poor Savary, he was a ravenous tiger, stained with the gore of his victims. To such an extent did this impression prevail, that many of the readers of Pelletier's writings could not believe that the Savary whom they saw in the midst of them, was the same Savary whom they knew by name—that is to say, the executor of the great works of the modern hero; and their imaginations, filled with the most atrocious calumnies, invented and circulated in England in all forms by royalist vanity, found it extremely difficult to do homage to simple truth.

The conversions of which we are witnesses were renewed at a later period on board the *Northumberland*, and in St. Helena. It was only necessary for the Emperor to be brought into contact with those who were most strongly prejudiced against him, in order to dissipate their prepossessions and to secure their admiration. Sir Hudson Lowe himself was at times incapable of resisting his seductions, as he has often acknowledged to me with the expression of a hyæna which feels itself unable to burst the fetters by which it is bound.

On the 23d of July, he bade adieu to France; at four o'clock in the morning, Ushant was in sight, and soon after we saw the coast distinctly. In the evening we were in sight of English land. On the 25th, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, the ship cast anchor in Torbay.

General Gourgaud awaited us there; the government had not allowed him to land, and he was a prisoner on board the *Slaney*. In order to prevent him from having any communication with the shore, the sloop was placed in quarantine, to prevent all possible access.

This state of things was a sinister omen of the fate which awaited us, and cast such a dark shade over our thoughts, that we were insensible to the magnificent aspect of the hills among which we were embosomed; we were only roused from our gloom by the immense and endless spectacle of beautiful and elegant women, who saluted us with their pocket-handkerchiefs and shawls, which they transformed into flags as evidences of their sympathy. This revived our hopes that the national feeling would open the gates of England for our reception, or at least force the ministers to allow us to proceed to America.

Such of us as were acquainted with English, endeavoured to ascertain the truth by conversing with such of the officers of the *Bellerophon* as had been led by their duties to be in communication with the shore or with the *Slaney*. Their reserve, however, baffled all our efforts, and gave us multiplied proofs of the manner in which a uniform changes the whole nature of man. The independent character of the English is no longer to be recognized under the epaulette, and so great was the mystery, and the mouths so close, that we could almost have believed ourselves on board one of the Venetian galleys belonging to the Council of Ten. The thoughtful and anxious brow of Captain Maitland was the only indication which betrayed the nature of the news he had received at Torbay.

On the next day, Count Las Cases received a letter through the hands of Captain Maitland, from Lady Clavering in London. This lady was an old and faithful friend of Madame de Las Cases. The secrecy of the letters is the only thing which is inviolable in English policy. With a very few rare exceptions, we cannot say as much for France.

Lady Clavering had heard, by the public papers, of our going on board the *Bellerophon*, and of our expected arrival in England, either at Torbay or Plymouth. She was anxious to send duplicates of the reports which prevailed in London respecting the determination of the government. M. de Las Cases said nothing; he kept to himself the dreadful news which he had learned, of the almost certainty of our deportation to St. Helena. He said nothing even to the Emperor, because, as he often told us, he was not willing to cease to act as comforter.

The Duke of Rovigo, however, received an account from London, of the highest importance, which dissipated every shadow of the illusion under which the Emperor had hitherto laboured.

The privy council had just held a deliberation on the question, whether the terms of the proceedings of the Congress of Vienna prevented England from delivering up the Emperor to the vengeance of Louis XVIII.; and the despatches of the Duke of Wellington urged them to adopt bloody and terrible determinations. The energetic opposition of the Duke of Sussex alone, saved England from the infamy of committing an execrable crime.\*

During the night between the 25th and 26th, the *Bellerophon* weighed anchor, and sailed for Plymouth, where we cast anchor towards noon.

We had scarcely cast anchor, when a number of armed boats proceeded

\* "The Times" of the 24th or 25th of July, 1815, and the "Journal des Debats" of the 30th of the same month, prove the truth of this fact, and were intended to justify beforehand the decisions adopted to deliver the Emperor Napoleon to a court-martial to condemn him to death.

to take their stations like sentinels around the ship, and no one was allowed to approach without a pass from the admiral, and two frigates made signals for sailing.

Admiral Keith communicated all his orders or those of the government by signals—no one came on board. It was no longer possible to be under any illusion respecting our fate, and we would have deemed ourselves fortunate in being able to hope that the Castle of Dumbarton in Scotland, or the Tower of London, might be assigned as the Emperor's prison. St. Helena appeared nothing less than a burning tomb in the midst of the Atlantic.

On the 27th, Captain Maitland informed the grand marshal, that he had just received orders to cause all the officers who no longer constituted a part of the Emperor's personal attendants, and especially the Poles, to be put on board a frigate, and that, probably, Admiral Keith would come during the day to announce the decision of the government.

The admiral, however, having been repeatedly announced by signals, came only for a few minutes, and said nothing. He was hourly expecting orders for himself, which he had not yet received.

On our part, everything was put in requisition to parry the stroke which threatened us. The Duke of Rovigo succeeded in establishing secret communications with an English lawyer, who sent him a variety of notes and documents, in order to guide us in the adoption of a course, which, as he said, would place the Emperor under the protection of the English law, and render it impossible to close the gates of the country against him.

Acting on this advice, the Emperor immediately dictated a protest and a memorandum to Count Las Cases. A sailor, who was a good swimmer, conveyed it to Plymouth by night, and on the next day it was in London, in the hands of a celebrated advocate; and we began again to hope!

At Plymouth, still more than at Torbay, the harbour was covered by boats of all descriptions. The population from ten leagues round came in crowds to hail the illustrious prisoner; and there was nothing but one continual hurrah of acclamation and indications of enthusiasm.

Amongst the rest there was a light yawl, decorated with flowers, which contained a young woman of exquisite beauty and grace, who paid her respects to the Emperor, by lifting up her child in her arms, and presenting to his view her most precious possession. The brutality of one of the guard-boats capsized the yawl, and a general shout of indignation was raised. One of the midshipmen of the *Bellerophon* and several sailors plunged into the sea—the mother was almost immediately rescued from danger—her first cry was for her child; I was attracted by the sound, and well remember the pleasure which I felt on hearing, "The child is saved."

In fact, a midshipman dived into the sea, whilst assistance was directed towards him from all sides. After the lapse of a few moments, the brave youth was taken up by a boat and brought on board the *Bellerophon*, with the child, which he had saved.

This dramatic scene produced such an effect upon our minds, that it served to withdraw us from the contemplation of our own melancholy position.

On the 30th July, Admiral Keith came on board, accompanied by the under-secretary of state, Sir Henry Bunbury, whom the ministry had commissioned to announce their decision to the Emperor. He accordingly handed to him the following extract from the despatch of the Admiralty:

"As it may, perhaps, be convenient for General Bonaparte to learn, with-

out further delay, the intentions of the British government with regard to him, your lordship will communicate the following information.

"It would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country, and the allies of his majesty, if General Bonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account, that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained in his personal liberty, so far as this is required by the foregoing important object.

"The Island of St. Helena has been chosen as his future residence; its climate is healthy, and its local position will allow of his being treated with more indulgence than could be admitted in any other spot, owing to the indispensable precautions which it would be necessary to employ for the security of his person.

"General Bonaparte is allowed to select from amongst those persons who accompanied him to England (with the exceptions of Generals Savary and Lallemand,) three officers, who, together with his surgeon, will have permission to accompany him to St. Helena; these individuals will not be allowed to quit the island without the sanction of the British government.

"Rear-Admiral Sir George Cockburn, who is appointed commander-in-chief at the Cape of Good Hope and the adjacent seas, will convey General Bonaparte and his suite to St. Helena; and he will receive detailed instructions relative to the execution of this service.

"Sir George Cockburn will most probably be ready to sail in a few days; for which reason, it is desirable that General Bonaparte should make choice without delay of the persons who are to accompany him."

The Emperor listened to the reading of the document with profound calmness, and when Lord Keith and Sir Henry Bunbury had ceased speaking, he said to them—

"I am the guest of England, and not her prisoner; I have come of my own accord to place myself under the protection of the English law; in my case, the government has violated the laws of its own country, the law of nations, and the sacred duty of hospitality. I protest against their right to act thus, and appeal to British honour."

The admiral and under-secretary made no other answer than to give a respectful assurance that they would immediately transmit an account of what had just taken place, to the government.

During the evening, Captain Maitland forwarded to the admiral the following letter, which was put into his hands by the grand marshal.

"FROM THE EMPEROR.

"MY LORD,—I have read with attention the extract from the letter which you have communicated to me. I have made you acquainted with my protest—I am not a prisoner of war—I am the guest of England. I have come to this country in the English ship, *Bellerophon*, after having first communicated to Captain Maitland the letter which I had written to the Prince Regent, and received from him the assurance, that his orders prescribed to him the duty of receiving me on board, and conveying myself and my suite to England, if I made such a request. Admiral Hotham afterwards reiterated the assurance. From the moment in which I was received on board the *Bellerophon*, I felt myself under the protection of the laws of your country; I am anxious to live in freedom in the interior of the country, under the protection and *surveillance* of the laws, ready to enter into all such engagements as may be thought desirable or necessary. I have no wish to carry on any correspondence with France, nor to mix myself up in political



affairs. Since my abdication, my intention has always been to become a resident in the United States, or in England.

"I flatter myself, my Lord, that you and the under-secretary of state will make a faithful report of these circumstances.

"It is in the honour of the Prince Regent, and in the protection of the laws of your country, that I have placed, and do place, my confidence.

"NAPOLEON.

"July 31st, 1815."

On the 4th of August, the Emperor, yielding to the advice of Bertrand and Savary, dictated to Count Las Cases a new protest, and commissioned him to be the bearer of it to London; but Captain Maitland, on this point, refused to take the orders even of Lord Keith. It was impossible to obtain from him anything more than the transmission of the simple protest.

#### PROTEST.

"AT SEA, on board the Bellerophon, August 4th, 1815.

"In the face of God and man, I solemnly protest against the injury which has been committed upon me, by the violation of my most sacred rights, in forcibly disposing of my person and liberty. I came freely on board the Bellerophon, and am not a prisoner. I am the guest of England, and am come hither even at the recommendation of the captain, who has stated that he had orders from the government to receive me, and convey me to England with my suite, if that was agreeable to me. I presented myself in good faith, and came to place myself under the protection of the laws of England. As soon as I set my foot on board the Bellerophon, I felt myself on the soil of the British people. If the orders issued by the government to the captain of the Bellerophon, to receive myself and my suite, were merely intended as a snare, then they have forfeited their honour, and tarnished the glory of their flag.

"If such an act was really done, it would be in vain for England in future to speak of her faith, her laws and her liberty. British faith will have perished in the hospitality of the Bellerophon.

"I appeal to history: it will say, that an enemy, who for twenty years carried on war against the English people, came, in the day of his misfortune, to seek an asylum under her laws, and what more splendid proof could he give of his confidence and esteem? But how did England respond to such magnanimity? She pretended to offer the hand of hospitality to her enemy, and when he trusted to her fidelity, she immolated him.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

From the middle of the night, we were under sail, plunging through a raging sea in order to reach Start Bay, the place of *rendezvous* indicated by signals, there to wait the arrival of the Northumberland, which was being prepared for sea with all haste at Portsmouth.

The government was anxious at any cost to prevent the Emperor from remaining longer in contact with the population. Their attitude caused the government uneasiness, as it was not easy to see how far their usual influence might extend over the crew of our ship; officers and sailors unanimously and loudly testified their indignation at the ungenerous breach of hospitality.

The anchorage in Start Bay is bad, and we were horribly tossed about by

the waves, and for many days dreadful sea sickness diverted our minds from our sufferings.

Towards the close of the day, the Northumberland and two frigates filled with troops cast anchor by our side.

Immediately afterwards, Lord Keith came on board the *Bellerophon*, accompanied by Admiral Sir George Cockburn, whom he presented to the Emperor, and who was the bearer of a communication, by virtue of which, he was about to convey him to St. Helena.

The instructions of Lord Bathurst, minister of the colonies, gave directions to subject the baggage to the most minute examination, and required the surrender to the admiral of all money or articles of value in gold or diamonds; our arms were to be demanded as from prisoners of war.

This last point gave rise to one of those silent but sublime scenes, to which my pen is wholly unable to do justice, but the impressiveness of which every one will understand by reading the simple but faithful narration of what took place.

The admirals had been received by the Emperor in the state-cabin. Bertrand and myself stood behind, with our backs to the stern windows.

General Gourgaud remained by the starboard guns, prepared for any event. The Emperor, a few feet in front of us, appeared to expect that he had only to receive their adieus, when Lord Keith, at length resigning himself to the execution of an order which was at variance with the whole of his long and brilliant military career, approached the Emperor, and said in a voice subdued by lively emotion—"England demands your sword."

The Emperor by a convulsive movement placed his hand upon that sword, which an Englishman dared to demand—the terrible expression of his eye was the only reply; never had it been more powerful or more penetrating. The old admiral was astounded, his tall figure shrunk, his head, white with years, fell upon his breast like that of a criminal shrinking before the sentence of his judge.

The Emperor retained his sword.

The two admirals saluted the Emperor with a respect accompanied by deep emotion, and withdrew, without uttering a word to disturb the solemn impression which the scene had made upon all beholders, English as well as French.

The baggage was not examined till we were on board the *Northumberland*. This duty was then performed by the secretary of Sir George Cockburn; and for form's sake, each of us surrendered what he pleased of the money which he carried.

The grand marshal gave up 4,000 Napoleons, as constituting the Emperor's chest; we kept secret about 400,000 francs in gold, from 3 to 400,000 francs in valuables and diamonds; and letters of credit for more than 4,000,000 francs.

It was now become the duty of the Emperor to select those who were to accompany him—we expected his decision with anxiety—all of us, with the exception of one poor lady, who was for a moment agitated by painful regrets, were eager to give proofs of our devotedness, and to show that our attachment was to his person, and not to his sceptre; and the more ingratitude and defection we had seen, the greater honour we attached to the privilege of being allowed to follow his fortunes.

Savary having been excluded by the ministry, was in despair. He loved the Emperor with all his heart, and with such affection, that I can compare it to nothing else than that of a dog for his master. Lallemand was

reminded of his condemnation; he thought he was about to be delivered up to the vengeance of the royalists, but he contemned death, and said, smiling, "May the devil carry off those who, at the Isle of Aix, preached up to us the hospitality of the English!"

"Come, Savary, what will you do? We have during twenty years so often escaped this inevitable death, that it must at last overtake us; my only embarrassment is this—I should rather have been killed by a Mameluke at the Pyramids, or by an Englishman at Waterloo, than by a Frenchman on the plain of Grenelle." I felt thoroughly happy when the Emperor, having sent for me, said to me, affectionately:

"Montholon, I have selected you without speaking to you, because I reckoned on you; Bertrand does not hesitate this time. Count Las Cases has begged me to accept of him—do you know him? His conversation pleases me; he appears to be very well informed, and I believe him to be devoted to my cause. What a singular destiny has his been!—twenty-four years ago, he emigrated, disguised as a jockey, in the suite of Louis XVIth's family; and now he is my chamberlain, going into voluntary exile with me! Bring him in."

General Gourgaud would not on any account quit the Emperor; as an officer of artillery, he had attracted the Emperor's notice on several battle-fields, and especially at Wagram. I had, since that battle, been attached to his person as first officer of ordnance.

The Emperor obtained permission from Admiral Keith to consider M. de Las Cases as private secretary, and he consequently became one of the officers.

When once the destiny of each of us was fixed, a few hours of calm succeeded our cruel anxieties; everything appeared to be in its original state—so true is it, that we French accommodate ourselves instantaneously to our good, as to our evil fortune.

I feel it my duty to notify the instructions given by the government to Rear-Admiral Cockburn, and by Admiral Keith to Captain Maitland.

#### ORDERS FROM ADMIRAL KEITH TO CAPTAIN MAITLAND, Commander of his Majesty's ship *Bellerophon*.

"IN ROADS, at Start Bay, August 6, 1815.

"All arms of every description are to be taken from the French, of whatever rank, who are on board his Majesty's ship under your command; the arms are to be carefully collected, and to remain under your charge, as long as the French remain on board the *Bellerophon*; they will afterwards be under the charge of the captain of the ship to which the said individuals may be transferred."

This order was not fully executed; our swords were left us, and only the fire-arms were taken.

#### INSTRUCTIONS OF MINISTERS TO ADMIRAL COCKBURN.

"When General Bonaparte leaves the *Bellerophon* to go on board the *Northumberland*, it will be the most suitable time for Admiral Cockburn to have the effects examined, which General Bonaparte may have brought with him.

"The admiral will allow the baggage, wines, and provisions, which the General may have brought with him, to be taken on board the *Northum-*

berland. Among the baggage his table service shall be understood to be included, unless his plate be so considerable, as to seem rather an article to be converted into ready money than for real use.

"His money, his diamonds, and his saleable effects, (including bills of exchange,) of whatever kind they may be, must be delivered up. The admiral will declare to the General, that the British government by no means intends to confiscate his property, but merely to take upon itself the administration of his effects, to hinder him from using them as a means to promote his escape. The examination shall be made in the presence of a person named by General Bonaparte; the inventory of the effects to be retained shall be signed by this person, as well as by the rear-admiral, or by the person whom he shall appoint to draw up the inventory. The interest on the principal (as his property is more or less considerable) shall be applied to his support, and in this respect the principal arrangement is to be left to him. For this purpose he can, from time to time, signify his wishes to the admiral, till the arrival of the new governor of St. Helena, and afterwards to the latter; and if no objection is made to this proposal, the admiral or the governor can give the necessary orders, and the disbursements will be paid in bills on his Majesty's treasury.

"In case of death, he can dispose of his property by a last will, and may be assured, that the contents of his testament shall be faithfully executed. As an attempt might be made to make a part of his property pass for the property of the persons of his suite, it must be signified that the property of his attendants is subject to the same regulation.

"The admiral is not to take any person on board for St. Helena, without the consent of such person, to whom he is previously to explain the necessity of being subjected to all the regulations which it may be thought proper to establish for securing the person of the General. It must be made known to the General, that if he make any attempt to escape, he will expose himself to close imprisonment; and that any of his suite who may be discovered in endeavouring to facilitate his escape will incur the same punishment.\*

"All letters which shall be addressed to him or to any of his suite, are to be delivered in the first place to the admiral, or the governor, who is to read them previously to transmitting them; the same regulation is to be observed with respect to letters written by the General, or the persons of his suite.

"The General is to be informed that the governor and the admiral have received positive orders to forward to his Majesty's government any request or representation he may think proper to make; nothing is left to their discretion on this point: but the paper on which such representations shall be written is to remain open, in order that they may subjoin such observations as they may think expedient.

"A true copy.

"To Admiral Sir George Cockburn."

The surgeon, M. Meugeaux, was so much alarmed at the idea of being subjected to the rigorous orders of these instructions, that he was half-distracted, and declared plainly that nothing in the world should persuade him to set out for St. Helena. He was, probably, the only person in the suite of the Emperor whom the English did not wish to take the responsibility

\* The Bill of 1816 threatens the pain of death against any one who should favor the escape of the Emperor.

of removing. The admiral did all in his power to restore him to reason, but in vain, and M. Meugeaux quitted us.

Mr. O'Meara, surgeon in the *Bellerophon*, spoke very little French, but very good Italian; he had shown a lively interest in us, and now offered to replace M. Meugeaux.

The Emperor had often remarked him during the voyage from the Isle of Aix to England, and had even questioned him several times, with interest, concerning the various circumstances of Sir Sydney Smith's intervention in the affairs of Egypt, knowing that at this period Mr. O'Meara had been surgeon on board the *Tiger*, the admiral's ship of the squadron cruising on the coast of Egypt, during the campaign of 1798 and 1799.

The admiral, at the request of the Emperor, hastened to take the orders of the Admiralty, who granted to Mr. O'Meara unlimited leave, with full pay, and permission to accompany General Bonaparte to St. Helena, in the exercise of the medical profession.

## CHAPTER V.

## THE NORTHUMBERLAND.

TOWARDS two o'clock in the afternoon, the Emperor, accompanied by the persons designed to form his suite in St. Helena, quitted the Bellerophon and went on board the Northumberland. This time no royal honours awaited him, nothing but respect, and an extreme affectation of formal politeness. The orders of government were positive. *It was General Bonaparte, chief of the French government, and not the Emperor Napoleon*, whom Admiral Sir George Cockburn was charged to conduct to, and retain as a prisoner in St. Helena, paying him the greatest military honours after those due to sovereigns. With regard to us, orders were given to accord the honours due to our various ranks in the army.

Everything was in confusion on board the Northumberland, which was quite dismayed when the minister resolved on sending the Emperor to St. Helena, and when it was found to be impracticable to send the Bellerophon on so long a voyage, as she was a very old ship.

The Northumberland had, consequently, just been repaired; ten days had served to rig, arm, and equip her, and to bring her from the docks at Portsmouth into the roads at Start Bay; but the painting, the interior arrangements, and all the luxuries in the victualling department, yet remained to be attended to. The evening call showed that there were 1,080 persons on board, including two companies of picked men, and the staff officers of the 53rd foot. Captain Ross was the commander of this splendid vessel (of 80 tons); he was an officer of merit, and an amiable and obliging man; he paid all of us those little attentions which are so gratifying, and, to do him justice, never reminded us, by any of his actions, that we were prisoners on board his ship.

The space between decks had been divided into several chambers, for the accommodation of the Emperor and the admiral; in the centre were the saloon and dining-room; on the right and on the left a bed-room, communicating both with the saloon and dining-room. A mechanical bed, made in order to avoid feeling the rolling motion of the vessel, had been erected in the chamber destined for the Emperor, but he did not use it, preferring his ordinary camp-bed. This camp-bed was made of iron, and could be folded after the manner of an umbrella, with two mattresses, a pillow, the coverlets, sheets and curtains, in a leathern case, one metre high, and 0,45 centi-metres in diameter, which could be instantly attached to a carriage, like a portmanteau; during a campaign, a sumpter-mule carried it, along with his tent and its furniture. The curtains were of green taffeta, the mattresses and the coverlet made of wadded silk; nothing could be lighter or more convenient.

During the whole time of his sojourn in St. Helena, the Emperor never slept on any other bed.

His chamber on board the Northumberland was furnished in the same manner as his tent on the banks of the Moscowa had been. Since his departure from Aix he had re-assumed the green uniform of the chasseurs of

his guard; he continued to wear it during the whole voyage. Lord Lowther and Mr. Littleton had, I know not why, obtained permission to be on the deck of the Northumberland when we arrived. They were presented by the admiral, and had the honour of attracting the attention of the Emperor, who conversed a long time with them on the deck.

It would be very difficult for me to express the astonishment and admiration of these gentlemen; they were astonished at the Emperor's extensive acquaintance with the social organization and resources of England. All that they saw and heard formed a perfect contrast with the false ideas which they had taken up with respect to the person and politics of Napoleon, before they had either seen or heard him. What interested them above all was, to hear, from his own mouth, that he had constantly endeavoured to unite the two nations in the bonds of friendship and mutual interest, only demanding for France the sceptre of the continent, and leaving to England that of the seas.

During the few moments that we saw them, after the conference, they both exclaimed—“*Nothing would have been more easy than to come to an understanding with your Emperor! We never wished for more than what he himself acknowledges to be our right, and we shall surely some day regret having twice brought Louis XVIII. back to Paris; for these Bourbons are always the same; they acknowledge now that they owe us their crown, because they need us still, but as soon as they think themselves strong, they will become ungrateful.*”

With respect to Admiral Sir George Cockburn, he must have been in his youth a very handsome man; his countenance was open, and his eye sometimes full of fire.

Severity was with him a habit, because, as an honest man and good soldier, he pardoned neither want of probity, breach of discipline, nor cowardice. He possessed intelligence and a good natural understanding. The Emperor would never have had to complain of him, had the instructions of the English government been dictated with less hatred, and with less contempt of all human respect and the rights of nations.

Two frigates and seven brigs, or sloops-of-war, successively joined the Northumberland, most of them having troops on board.

On the 9th of August, the admiral gave orders for getting under sail, and a few moments afterwards the whole squadron was under weigh, tacking in order to get out of the British Channel.

Several times did the shores of France appear before our eyes, as a vague and formless shadow appears in a dream, when the mind and thoughts are touched by a feverish impression; but, just as our hope of recognizing or of seeing distinctly some points of the coast was about to be realized, the cursed signal to tack was to us as the awaking which destroys the illusion of a pleasant dream.

Once, however, while the Emperor was taking his accustomed walk on the deck, the coast of Brittany threw off the clouds which concealed it, and presented itself to our eyes, as if to receive our last adieux. France! France! was the spontaneous cry which resounded from one end of the deck to the other.

The Emperor stood still, looked at the coast, and, taking off his hat, said, with emotion—

“*Farewell! Land of the brave, I salute thee! Farewell! France—farewell!*”

The emotion was electric; even the English involuntarily uncovered themselves with religious respect.

From this moment we saw no more land till we cast anchor at Madeira, in the roads of Funchal, for the purpose of completing the stock of provisions necessary, as well for our table on board, as for the wants of the establishment at St. Helena during some little time, for the admiral had already been several times at James Town, and knew by experience that he should find no resources there.

The aspect of Funchal is picturesque; the town is built on the slope of the mountains, and the ranges of houses rise one above another, like rows of flower-pots on stands.

We had for a moment hoped that we should be allowed to satisfy our curiosity, and that we should, at least, be permitted to approach the landing-place in one of the Northumberland's boats; but nothing of the kind; no one belonging to the ship was allowed to disembark, or to hold any communication with the land, except Mr. Glover, the admiral's secretary, and the purveyor for the ship. These two persons were taken to Funchal in a boat belonging to the frigate Havanna. Mr. Glover promised to execute all our commissions, for the purchase of various articles of the toilet, indispensable in a long voyage, and of linen especially.

No washing is allowed on board; the water is distributed in rations, and is very often so much spoiled that it smells badly; the Northumberland, however, carried her provisions in iron vessels, and the admiral had had several hundred bottles of water, hermetically sealed, put on board for the use of the Emperor and of his suite.

During the night a terrible gale of wind threatened to cast our ship on the coast. The admiral gave orders to weigh the anchor and stand out to sea, but we were hardly under sail, when two of the masts were broken, and our inexperience of accidents at sea would very probably have led us to think ourselves, at least, in great danger of shipwreck, had the promptitude with which all this mischief was repaired, allowed us to be aware of it; and, in truth, the discipline and *sang froid* which always reigned in the Northumberland were admirable.

On the next morning we awoke again in sight of Funchal, at the same point which we had left in the night—one might almost have believed that all the events of the past night had been but a dream.

At the commencement of the storm, the admiral had expressed a wish that none of us should be on deck; but he perceived my curiosity, and I was allowed to remain the whole time on the quarter-deck with Captain Ross. I only quitted it to go and apprise the Emperor of the state of things.

From the moment that the Emperor set foot on the Northumberland, he formed for himself entirely new habits; he constantly opposed the most noble resignation to the effects of Lord Bathurst's instructions, and perhaps by this means doubly obtained the respect and admiration of all the English who had the honour to approach him; not one of them could resist the magical influence of his actions and words—and every day we remarked the admiral advancing a step nearer to the conduct which he would doubtless have assumed from the first, if his instructions had prescribed to him respect for crowned heads, instead of the severity of a *gen-d'arme* who is answerable for his prisoner.

The Emperor breakfasted in his room, and did not appear among the



English till about four o'clock, when he passed into the saloon, and amused himself with a game of chess or picquet till the admiral came to pay his respects to him, and to take him to dinner.

An English dinner would have been too long for his habits—from the first, he rose at the time when ladies in England quit the table, and went to walk on the deck.

The admiral hesitated a moment—we all rose—and the English followed our example; the Emperor begged them to reseat themselves, and took the grand marshal alone with him.

From that day forward he continued this habit during the whole voyage; we each took our turn to follow him to the deck.

The Emperor almost always conversed during his walk on the deck with the officers, and often with the crew of the vessel. He questioned them about the actions in which they had been, and about the organization of the navy, and always astonished them by his own knowledge. He chose for an interpreter some young midshipman who spoke French, or Mr. O'Meara, or sometimes even a sailor or a soldier; for several of these were from Jersey, and spoke French perfectly well. There were also several Italians from the Ionian Isles or from Malta, whom he liked to call and employ as interpreters.

One day he perceived the master of the vessel, who, not having the honour of an epaulette, although responsible for the safe conduct of the vessel, as a pilot would be, avoided coming in his way.

He walked straight to him, questioned him about his rank and functions on board, conversed long with him, and concluded by saying to him, "Come and dine with me to-morrow."

The astonished master could not believe that the invitation was not a malicious trick of the midshipman who interpreted—it was obliged to be repeated to him, accompanied by an explanation of the Emperor's custom of honouring merit in whatever rank he found it. "But," said the poor man, quite overcome with so much honour, "the admiral and my captain will not like a master to sit at their table."

"Very well," answered the Emperor, "if they do not, so much the worse for them; you shall dine with me in my cabin."

This was a pleasure to the whole crew, and formed the subject of general conversation among us.

When the admiral rejoined the Emperor, and learned what had just passed, he affected much graciousness in assuring him, that any one invited by him to the honour of sitting at his table, was by this circumstance alone placed above all rules of discipline and of etiquette, and sending for the master, he assured him that he would be welcome to dinner next day. From this day forward, the crew, the squadron, and all the soldiers of the 53d regiment, were to the Emperor what French soldiers and French sailors would have been.

On the 1st of September, we were off the Cape Verde Islands. It was a great joy to us when Captain Ross informed us, during dinner, that we should see land before sunset, but much greater was our regret, when the wind, becoming violent, obliged us to stand out to sea, without having caught a glimpse of this promised and much desired land; happily, before night, one of the brigs was able to discover it, and to confirm by its observations, the exactness of the admiral's calculations—for some calculations placed us to windward of the isles, and if this opinion had prevailed, and the admiral, instead of struggling against the wind, had gone with it, we

might readily have run aground without having been able to see the land, which was concealed from us by compact masses of clouds. The least novelty is a god-send during the tedious days of a long voyage—every one seizes upon it eagerly in order to renew the interest of conversation.

This occurrence gave an opportunity to the officers of the Northumberland of vaunting their skill, and I am not sure that there was not a little sarcasm directed against our navy in the great care which they took to recount to us the thousand and one examples of perils from which their skill or their valour had preserved them.

The Emperor having asked the admiral how many chronometers the Admiralty allotted to a ship of war, and whether it required merchant vessels to be provided with them, the conversation took another turn, and led the Emperor to speak of his efforts to supply France with a navy suitable to the importance of its commercial relations: "Unfortunately," said he, "I found nobody who understood me. During the expedition to Egypt, I had cast my eyes on Decrés—his intelligence pleased me. I reckoned upon him for understanding and executing my projects with regard to the navy. I was mistaken; his passion was to form a police, and to find out, by means of the smugglers, every web which your ministers, or the intriguers of Hartwell, were weaving against me; and then he always proceeded on a system of *coterie*, the navy of Brest against that of Toulon—no enlarged ideas—always the spirit of locality and of insignificant detail—paralysing my views. I was obliged to give myself great trouble in order to send a small squadron of frigates to drive your commerce from India and from the Antilles; the old routine always obtained the upper hand; I should have done you a great deal of mischief, had I been obeyed, but I was too much taken up with land affairs to be able to think of the navy otherwise than by fits; what I have done will be known, if ever my correspondence with Decrés is published.

"The navy of Louis XVI. was no longer in existence when I took the government into my hands—the republic possessed only four vessels of the line: The taking of Toulon, the battle of the river Jènes, in 1793—of Rochefort, in 1794—and finally, the battle of Aboukir, had given the death-blow to the navy. Well! notwithstanding the disaster of Trafalgar, which I owe solely to the disobedience of Admiral Villeneuve, I left to France one hundred vessels of the line, eighty thousand sailors and soldiers—and all this in a reign of ten years, and whilst I had to struggle against a coalition of the great powers of Europe.\*

\* The Emperor might have added, that he had resolved upon the destruction of the humiliating system of piracy of the States of Barbary, for proof of this is found in his correspondence with Decrés, his minister of maritime affairs.

"MONSIEUR DECRES.—Consider the expedition to Algiers as much in a maritime as in a land point of view: one foot in Africa will give England something to think of. Is there a port on this coast where a fleet would be under the protection of a superior force? What would be the ports by means of which the army, once disembarked, could be revictualled? and how many different ports would the enemy be able to block up? In Egypt there is scarcely any port but that of Alexandria; Rosetta was a very dangerous port, and yet it was reckoned.

"Here I think there must be a dozen. How many frigates, brigs, or barges can they contain? Could Gantheaume's squadron enter the port of Algiers, and would it there be under the protection of a superior force? At what season is the plague no longer to be feared, and the air good? I suppose in October. After having studied the expedition to Algiers, study that to Tunis. Write confidentially to Gantheaume, who, before coming to Paris, may collect information; this information may extend to Oran, and apply to land and sea. The points to be determined by land are, whether there are water and roads? I suppose this expedition would require 20,000 men. You understand that the enemy would suppose it to be intended for Sicily, and would be greatly baffled if, instead of that, it proceeded to Algiers.

"I ceded to England the sceptre of the seas, but I required that she should respect the French flag on the sea, as an Emperor of Austria and of Russia had learned from me to respect it on land.

"The treaty of Paris has destroyed all that I did for the navy—centuries will, perhaps, elapse, before my work is recommenced—your power on sea no longer experiences any control; and if it is true that Louis XVIII. said he owed his crown to the Prince Regent, the latter might say with as much truth, 'I owe the empire of the seas to the Count d'Artois, who, at the instigation of Talleyrand, signed, without any necessity, the sacrifice of the finest squadrons France ever had.' In short, the treaty of Paris is such a betrayal of the French interest, that Louis XVIII. executed it as a thing done, but never ratified it with his signature."

Unfortunately for us, these outpourings of the Emperor's thoughts were very rare: he generally confined his conversation to some words of politeness, or of curiosity respecting our route; sometimes, however, he gave rise to scientific discussions, by asking questions respecting India or China.

On the 23rd of September, 1815, we crossed the line, by one of those singular hazards which sometimes occur, at latitude 0°—longitude 0°—declination 0°; that is to say, the vessel, conducted by a west wind, which had blown for several days, came under the line exactly at mid-day, at the first meridian, and on the day of the equinox.\*

The passage of the line occasions a great merry-making, and a kind of saturnalia among the sailors; all is confusion—overturning of the natural order of things on board.

The boatswain represents Neptune; he is sovereign for a few hours, and no one is exempted by his rank from receiving baptism—a kind of grotesque homage to be rendered to the monarch of the seas by any one who has not before passed the line.

Neptune exhibited towards us a very gracious respect; he exempted us from the ceremonies of shaving and of baptism; and when each of us, conducted by our godfathers for the time being, were presented to him, he told us that we had too often received the baptism of fire and of glory, to require another baptism before becoming his friends; and when the ceremony was concluded, he asked to be allowed the honour of making

"I do not require an answer from you before the end of a month; but, during this time, gather such materials that there may be no 'buts'—'ifs'—'in cases.' Send one of your discreet engineers in a brig to talk to Monsieur Chainville—but he must be a man of tact and talent; he should also understand a good deal of maritime affairs, and must commit his observations to writing, in order that he may not bring us back any idle reveries. You might even arrange with Sauson in order to have a fit person. You will find information in the archives of foreign affairs and of war: have search made in these archives and in yours. Information on this subject has been demanded in France. NAPOLEON."

\* The angle which the direction of a magnetic needle forms with the meridian of the place is the measure of the declination. According to M. Arago, the declination was at Paris, in 1816,  $22^{\circ} 25' 0''$ . In order to measure the inclination, it is necessary that the magnetic needle be suspended like the beam of a pair of scales. The angle which the needle thus suspended makes with the horizon is the angle of inclination. In 1817, at Paris, the angle of inclination, according to M. Duperrey, was  $68^{\circ} 28' 25''$ . In proportion as we approach the equator, the inclination diminishes; but the line which would mark upon the globe all those points at which the inclination is  $0^{\circ}$ , and which is called the line of no inclination, does not coincide with the equator. These two lines, however, cut one another in two points. The island of St. Thomas is situated  $0^{\circ} 29' N.$  lat., and  $4^{\circ} 24' E.$  long. meridian of Paris. The meridian of Greenwich is  $0^{\circ} 9' 21''$  different from that of Paris. The observations of Captain Sabine, made in 1822, gave at that time an inclination of  $0^{\circ} 6'$  for the island of St. Thomas. The declination as well as the inclination vary each year: if the observation was correctly made on board of the ship which conveyed the Emperor to his place of exile, the coincidence of zero lat., zero long., and zero inclination, is an extraordinary fact, which will not soon occur again.

acquaintance with the demi-god, called General Bonaparte; the Emperor graciously consented to the presentation, and gave through the grand marshal, 500 napoleons to Neptune, in order that he and all his court might drink to his health; this was a signal for deafening hurras and cries of "Long live the *Emperor Napoleon!*"

The Admiral and Captain Ross did not venture to oppose this royal liberality, but they feared, and with justice, the consequences of it, knowing that all this money, to the last farthing, would be expended in drink. The captain formed a clever plan; he congratulated the monarch of the seas on his good fortune, and harangued him so well, that poor Neptune called to mind the flogging which would next Monday await those who became intoxicated, and offered to deposit the 500 napoleons in the hands of his captain, to be returned to him on the discharging of the crew, on this one condition—namely, that an extra quantity of rum should be given out, as a ratification of the treaty.

This plan was a wise one, for, even notwithstanding it, Neptune and twenty of his subjects of a day would have been cruelly flogged next Monday, so intoxicated had they been, if we had not obtained their pardon from the admiral.

The English do not punish as we do by the immediate decision of a superior in rank: with them the right of the superior only extends to taking a note of the fault of his inferior, without inserting it in his daily report; a council of discipline, presided over by the commanding officer, judges the criminal, after having heard him; in this way nothing is left to the arbitrariness, malice, ill-humour, or false judgment of the superior.

The organization is the same in the army.

The Emperor remarked it several times, and expressed regret that he had not given to the French army this disciplinarian organization.

Calms kept us inactive under the line for twenty-one days; murmurs were beginning to grow rather loud when the most experienced seamen announced the approach of a breeze. Sir George Cockburn had followed an unusual route: instead of crossing to the coast of Brazil, he had persuaded himself by the experience of past voyages, that it was better to keep constantly near the coast of Africa, and that in this way a shorter and less difficult voyage would be secured; he was, however, mistaken, for a frigate and two brigs, which had been separated from us during the early part of the voyage by a violent gale of wind, and which followed the usual track, arrived at St. Helena sixteen or seventeen days before the Northumberland.

Any vessel in sight causes emotion at sea—how much more a sloop of war, with a white flag, advancing full sail towards us; the admiral made a signal to the brig to tack towards it, and we soon learned that this sloop, returning from Pondicherry, had approached us, and that its commander appointed in 1814, had gone on board the English brig, in order to find out where he was.

This officer was an old *émigré*, and having, after thirty years' inaction, re-entered the navy, was unfitted, both by his age and by his having forgotten his profession, to command a vessel; but he would not confess this before his officers—in fact he did not know where he was. A false self-love made him thus prefer confessing his ignorance to Englishmen, rather than deliver up to Frenchmen of the empire, who served under him, the care of conducting the sloop. The poor man had got wrong several degrees of latitude and longitude. While we were at St. Helena, another

French sloop was lost on the coast of Africa, from the same cause—the incapacity of its commander, also an old *émigré*.

Every day when the weather permitted, the captain of one of the vessels of the squadron was invited to dine on board the Northumberland.

The captain of the brig Griffin enjoyed this honour the most frequently; either because he had served long with Sir George Cockburn, or that he was more interested in coming, and contrived matters so as to be always nearer than the rest to the admiral's vessel. He was a very honest fellow, and showed sympathy towards us; his name was Wright.

His name struck the Emperor: "Are you a relation," he asked one day, "of the Captain Wright, whom your libellers accuse me of having strangled?"

"Yes, Sire," answered he, "and by my faith, I should be curious to know from you how the poor devil killed himself, for I never believed that you had him hung without reason."

"Well, I will tell you," answered the Emperor. "Captain Wright commanded the brig which during four months, had been landing on the steep shores of Béville, the accomplices of Georges, Coster, St. Victor Lahage, and St. Hilaire, who had already figured in the plot of the infernal machine. They concealed themselves by day in farms or country houses, forming stations between Paris and the coast; they had a great deal of money, paid largely and easily corrupted poor peasants; one named Mekée de la Fouché, whom your ministers paid to favour conspiracies, but who had sold himself to my police, gave the first information concerning these disembarkments, and the secret object of the cruise of Captain Wright's brig.

"I was weary of all these intrigues and resolved to put an end to them. I ordered the records of the police to be brought: one evening, when I was turning them over, I remarked, I know not why, the name of a young man, named Guéral, calling himself a student of medicine; I ordered him to be immediately brought before a council of war, to be watched with care, and notice to be taken of all his words. My foresight was just; he confessed everything after his condemnation to death, and, in order to gain his pardon, detailed all the smallest particulars of the plot.

"Savary received orders to proceed to the places indicated, accompanied by disguised *gens-d'armes*: he surprised a party, disembarking. At this same time, Captain Wright, a description of whom had been sent to all the different points of the coast, ventured to set his foot on land; he was immediately arrested, conducted to Paris, and imprisoned in the Temple.

"I might have had him included in the number of the accomplices of Georges, and have had him judged and condemned along with them; I did not do it; I would have kept him in prison till the peace, but grief and remorse overwhelmed him—he committed suicide; and you English ought to be less astonished than any other people at such an occurrence, because amongst you suicide is almost a national habit.

"Your ministers seized this opportunity to accuse me of a crime, as in the case of Pichegru, although they knew very well that Pichegru's presence before a criminal tribunal would have been a hundred times more advantageous to my cause than his death. But it mattered little to them to lie to their own consciences—it was one calumny more.

"Your ministers will not always be able to impose on the English people with respect to me: sooner or later your nation will render me justice, and the English will be the first to take my part, and avenge the savage hatred of their ministers.

"Notwithstanding all their libels, I fear nothing for my renown; posterity will render me justice: it will compare the good which I have done with the faults which I have committed; I do not fear the result. If I had succeeded, I should die with the reputation of being the greatest man who ever existed; from being nothing, I became, by my own exertions, the most powerful monarch of the universe, without committing any crimes. If crime had been in accordance with my opinions, neither Louis XVIII. nor Ferdinand would now reign: many times have their heads been offered to me for a price, and their death has been daily put forward to me as advisable. I refused; I do not regret it. My ambition was great, I confess it, but it *rested* on the opinion of the masses; I have always thought that sovereignty resides in the people; the empire, as I had organized it, was but a great republic. Called to the throne by the voice of the people, my maxim has always been, '*a career open to talent*, without distinction of birth;' and it is for this system of equality that the European oligarchy detests me. And yet, in England, talent and great services raise a man to the highest rank—you should have understood me."

The Englishmen listened with all their ears, and the expression of their countenances showed the effect produced upon them. We were all really sorry when the Emperor abruptly ceased speaking, rose from table and went up on the deck to take his usual after-dinner walk. The first person he saw there was the clergyman—a kind of original, whom the young people amused themselves by turning into ridicule: the Emperor sent for him—spoke of religion to him, and placing him thus on the field of his true worth, found some pleasure in changing his questions into a regular controversy. From that day forward no one ventured to ridicule the poor man; the Emperor had raised him in the eyes of all, and thenceforth his theological knowledge compensated for the absurdity of his face and manners.

A negro in the sea, and the taking of a shark,\* were the only two events which broke the monotony of the voyage from this day till the 15th of October, when, during dinner-time, the look-out announced St. Helena.

In sitting down to table, the Admiral had said to the Emperor, "This evening you will see land."

\* This was the beginning of the Emperor's working on his memoirs; a work which was commenced on the 9th of September, on which day he caused the siege of Toulon to be written, from his dictation, by Count Las Cases. The day after, he dictated to myself the 13th Vendémiaire, and on the 28th of October following, he dictated to Bertrand the first chapter of the campaign of Egypt.

## CHAPTER VI.

## SAINT HELENA.

ON the 16th of October, 1815, the Nothumberland cast anchor in the roadstead of St. Helena, at a short distance from the village which the pride of the islanders has called James Town.

On the 17th, the Emperor disembarked—sad anniversary of a sad day! Two years before, and almost at the same hour that Napoleon set foot on the land of his exile, France had lost the battle of Leipzig.

The house of M. Poitevin had been got ready in haste, under the directions of the Admiral and the Grand Marshal, to receive us for a time. It is agreeably situated at the entrance of James Town. Two pretty but very small rooms on the first floor, composed the lodging of the Emperor. We immediately caused his iron bedstead to be conveyed thither, and in a very short time after his arrival he was settled as he had been on board ship, making use only of articles belonging to himself. We established ourselves in various parts of the house, as we best could, thinking only of the pleasure of being once more on shore, and of being together *en famille*. All the English had left us.

The island of St. Helena is 2,000 leagues from Europe; 900 leagues from any continent, and 1,200 leagues from the Cape of Good Hope. It is a volcanic formation, in the midst of the Atlantic, 15° 55' S. lat., and 5° 46' W. long. Its peak, called Diana's peak, raises its dark summit to a height of 3,000 feet above the level of the sea, and is seen at a distance of sixty miles. The soil of the island consists of lava, cooled at different degrees of fusion, and ploughed up with deep ravines. A fruitful mould is only to be found in places where it has been carried by the hands of men, with the exception, perhaps, of a few valleys; some small portions of wood crown the lower summits of Diana's peak; everywhere else, what appears from a distance to be wood, is merely a sort of wild broom, imported from Ireland by an Irishman who wished to make use of it as firewood, and sown on a farm which he endeavoured, without success to establish at Longwood. In a few years this plant covered all the sides of the ravines round about. The East India Company has also made some useless attempts on the plain of Longwood: we, at least, have found no mark of cultivation to be compared to that of the worst farm in Poland.

Everywhere that the lava and the scoria have not been left bare—this is a greyish matter, somewhat similar in colour to potter's clay, and has in some places acquired sufficient consistency to be used instead of soft stones in the building of houses—it can be cut with a knife like chalk. It does not resist the drippings of water; the moisture of the soil destroys it in a few years, if care is not taken to enclose it in hard lava, or in stone brought from Europe, or from the Cape of Good Hope. All the stone for the construction of the Emperor's house was sent from England.

We have been assured that the first navigators who landed at St. Helena found nothing there but pheasants and goats. I have nothing to say against these two species of animals: I think, however, that, in the number of the

natives of the island, rats have been forgotten, for St. Helena is covered with them; and their number was so great at Longwood when we came to live there, that they frequently came running under our table whilst we were at dinner, and walked about in our rooms without appearing at all disturbed by our presence. We were never able to destroy them entirely, though we waged a deadly war with them during more than five years. Their presence was, besides, not always inoffensive. General Bertrand was bitten rather severely in his hand during his sleep; a maid-servant was also bitten by them, as well as one of the horses sent from the Cape for the Emperor's use.

St. Helena is twenty-one miles in circumference, and is only to be approached at three points: the valley, at the mouth of which James Town is built; Linion Valley, and Sandy Bay: these two last points, however, do not afford good anchorage. The roadstead of James Town is, on the other hand, safe and easy of access; the largest vessels can ride at anchor there; and as a protection against the sea, natural walls of lava are formed on all sides, from the upper level to the bottom of the sea; which gives St. Helena from some distance the appearance of a shapeless mass of black rock, surmounted by a regular cone. The nearer one approaches, the more frightful does it appear. The valley of James Town seemed to me like the entrance into Tartarus. On whatever side you look, and at whatever height, nothing is seen but ranges of black walls, as if constructed by the hand of man to connect the points of the peaked rocks: no trace of vegetation—nothing, in fact, which announces the presence of man; a wall and a vaulted entrance conceal the town. Undoubtedly, when once on shore, the feeling of happiness overpowers this first sensation; for then the pretty street of James Town, its fine houses, and its botanic garden, have acquired a still greater value in our eyes.

At the time of our arrival in St. Helena, it contained only five hundred white inhabitants, including the garrison, consisting of a battalion of infantry of a hundred and sixty men, and a company of artillery in the East India Company's service. The number of slaves was about three hundred. In 1821, the population consisted of about eight hundred whites, three hundred negroes, and one thousand eight hundred Chinese, or Lascars, including in this number nine hundred Chinese imported for the special service of Longwood. The garrison was composed of the battalion of infantry and the company of artillery, and of two regiments of the line, a troop of dragoons, a detachment of sappers and miners, or pioneers, and a company of the Royal artillery; besides eleven vessels of war, having on board a number of soldiers and marines. The expenses which the guarding and supporting of the Emperor caused the English government, amounted to eight millions of francs a year, without counting the extra expenses rendered necessary by the wants of a garrison so disproportioned to the resources of the soil. A single example will suffice to prove how insufficient these resources were. The garrison received rations for more than a year, precisely as if on board ship, and the quantity of water allowed for our consumption at Longwood was regulated with so much parsimony, that the Emperor was obliged to give up taking a bath every day until Sir Hudson Lowe had succeeded in causing to be constructed on Diana's Peak a gigantic cistern, after the model of that at Gibraltar, in order, during the rainy season, to collect a sufficient quantity of water for the consumption of the inhabitants of Longwood.

We were assured that this reservoir had cost an enormous sum of money. At any rate, it was of great use, and has completely changed the condition



of the island. A fleet can now lay in a supply of water at St. Helena; before the works undertaken by Sir Hudson Lowe, this could only be done by isolated vessels, and even then with the loss of a great deal of time. The same is the case with regard to facilities of communication. At that time there was only one carriage road—that from Plantation-house into the town—and even that was far too steep: now, the island is intersected in every direction by good and broad roads. It is true that at the time of our arrival in the island, carriages were almost unknown. There was only one, belonging to the governor, and it was drawn by oxen. We left behind us at Longwood two calèches, and if all the carriages which, during part of our residence there, were to be met with upon the roads leading to Plantation House, to Longwood, and to the outworks, are still in the island, there are certainly more than twenty in all.

In the whole habitable part of the soil of St. Helena, I only know five agreeable sites: Plantation House, a country house appropriated to the governor; Rosemary Hall, the residence of Colonel Smith, of the Artillery; Mr. Darton's cottage, at Sandy Bay; Mr. Balcombe's house, at the Briars; and finally, Miss Masson's cottage, situated on the opposite side of the ravine which formed our northern boundary at Longwood. They are mentioned in a work on St. Helena, by a person in the employment of the government.

"Plantation House is an extremely elegant habitation—agreeably situated and surrounded by large gardens and well cultivated grounds. They are tilled in the same manner as in England, and are kept with the greatest care. The gardens are adorned with different sorts of magnificent trees and shrubs, brought from Europe, Asia, Africa, and America: they are all from the most remote parts of the world, and from climates as different as possible from that of St. Helena, and yet these plants grow well and flourish there. The reason is, that Plantation House is sheltered by Diana's Peak and Halley's Mountain, which divide the island into two parts, and protect this delightful residence from the south-easterly winds, which burn up and kill all vegetation in those parts of the island exposed to their effects."

An author, the dean of the Colonial Council, says, p. 255:

"Governor Dunbar was indefatigable in his efforts to study the resources and fertility of the island. The experiments which he made at Longwood in the cultivation of oats, barley, and wheat, gave rise to some hope of success, and a farm-house and stable were built there; but all the crops having failed, one after the other, these buildings were abandoned, and no further attempts at cultivation were made in that quarter. It was seen that the want of success was to be attributed to the climate of this part of the island, which is exposed to all the hurtful influence of the south-easterly wind, and to the soil, which is burnt up by wind; and not, as some persons have asserted, to the innumerable quantity of rats found at Longwood, which it was found impossible entirely to destroy."

The climate of St. Helena is in general unhealthy: it offers, however, agreeable impressions to the European, who after having been confined several months on board ship, and having suffered many privations, profits by the few days allowed him at this island, to land, and to enjoy a dinner of fresh meat, green vegetables and fruit.

The crews of the squadrons lost a great number of men: two brigs, the *Mosquito* and the *Racoon*, lost eighty-four men out of 200. The admiral's vessel, the *Conquérant*, was obliged to put to sea, in order to arrest the

mortality which was decimating its crew. Another vessel, the *Friendship*, lost 120 within a short time after its arrival.

Another incontrovertible proof of the insalubrity of the climate of St. Helena, is, that there is no instance of a native or a slave having reached the age of sixty years. Dysentery and hepatitis rage during six months of the year, with a violence greater than what occurs in India.

This was the residence destined by the sovereigns of Europe, for one whom they had for ten years called their brother. It is clear that it yielded in no respect to the celebrated room in Vincennes, where Cardinal de Retz was buried, where Puy Laurent, Ornano, and the Grand Prior of Vendome died, and which, according to Madame Rambouillet's opinion, was worth its weight of arsenic.

The day after his arrival, at eight o'clock in the morning, the Emperor mounted his horse, in company with the grand marshal and Sir George Cockburn, to take a view of the island; but he was only conducted to Longwood, and care was taken that he should not see Plantation House and its beautiful productions. He only saw that part of the island, which was burnt up by the south-easterly winds, Longwood and its wood of gum trees, called Dead Wood by the colonists. He took no interest in all that the admiral said to him concerning the works which he was planning, to render habitable the sheds, which had till then only served as a *dépôt* for the East India Company, if we except an old stone building, in which the deputy-governor, Lieutenant-Colonel Skelton, had contrived to make a sort of lodging.

The only advantage which we enjoyed at Longwood, was a vast plain of a mile and a half radius, upon which one might take an airing on horseback, or in a carriage, without running the risk of being precipitated into a ravine by the slightest slip or stumble of the horse. Plantation House, on the contrary, is really a delightful residence, surrounded by beautiful and extensive gardens. There the Emperor would have been comfortable; he might have walked at any hour of the day under the magnificent trees in the park: at Longwood, on the contrary, he was worse off than the lowest officer in barracks in Europe.

A short time after his establishment there, a portion of the ceiling of his bed-room having given way in consequence of rottenness, a quantity of foul water entered at the breach, and forced him to seek refuge in another chamber. This building had served as a cowhouse for some fifty years, when Mr. Skelton conceived the idea of transforming it into a dwelling house for the season of the greatest heat.

The operations were carried on by negroes and sailors with a precipitation, which rendered any degree of care impossible.

They had contented themselves with carrying away the dung, and had constructed the flooring of fir, without changing the roof, by simply nailing boards on planks of fir placed upon the clayey soil of the cow-house. Everything was completely rotten.

As they were returning to James Town, the Emperor remarked a modest cottage, about a mile before arriving at the entrance of the valley. He expressed a desire to see it, and to remain there some time. This cottage was inhabited by the family of Mr. Balcombe. The family was highly gratified at the honour done to them—expressed their pleasure in a cordial and lively manner, and offered to put their whole establishment at the Emperor's disposal, in case it should suit his views to remain at Briars till Longwood should be ready to receive him. The Emperor accepted this

hospitable offer in part, and said that he would willingly lodge in a pavilion detached from the principal dwelling-house, on condition that no difference should be made in the habits of the family. The Admiral eagerly acquiesced in this arrangement; and the same evening the pavilion—that is to say, the single room which it contained on the ground-floor, received the furniture of Austerlitz.

Two bed-rooms, made of boards nailed together under the roof, served as a lodging for Count Las Cases and the valets-de-chambre. The best idea of this pavilion may, perhaps, be obtained by recalling the dimensions of a billiard-room in the neighbourhood of Paris. Great was our astonishment when the grand marshal, on his arrival, informed us that the Emperor had stopped to dine with the family of Balcombe, and intended remaining some time at Briars. Mr. Balcombe had two amiable daughters, Eliza Jane and Betsy. The latter especially, was a charming girl, and spoke French well; she was then about twelve or thirteen years old. This necessary separation was a great disappointment to the rest of us, but regrets were useless. The grand marshal informed Count Las Cases that he was expected to set off immediately for the Briars. Messrs. Marechaux and St. Denis were also sent thither.

The necessary furniture was then taken out to furnish the pavilion, and the Emperor slept there the same night.

As all the dinner-service had been left in the house in town, the Emperor's dinner had to be carried from thence to Briars by slaves. The consequence was, as might be expected, the dinner was always cold. He said nothing for some days; either he did not remark it, or he considered it the effect of some discussion respecting a difficulty of arrangement. But, after suffering a week to pass in this manner, he inquired the cause, and was told that his kitchen served for the table of the grand marshal in the town, and that his own service was entirely additional. The same day, a negro of Mr. Balcombe's brought me the following note:

“COUNT MONTHOLON,—From this day forth you will take the service of the grand marshal.

“I inform him also of this arrangement, which is agreeable to his desire.  
(Signed) NAPOLEON.”

Every day one of us went to pass the morning or the evening at Briars, and after the removal of his kitchen thither, he always kept us or invited us to dinner; so that a day never passed in which we had not all the honour of seeing him.

The Emperor passed his time at Briars just as on board the Northumberland.

He remained in his room till four or five o'clock, and sought to forget the hours in the recollections of his campaigns in Italy and Egypt.

M. de Las Cases, who acted as his secretary, wrote from his dictation, alternately with General Gourgaud and myself; sometimes, also, the grand marshal, but the latter rarely, because this sort of labour was disagreeable to him, and because he got rid of it as soon as an opportunity offered. I believe, in fact, that he at last begged the Emperor to dispense with his services in that capacity, acknowledging that, after the high office he had formerly had the honour to discharge, his self-love would not suffer him to perform the duties of a secretary. I heard afterwards, however, that he had much regretted his conduct on that occasion.

General Bertrand was much attached to the Emperor, but he too often

allowed himself to go to lengths which could not but wound the real affection which the Emperor felt for him. The reason was his extreme affection for his wife; a charming compound of all the seducing manners, and of all the caprices of a Creole. She wished her husband to be only the first of her slaves, and it was very difficult to resist her: General Bertrand could not. He felt himself, therefore, condemned to a perpetual struggle between his duties as grand marshal, and her commands, always agreeable, but not always in harmony with the office which he filled in the household of the Emperor. It is to this love, which may, with justice, be called idolatry, that we must attribute the madness of the letter written from Elba to Louis XVIII., the hesitation in the Elysée—finally, in 1828, his determination to take his children to Europe, and to leave, during his absence, the Emperor at St. Helena, retaining with him only myself, out of the four who had accompanied him to Longwood.

General Bertrand possessed all the virtues of an honourable man, and no one had more right to the esteem of the world, and to the friendship of those who knew him; but he had not a firm enough will of his own. All the good that he did belongs entirely to himself; everything that may be blamed in his acting as a diplomatist, was the result of extraneous influence, which it was not in his nature to be able to resist.

I must mention, however, the wish entertained by the Admiral, Sir George Cockburn, to continue on shore the relations which had been necessarily formed during the long voyage from Start Bay to St. Helena.

Shortly after his establishment in the castle, a tolerably large house close to the ramparts of the citadel, which had served as a habitation for the governor of the island before the construction of Plantation House, he wished to present to the Emperor the principal persons in St. Helena, in the garrison and the squadron under his command, without however, presenting them in an official manner; and he thought the best plan would be to give a very large dinner-party, and to invite the Emperor to honour it with his presence. He went to Briars, therefore, at the hour when he knew that the Emperor would be taking his customary walk in the evening, and begged him to do him the honour of dining with him at the castle. The Emperor, however, did not accept the invitation for himself, but assured the admiral that we should all be present, even Count Las Cases, who lodged at Briars. A fortnight after, Sir George Cockburn gave a grand ball, to which the Emperor also refused to go, although he sent us all to the party.

The officers of the 53rd regiment had hopes of being more successful. They dispatched their colonel, Sir George Bingham, who had sailed with us on board the Northumberland, with the major of the regiment, and two officers who had undertaken the direction of the ball. The Emperor received them with great condescension, conversed a long time with them, expressed to them the pleasure which he always felt when amongst old soldiers as they were, but refused their invitation; he sent us there, however, as on the former occasion. It was the last time such a temptation occurred.

By one of those contradictions common enough in politics, although happily tolerably rare in our social relations, whilst on the one hand we were the objects of civility and attention from the society of the island, we heard every day of the adoption of some new measure of general surveillance,\* the result of which was to restrict the liberty which we had enjoyed

\* POLICE REGULATIONS RESPECTING THE HARBOUR OF ST. HELENA.

1.—The commanders of vessels belonging to the Honourable the East India Company, and the masters or commanders of every vessel permitted to anchor in the roadstead, are

since our landing; at one time, it was an officer, said to be a guard of honour, but in reality a spy, who had been placed in a barrack 100 metres from the pavilion of the Emperor; at another, a telegraphic signal, by means of which, everything that went on at Briars was immediately reported in the town; at another time, sergeants were given to us to serve as guides; in a word, we were so well attended to, that we could not proceed a step without being accompanied by a pretended guide, and the Emperor never set his foot out of his room, without the admiral being informed of all his

not permitted to land, or to permit any of their crew to disembark, until they have previously, agreeably to the terms of the present ordinance, sent a list on shore to the governor, in order that he may indicate what persons are to be allowed to come on shore.

2.—In the first place, every commander of a vessel of war or of a merchant vessel is required to declare positively whether there has been any illness on board in the course of the voyage, whether it has been contagious or not, whether there have been any deaths on board during that time, and if so, from what cause or causes.

3.—All letters and parcels, whoever may be the persons to whom they are addressed residing in the island, with the exception of those which come by the regular mails or by post, are to be handed over to the officer, who will communicate to each vessel this ordinance, and will be deposited by him in the government office, where the persons to whom they are addressed, will have to claim them.

4.—In case the commander, any one of the passengers, or any one else on board should have any letter or parcel in his charge, addressed to any stranger then in the island, such persons are requested to transmit such letter or packet under cover to the governor, and to wait for his orders, in case of the parcel being of trifling importance.

5.—The commander of the vessel alone, as soon as this ordinance has been read and made known on board the vessel, may land if he please; he is then, however, to proceed directly to the governor's residence, or in case he should not be in town, shall make known his arrival at the residence of his secretary or representative.

6.—The commander, the officers, or any passenger who shall afterwards be permitted to land, is immediately to proceed to the office of the secretary, to read and sign an agreement to observe the regulations of the island, before proceeding to his lodgings, or visiting any individual whatsoever.

7.—No passenger, or other person disembarking from any vessel touching at St. Helena, shall be allowed to go beyond James' Valley without special permission, to obtain which he is to apply at the office of the principal secretary of the governor.

8.—No individual, whoever he may be, having permission to land, must visit Longwood or the district belonging to it, nor hold any communication, verbal or written, with the strangers detained in the isle, without directly acquainting the governor with his intentions on this point, and receiving a permission.

If any individual should receive any letter or packet from any of the strangers above mentioned, he is, without loss of time, to bring it to the governor, before replying to it. The same rule applies to all packets which might be received by them, or which they might endeavour to have delivered.

9.—The commanders of vessels from the East Indies, and the masters of merchant vessels of all kinds who may be permitted to anchor on the coast of the island, shall not permit any person to land without permission, without authority from the governor; none of the passengers shall sleep on land without informing him of their intention.

10.—No vessel belonging to the East India Company, nor any merchant ship whatever, shall unlade between sunset and sunrise, nor at any time of the day, without the presence of an officer appointed for this purpose. If any vessel, from any motive, receives orders not to bring to, the before-mentioned vessel shall tack to keep at a certain distance from the port, in order that other vessels may unlade without interruption; the greatest care is to be taken that the vessels lading or unlading merchandise, do not hinder the others in their movements.

11.—All boats belonging to the East India Company, or to merchant vessels of any kind, shall quit the island at sunset, and return immediately to their respective vessels, except in circumstances which the admiral will regulate.

12.—No boat belonging to a vessel of the company, or to any other vessel, shall board, or send a boat to any other vessel arriving in the port; no boat is to land anywhere but in the port.

13.—No vessel belonging to the company, nor merchant-ship whatever, shall cast anchor before the island between sunset and sunrise, nor set sail after sunset, nor before three o'clock in the morning. They are not to set sail till the flag of farewell has been hoisted on each vessel or ship.

14.—If the flag of farewell has been hoisted on a ship a short time before sunset, and that the said ship does not immediately heave anchor, it cannot set sail till the signal has been repeated next morning at ten o'clock.

motions. This state of things could have no other termination than that of totally altering our relation to the admiral, whatever pains he took to disguise the marks of the *surveillance*, which he caused to be carried on. At last, Count Las Cases received directions to address a note to the admiral, protesting against measures which the situation of St. Helena rendered uselessly harassing, and the grand marshal was commissioned to convey it to the admiral, and to discuss its contents with him.

But, whether it was that he did not entirely coincide with the opinion of the compiler of the note, or from some other reason, he did not wish to deliver it, and did not fulfil his mission; a fortnight passed before the Emperor heard anything said about it, and it was to his great astonishment that he learned from the mouth of the grand marshal, that nothing had been said or done. The Emperor's displeasure was visible, but he suppressed it, with some difficulty, through friendship for Bertrand, and said to him, "Your not delivering the note, if you were dissatisfied with its tenour, or if you regarded it as dictated by an impulse of anger, was a proof of your devotion to my interests, but this should only have been a delay of some hours. After this delay, you ought to have spoken to me on the subject; you well know that I should have listened to you with attention, and should

15.—Every commander of a vessel or merchant-ship is expressly forbidden to permit any merchant-ship or fishing vessel to lie alongside his vessel, without a permission, signed by the governor; or to suffer any boat belonging to his vessel to approach the numbered barks of the island, or to hold any communication with them.

15.—If any fishing vessel shall seek to communicate with any vessel lying with its head towards the island, and already at anchor, or communicates with any boat belonging to this vessel, the commander and officers of the said vessels are required immediately to make it known, by a flag, to the deputies of the adjutant-general, to take the number of the vessel, and to detain it according to circumstances.

17.—The commanders of vessels carrying newspapers which may contain news worthy of interest, are required to deliver them to the person by whom these instructions will be read to them, for the information of the governor, who will have them carefully returned.

18.—It is forbidden to land gun-powder, without having previously informed the commissioner of magazines, and the master-intendant (an officer employed among naval forces), in order that all necessary precautions may be taken to prevent accidents.

19.—No stallion or gelding shall be landed without a permission from the secretary of the government.

20.—No wine of any kind shall be landed, without a permission from the secretary of the government.

21.—The honourable council of directors having forbidden the importation of spirituous liquors coming from the Indies, it is ordained, that any one transgressing this prohibition shall pay a fine of £100 sterling. Brandy, hydromel, East Indian rum, cordials, &c., can, in the same manner, only be landed in very small quantity, after having obtained permission and paid the toll, at the rate of one shilling per gallon. The landing of spirituous liquors, in whatever quantity, without permission, will subject the offender to the above-mentioned penalty.

22.—Whaling vessels shall not throw out their harpoons, as long as they are in the latitude of the island, under pain of fifty francs fine; the half of this sum to be given to the person who shall inform against them.

23.—Every commander of a vessel, or master of a merchant ship, shall announce his intention of departure forty-eight hours before the time, provided he is prepared, at the same time, to lie longer in the roads. This notice must be given in writing, to the secretary of the government and to the master-intendant, between ten o'clock in the morning and two in the afternoon. The fore-top sail must also be detached forty-eight hours before the departure of the vessel. No commander of a vessel or merchant ship shall, under any pretext whatever, leave any one in the island, or take away any one, without having in writing demanded permission from the governor.

24. No commander, passenger, or other person on board the honourable company's vessels, or any others which may have cast anchor before the island, shall take charge of letters or packets for Europe, the Cape of Good Hope, South America, or any other place, except such as come to him from the post, or those consigned to him by the secretary of the government or the adjutant-general.

The commander of the vessel or merchant ship will sign the report, the form of which is here indicated, and will deliver it to the officer who brings him the present instructions.

have agreed with your opinions, if you had proved to me that you were in the right; but to delay a fortnight without telling me that you had not executed the mission with which I charged you, is inexplicable: what have you to reply?"

The Grand Marshal only answered by the respectful assurance, that he thought he had done well in not delivering the note, which he disliked, both as to its composition and its intention.

The Emperor replied: "You are perhaps right, Bertrand; they have condemned us—this is the anguish of death! They unceasingly join outrage to injustice—what useless vexations! If I was so annoying to them, why did they not kill me? A ball through my heart or my head would have sufficed, and there would at least be some courage in this crime.

"How can the sovereigns of Europe be so short-sighted and so blinded by their passions, as to allow the character of sovereignty, of the anointed of the Lord, to be profaned in me?

"How is it that they do not see that they are preparing at St. Helena, with their own hands, the fate which awaits them, sooner or later, if they urge too far the patience of nations. I entered their capitals as a conqueror; what would have become of them, if I had brought thither the sentiments which they now express?

"They all called me their brother, and I was so by the choice of the French people, the sanction of a hundred victories, the consecration of the Vicar of Jesus Christ, and the alliances of their policy, and of their own blood."

After some moments of profound silence, he continued:

"You are right, Bertrand, let these gentlemen make their complaints; mine are below my dignity and my character; I command or I am silent."

And the Emperor spoke no more of the note, but a week after, M. de Las Cases secretly delivered it to one of the officers of the brig *Redpol*, which the admiral was about to send to England.

#### NOTE.

By the return of the next ship the Emperor is desirous of receiving news of his wife and his son—of knowing whether the latter is still alive—and protests anew against the extraordinary measures which have been adopted against him by the British government.

1st. The British government has declared him a prisoner of war. The Emperor is not a prisoner of war. His letter to the Prince Regent, and communicated to Captain Maitland, before going on board the *Bellerophon*, sufficiently proves to the whole world the nature of his feelings, and his confidence in the treatment which he would receive under the protection of the English flag.

The Emperor need not have departed from France without making stipulations concerning his personal safety and treatment, but he disdained to mix up matters of personal interest with those great national interests with which his mind was constantly occupied. He could have placed himself at the disposal of his father-in-law, the Emperor Francis; but from the confidence which he has always felt in the English nation, he wished for no other protection than that of Great Britain; and having renounced all public affairs, he wished to settle in no other country than one governed by fixed laws, independent of individual will.

2dly. Had the Emperor been a prisoner of war, the rights of civilized

nations with regard to prisoners of war are limited by the general rights of man, and besides, do not extend beyond the duration of the war itself.

3dly. The English government, considering the Emperor as a prisoner of war, its rights were then limited by the law of nations, and as there was no cartel between the two countries in the existing war, it could adopt, respecting him, the principle of uncivilized people, who put the prisoners to death. This policy would have been more humane, and more conformable to justice, than that of transporting him to a dreadful and barren rock. He could have been put to death on board the *Bellerophon* in Plymouth roads, which would have been, by comparison, an act of benevolence.

We have traversed those countries in Europe least favoured by Providence, and none of them can be compared with this barren rock, destitute of every thing which can render life supportable, and only calculated every moment to renew the agonies of death. The principles of Christian morality and the great duty imposed upon man of following its doctrines, whatever they may be, can alone prevent him from putting an end to such a horrible existence; the Emperor regards it as his glory to live in obedience to these principles; but should the British government persist in the present course of injustice towards him, he would regard it as a blessing to be put to death.

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Among the number of slaves employed by Mr. Balcombe, there was an old Malay, who had been carried off from his country many years ago by an English captain, who probably required his services to replace those of a sailor, dead or fallen sick, and who availed himself of the opportunity of meeting with a boat belonging to Malay fishermen to get a slave without purchase. This transaction, however, would have proved dangerous in England; in spite, therefore, of his legal protest, he sold him as a slave during his stay at St. Helena.

The history of the poor man interested every one except his owner, who praised him merely for performing the severest labours, so as to enhance his value. The eldest daughter of Mr. Balcombe seeing him one day carrying a heavy burden from the town, having learned the story of his misfortune, and the bitter grief he felt at being separated from his children, conceived the idea of obtaining his liberty and sending him back to his home.

This was very difficult to accomplish; but that which the young and beautiful wish, they generally succeed in effecting. Her father promised, and began by paying the old Malay by the year, and imposing upon him no other labour than that of taking care of a small garden. The Emperor frequently finished his evening in the drawing-room of Mr. Balcombe's cottage, either taking part in a game of whist, or listening to creole anecdotes from the two sisters, who emulated each other in their efforts to be agreeable to their host.

The younger of the two, who was very pretty, and even more mischievous than beautiful, felt that she could do any thing and say any thing with impunity, and had all the boldness of a spoiled child. She took advantage of a happy opportunity to ask the Emperor to buy the Malay, and, after her own fashion, related to him one evening the history of her protégé.

"I won't love my father because he doesn't keep his promise, but I will love you well, if you restore Toby to his children: do you know that he has a girl just of my age, who is very like me!"



To give Napoleon an opportunity of making any one happy was to do him a pleasure; he therefore eagerly seized upon the occasion of securing the proffered love of pretty Betsy Balcombe, and assured her that next day he would give orders to purchase the slave, and request the Admiral to send him back to India by the first opportunity. But then the purchase was not in the power of the Emperor: it was not sufficient to pay the sum demanded by the master of the slave. In order to emancipate a slave, it was necessary to go through a long series of formalities, and our departure from Briars to Longwood surprised us before these formalities could be finished.

It was on the 28th of November, during his stay at Briars, that the Emperor laid aside his regimentals of *chasseur of the guard*, and put on a civil coat, preserving however the cross and cordon of the *Légion d'honneur*, his waistcoat, and his regimental white kerseymere breeches, shoes with buckles, and the cocked hat which is now become historical.

## CHAPTER VII.

## LONGWOOD.

LONGWOOD is situated on a barren *plateau*, 1800 feet above the level of the sea. Two-thirds are covered with gum trees (*conyia gommifera*) incessantly beaten and buffeted by the violent trade winds, which have bent them all in one direction at an angle of 45°, and despoiled them of their miserable pale foliage, which nature has placed wholly at the extremities of the branches, and which is, therefore, completely useless as a shade against the burning rays of a tropical sun. In truth, there is no other shade in the whole of Longwood, except that thrown upon the ground by the decrepit trunks of some old trees. The climate is always too warm or too moist, and the variations in the atmosphere are such as to produce dysenteries, which during our stay committed fearful ravages in the camps of the 56th and 66th regiments, which furnished every night thirty-five sentinels to be posted round our habitation. This service besides was completely useless, inasmuch as vessels of war were employed in continually cruising around the island, which is only accessible at James Town.

Longwood was uninhabitable when it was selected as a residence for the Emperor and the great number of persons who must necessarily be provided with accommodations near him, as well for the purpose of attending upon him, as to form his guard. An old cow-house built of stone, and converted into five chambers, by a lieutenant governor, in the service of the East India Company; a barn made into a kitchen, wash-house, and fowl-house for a small household, and finally a bad stable, with indifferent accommodation for three or four horses, formed the whole of the establishment.

In the whole of these buildings the deal boards were placed upon the ground, and the foundation of the walls consisted merely of a species of porous lava, which rendered the humidity insupportable in the rainy season.

It is well known, that under the tropics, these rains at particular seasons cause a complete inundation for several weeks.

The old cow-house was an oblong building, 69 feet long by 30 feet deep, having in its centre, towards the south, and in a sloping direction, a structure 20 feet long by 15 broad, which terminated in a verandah of green trellis-work. This contained an outlet to the terrace, all of which formed a basement of sufficient dimensions, but completely level with the ground, and into which there was an entrance at the north side by a chamber marked A, 17 feet long by 18 feet broad, lighted by a glass door towards the south. The entrance was at the left angle, opposite the door leading into the apartment E, built in a sloping direction, with the chimney in the middle of the north wall.

The apartment E was a long chamber, 18 feet by 15, which was used as a drawing-room, lighted by three windows towards the east, and two small windows, consisting of one pane of glass each on the right, at the left of the door leading to the verandah; and in the middle of the right side of the drawing-room, there was a fire-place.

To the left of the entrance hall there were two small chambers, B and C, 12 feet by 15, situated one directly beyond the other, each with two win-

dows looking upon the little garden G, formed by the square space between the room E, at right angles, and the length of the two chambers B, and C. The two other sides of the square were formed by a light trellis. It was planted with dwarf peach trees and gooseberries; had four broad borders for vegetables and a coffee tree; in the centre there was a corridor, 5 feet wide, and which formed the bath-room C. The ante-chamber of the interior B, was situated behind these two chambers, and stretched towards the entrance of the building by a species of porch, open at the side A.

At the right of the entrance hall, there was a single room D, 18 feet by 17 feet, lighted by three windows, and having a corridor behind, like that of the chambers to the left, which was transformed into a sort of pantry yard for the service of the table.

The whole upper part of the building was occupied by a granary, to which the access was by a ladder.

The whole of the apartments in the building were 9 feet high, with the exception of the drawing-room, which was 11.

The admiral caused an apartment, 24 feet by 17, made of pine wood, to be constructed, en suite with the drawing-room. This room was lighted by five windows, three looking towards the little garden G, which was extended to the extremity of this new building, and two on the opposite side, to the right and left of the fire-place. The verandah was also extended the whole length of the new building, and a tier of three steps to descend into the level of the garden.

The description of porch at the entrance A was closed, and joined to the building used as a kitchen, by a passage L of light construction, which contained a box staircase, precisely like a companion ladder, to conduct to four small chambers, constructed with slight partitions on the first floor, as sleeping-rooms for the *valets-de-chambre*; and against the back of the passage, there was erected a wooden building, H, 15 feet square and 7 high, and papered to serve as a dining-room for the Emperor's servants.

The building appropriated for domestic purposes contained in the basement the kitchen R, the washhouse L, and the laundry P, with four servants' chambers above.

In the corner O, there were two sheds M and N, the former of which was used as a fowl-house, and the latter, which had no original destination, was used as a place for cleaning knives and plate.

The walls of the two chambers C and B, were covered with nankeen, bordered with garlands of red flowers in paper. A flowered carpet, with a green ground, concealed the deal boards, which had mouldered to dust, and finally a fire-place was built in the room C, the white-painted chimney-piece of which supported a glass 18 inches by 10. Muslin window curtains, an arm-chair with a cane bottom, another of beech painted green, two chairs of the same wood, two rose-wood tables, one between the windows and another between the fire-place and the window, completed the furniture of the apartment. The chamber B, which likewise contained an arm-chair, and two common chairs, was in all respects like the other, except the fire-place. Two candlesticks, or rather metal sconces, completed the furniture of C and B, appropriated to the Emperor by the English government. But we shall add to this the usual furniture of his tent, which was carried along with the army on two mules.

The ante-chamber A, which was used as a dining room, remained as it had been in the time of Lieutenant-colonel Skelton. The walls were painted of a light blue; the floor covered with a crimson carpet; it contained twelve

chairs, a dining-table, and large side-board, which was placed between the door opposite to that which led to the Emperor's apartments, and the wall at the end of the apartment.

The window was in fact a glass door, opening into the garden, and was without curtains, which would have prevented it from being opened.

The drawing-room was decorated with Chinese yellow paper, and hastily furnished for the occasion with two sofas, two folding tables, two arm and eight common chairs—old worm-eaten second hand furniture—with cane bottoms and cushions covered with black horse-hair. White muslin curtains were put on the windows. The furniture for this room and that built en suite with the drawing room, were sent for to England. The island contained none of which the Admiral could dispose, and as to the room to the right of the entrance-chamber, it remained precisely as it was. Several buildings were in the course of construction, made of deal boards covered with tarred canvas, to serve for the accommodation of the generals and suite of the Emperor during their term of service, as well as for the officers in command of the guard.

Such was the condition of Longwood, on the 8th of December 1815, when Admiral Sir George Cockburn came to Briars to give an account of it to the Emperor, and to beg him to name the day when it would be agreeable to him to go to Longwood, in order to explain personally the precise arrangements which he wished to establish; and, at the same time, assured him of his sense of the importance of his not being at Briars on the arrival of the governor expected from England.

The Emperor agreed to ride over to Longwood on the next morning, the 9th, and was accompanied only by the Grand Marshal and the Admiral.

He examined the works, which had been executed with an extraordinary degree of rapidity, and after having stated to Sir George Cockburn his feelings respecting the odious conduct of the English government towards him, he thanked him for the care which he had taken to preserve him from pernicious contact with the ground, on which his bed was about to replace the litter of the cattle belonging to a farmer of the East India Company; then suddenly returning to the details of the dwelling, he explained to him some changes which he wished to be made, expressing his desire that they might be executed before he came to live at Longwood. These changes consisted in opening a direct communication from his chamber to the passage which was to serve as a bath-room, a sofa in his bed-chamber, a window opening as a glass door into the preceding chamber, bells at his fire-place, bed and bath, in the drawing room, and in the new apartment, which he proposed to use as a topographical cabinet, and in which he requested four tables to be placed, a very large one in the centre to contain the maps, whilst he dictated the history of his wars. Then turning to the Grand Marshal, he said, "You shall occupy the chamber to the right of the dining room—we shall both be badly off, but we shall be together." "No, sire," replied the Grand Marshal, without hesitation, influenced no doubt by a different view of the subject from that which had suggested the Emperor's friendly expression, "I shall take up my abode in the cottage, which I have observed at Hut's Gate. The Admiral consents to it, and my wife will be very well there, whilst I should be very ill off in this chamber."

"Do as you please," said the Emperor, interrupting him, "Montholon shall remain with me."

I may say with truth, that twice in a few months, the Grand Marshal pushed me, by his own fault, into the way of the Emperor's confidence and intimacy.

When General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases were informed of the arrangements for taking possession of Longwood, they eagerly solicited permission to sleep under their tents rather than to remain in the town apart from the Emperor, during the time which must necessarily elapse before the buildings then in course of preparation for their use, could be made habitable. The Emperor was deeply affected by this proof of generous devotedness; a tent was fitted under his windows for the accommodation of General Gourgaud, and the Admiral cheerfully caused an apartment for Count Las Cases to be fitted up in the building appropriated for the domestic offices.

The English officer in command at Longwood, and Dr. O'Meara, took up their abode in tents behind the building appropriated for domestic offices, and out of view of the Emperor's apartments.

All being thus arranged, on the 11th of December the Emperor quitted Briars, and entered into possession of Longwood. On the next day, General Bertrand entered into his quarters at Hut's Gate—a little cottage on the brow of the hill which leads from the alarm-house to Longwood, coming from James Town, and commands the Valley of the Tomb. The alarm-house is a battery placed at the upper gorge of the road, which ascends from the town in a contiguous zig-zag to the summit, and, for two miles, forms as it were, a long bridge leading to the plateau of Longwood. The entrance is formed by a wooden fence contiguous to two lodges, like gardeners' houses, and which are occupied by a guard of honour of twenty-five Grenadiers. The crest or ridge, which is about twenty feet broad, is bordered by frightful ravines of scoriæ and lava, one of which probably owes the picturesque name of "the Devil's punch-bowl," by which it is known, to the dread which it inspires.

Eight saddle and four carriage horses, as well as a calèche, which Sir G. Cockburn had caused to be purchased at the Cape of Good Hope, were at Longwood for the use of the Emperor. In addition to these, were also a dozen sailors, chosen from amongst such men in the fleet as had been at any time servants or grooms. They were all dressed in green livery, according to the instructions of Cipriani, the *maitre-d'hotel*, and Archembault, chief groom, as persons in the livery of their respective services.

The Emperor no sooner perceived this increase in the number of attendants, and learned from whence it was derived, than he said to General Gourgaud: "Come, Gourgaud, you shall be my grand steward—take the command of this service, and manage these jolly fellows in such a way as to prove to the Admiral that they know how to do their duty without the use of a rope's end." From the first day, the whole attendance was such as was usual on a journey in France.

A *valet-de-chambre* was always in waiting in the ante-chamber to the wooden apartment which led to the Emperor's room. Two footmen were stationed in the passage leading to the dining-room, where there was also a *valet-de-chambre* to wait in the drawing-room and the topographical cabinet, as soon as the Emperor was dressed; and, finally, the table service consisted of plate and porcelain brought from Paris.

The *maitre-d'hotel*, chief of the domestics, wore a green coat embroidered with silver, white waistcoat, black silk small clothes, white silk stockings and shoes with buckles. The two *valets-de-chambre*, St. Denis and Noverras, were dressed after the same fashion, with the single difference of embroidery in gold. Besides these, there were six footmen in livery.

The *valets-de-chambre* alone waited on the Emperor, when he dined in

private—that is, in one of the two small chambers, one of which served as a working-room or study, and the other at the extremity, which had a fire-place, as his bed-chamber.

During the early period of our settlement at Longwood, dinner was served at seven o'clock, and breakfast at eleven; but the Emperor always breakfasted in his own room, and at his own hour. It had been agreed, that the Grand Marshal should come to Longwood every day to dinner, and it was not without some difficulty that the Admiral agreed to his crossing the line of sentinels who surrounded us, after six o'clock in the evening; but by an inexplicable fatality, after the second day, the Emperor waited till nearly nine o'clock for the arrival of Bertrand. A family riding party under the conduct of Captain Hamilton, of the *Havannah* frigate, had made him forget the dinner hour. Less than eight days afterwards a drive to the town to see or purchase some China silks and shawls, exposed for sale by a merchant ship on her return from Canton, renewed the very natural feeling of disappointment at waiting in vain. From that day, this family dinner, which was to have been an every-day occurrence, was only to take place on Sundays. This was a matter of regret, as it was a first attempt at a family life which was very agreeable to us all.

The Emperor began to follow the practice of finishing the evening at table—not indeed in imitation of the English example, but at the dessert he sent for Racine, Corneille, or Molière, and selected some of the best pieces of those celebrated authors to read aloud. He said to us: "To what play shall we go this evening? Shall we hear *Talma* or *Fleury*?" The reading continued till 10 or 11 o'clock, and when our family day was come to a close, he always took some one of us into his chamber, undressed, and worked or conversed, till he became disposed to sleep.

This state of things continued till the departure of Count Las Cases.

During the early part of our residence at Longwood, the Emperor did not dress till towards two o'clock; he then went into what he called his topographical cabinet with the one of us, who for the day was there engaged with him; at four, he caused us all to be summoned to the drawing-room, and in general went out in the *calèche*, to take two or three turns round the plateau of Longwood with Madame Montholon, or to go to Hut's Gate. General Gourgaud accompanied him on horseback. I never formed one in these drives.

The Emperor had perceived my disinclination, and twice or thrice alluded to it reproachfully, but with great kindness, and never spoke of it more. When passengers, on their way from India or China, requested the Grand Marshal to present them to the Emperor, or any of the inhabitants of the island came on a visit, they were received from two till four o'clock. Very often the Emperor kept them to dinner. Admiral Cockburn had many times that honour, as well as Sir George Bingham, Colonel of the 53rd, and the Captain of Grenadiers, whose wife was a descendant of Cromwell.

This kind of life, monotonous and melancholy though it was, without doubt was regarded with an evil eye by the malicious genius which at that time presided over the destiny of Napoleon; for Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, and with him all those outrages which were to kill the august victim delivered up to his ferocious hatred by the unchangeable rancour of the Holy Alliance.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## SIR HUDSON LOWE.

ON the 14th of April, the frigate *Phæton* cast anchor in the roads of James Town, having on board Lieut.-Gen. Sir H. Lowe, his wife, and two daughters by a former marriage. The elder, then between twelve and thirteen, was married, during our stay at St. Helena, to Count Balmin, the Russian commissioner.

The Governor's staff was composed of Sir Thomas Reade, Deputy Adjutant-General; Major Gorriquer, of whose conduct we had always occasion to speak in terms of the highest praise; Lieut.-Col. Lyster, Inspector of Militia; a Major: a Lieutenant of the Engineers; and an Inspector-General of Hospitals, Doctor Baxter, a man of great merit, whose advice the Emperor at a later period refused, because he was recommended to him by Sir Hudson Lowe.

On the very same evening, without waiting to hear any advice which Admiral Sir George Cockburn had to give him, Sir Hudson Lowe caused it to be announced at Longwood, that on the next morning, at nine o'clock, he would present himself there to see *General Bonaparte*.

"Let him come as soon as he pleases," said the Emperor to me; "I will receive him only when he asks to be received in a proper manner."

In reality, the next morning at nine o'clock precisely, Sir Hudson Lowe, attended by the whole of his staff, came at full gallop along the road to Longwood, and having alighted at the door of the Emperor's apartments, requested permission to enter.

Orders had been given before-hand to the footman and valets-de-chambre in waiting, to say that the Emperor was not yet up; on receiving this answer, he withdrew, and walked about, with long and hasty strides, under the windows, and around the house; then presenting himself, after the lapse of a considerable time, and having a second and a third time received the same answer, he resolved to go to the house of General Bertrand, to request him to announce his arrival in the island to the Emperor, and to ask when it would be agreeable to him (the latter) to receive him. The Emperor fixed the next day at two o'clock. Admiral Sir George Cockburn thought it his duty to present his successor, in consequence of which he accompanied him, and both presented themselves at Longwood precisely at two o'clock on the following day; they were introduced into the house, by the verandah into the topographical cabinet, where, by the Emperor's orders, we had gone to receive them, and where, according to etiquette, the Grand Marshal was to come and conduct them to the Emperor's presence.

The Emperor having determined on receiving them in the drawing-room, a valet-de-chambre was placed at the door between the drawing-room and the topographical cabinet.

The eagerness of Sir Hudson Lowe deranged everything, and gave rise to a scene which was equally painful to the Admiral and to us. At the moment in which the Grand Marshal came to give notice to the valet that the Emperor was about to enter the drawing-room, Sir Hudson Lowe rushed

to the door, and entered, before the valet, who had not well understood what had just been said to him, had time to consider ; on the contrary, not doubting that the orders were to admit the governor alone, he shut the door immediately in the face of the Admiral, who, seeing Sir Hudson Lowe enter, was hastening to follow in order to present him. We were at the other end of the room, and the whole affair took place so rapidly that none of us perceived what had happened, till we saw Sir George Cockburn passing through our group like a man in a great passion, going out, and proceeding towards the saddle-horses, which the grooms kept at a short distance from the house.

The Emperor did not know this incident till the moment in which he was about to give an audience to the Governor, when he caused the Admiral to be sent for. He was vexed at the conduct of the valet-de-chambre, and commissioned O'Meara to say so to Sir George Cockburn, and he even sent one of us down to the town to express his regret to the Admiral in person. These two measures were quite sufficient to efface all recollection of this involuntary insult.

The impression produced upon us by the appearance of Sir Hudson Lowe was different according to our different characters and modes of thinking, and perhaps also in proportion to the pains which he took to please us ; but after the first day, the Emperor said to us : " That man is malevolent ; whilst looking at me, his eye was like that of a hyæna taken in a trap ; put no confidence in him ; we complain of the Admiral—we shall perhaps regret him, for in truth, he has the heart of a soldier, whilst the general only wears the dress. His appearance and expression recall to my mind those of the Sbirri of Venice. Who knows ! perhaps he will be my executioner. Let us not, however, be hasty in forming our judgments ; his disposition may, after all, atone for his sinister appearance."

It required the whole of the Emperor's instinctive rapidity to receive this impression at the first sight of Sir Hudson Lowe.

In fact, Sir Hudson Lowe had something prepossessing in his appearance. At that time he was a man between forty and fifty years of age, above the middle size, with the cold and gracious smile of a diplomatist ; his hair was beginning to turn grey, but still preserved the primitive tints of light brown, although his long and lowering eyebrows were of a deep red. His look was penetrating, but he never looked honestly in the face of the person whom he addressed. He was not in the habit of sitting down, but swayed about whilst speaking with hesitation, and in short rapid sentences. It was undoubtedly his eye, which had something treacherous in it, that made an impression upon the Emperor.

Sir Hudson Lowe was a man of great ability, and had the extraordinary faculty of giving to all his actions such a colouring as suited the object which he proposed to effect. An excellent man of business, and of extreme probity. Amiable when he pleased, and knowing how to assume the most engaging form.

He might have acquired our gratitude, but he preferred the disgraceful reprobation which has followed him to the tomb. He was said to be a good father and a good husband. I know nothing of him in any relation, except in his connexion with Longwood, in which the whole of his conduct was marked with the stamp of an insatiable hatred—outrages and vexations completely useless as regarded the Emperor ; and I should have said, with a profound conviction of its truth, that the death of the Emperor was his object, had he not said to me, on the 6th of May, 1821, with all the accent of truth—" His death is my ruin."



The ruling vice of Sir Hudson Lowe's character was an unceasing want of confidence—a true monomania. He often rose in the middle of the night—leaped out of bed in haste, from dreaming of the Emperor's flight,—mounted his horse, and rode like a man demented to Longwood, to assure himself, by interrogating the officer on duty, that he was labouring under the effects of night-mare, and not of a providential instinct; and yet, notwithstanding this, the impression on his mind was so lively, that he could never decide on leaving Longwood, till he had received our word of honour that the Emperor was in his apartments. There was then almost an effusion of gratitude on his part, and he excused himself for having disturbed us in the middle of the night.

To relate this anecdote, is to give a complete character of Sir Hudson Lowe; it is to explain the whole bearing of his conduct during those years, in which he transformed the office of Governor of St. Helena into the functions of the gaoler, or, I might rather say, the executioner of Napoleon.

The governor's first act was the following communication, which he sent officially on the day after his presentation to the Emperor :

“DOWNING-STREET, January 10, 1816.

“It is my duty to inform you that it is the pleasure of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, that on your arrival in St. Helena, you should communicate to all the persons in the suite of Napoleon, his domestic servants not excepted, that they are at liberty immediately to quit the island and return to Europe. Adding, that none will be allowed to remain at St. Helena, except such as declare in writing, to be deposited in your hands, that it is their wish to remain on the island, and to submit to such restrictions as it may be necessary to impose upon Napoleon Bonaparte personally.

“Such of them as may wish to return to Europe, should be sent by the first favourable opportunity to the Cape of Good Hope. The governor of that colony will provide the necessary means for their return to Europe.

(Signed)

“BATHURST.”

The tenour of the declaration to be signed was unsuitable, and we obtained some modifications of the terms. In the evening I signed it, General Gourgaud and Count Las Cases did the same, and all the servants followed our example without hesitation.

General Bertrand alone refused. This refusal grieved the Emperor. The cause of it was precisely the same as ever—namely, his family affections. The Emperor said to me—“Bertrand is always the same. Although he constantly speaks of going, when the time comes, he will not have the courage to leave. One must be able to love one's friends with all their faults.”

Moreover, this same opinion of the devoted attachment which he attributed to General Bertrand, was strongly exhibited when speaking of his condemnation to death for contumacy. It was then that the Emperor said to us—“In revolutions everything is forgotten; the virtue of the evening becomes a crime on the morrow. The state of affairs being once changed, the bonds of gratitude, friendship, and kindred are all broken, and every person pursues his own interest. I think, however, that Bertrand owes his condemnation to the folly of having written to Louis XVIII., from the Island of Elba, through the instrumentality of the Duke of Fitzjames. At Porto Ferrajo, I was accustomed to hear the same song as I do now; always the same tune—‘My mother, my children, I owe everything to them;’

and, finally, when the moment arrives for departing, he remains. He could not have left me without tarnishing his reputation, unless, like Massena, he had gained the battle of Zurich. After all, if this continues for a long time, it may be he will depart; in him, as in the unfortunate Louis XVI., domestic virtues form the basis of his organization; however, I do not believe he will ever leave me."

When the Emperor asked each of us to explain our reason for signing the document, required by Sir Hudson Lowe, Las Cases and Gourgaud assigned as their motives of action, their devoted attachment to the Emperor's person. I ventured to reply, that I had been present at forty battles, but never gained one; but that every day I passed here in the society of his Majesty, I gained a triumph.

"I understand you," said the Emperor; "and should that be long, the English will have no other persons to keep except our two selves."

Eight months afterwards, Count Las Cases quitted St. Helena, and two years subsequent to that, General Gourgaud was in Europe.

When speaking of the fair inhabitants of Briars, we have related the request made by Betsy Balcombe to the Emperor; he had not forgotten it, and commissioned O'Meara to arrange that affair with Sir Hudson Lowe. Although he could not conceive that the circumstance could have any political aspect, the gloomy mind of Sir Hudson regarded it as one of the links in a chain of escape. Thus, in reply to the first overtures of O'Meara, he said, "You do not know the importance of what you ask; it is not Toby, whom General Bonaparte wishes to set at liberty in order to please Miss Balcombe. He wishes to obtain the gratitude of the negroes in the island. He wishes to do the same here as in St. Domingo. I would not do what you ask for anything in the world; but do not tell him so, however, but let him believe that I will submit his request to the council of the company."

The reasons of Sir Hudson Lowe's refusal, which, notwithstanding the governor's injunction, O'Meara repeated word for word to the Emperor, astonished him extremely. No one had as yet really given his ideas respecting the expedition to St. Domingo. All the pamphleteers and journalists who had spoken of that question, had wholly misunderstood it, and the opinion received by his enemies was the odious accusation of having decimated the army of the Rhine, by sending its bravest soldiers to St. Domingo for fear of their remembrance of Moreau. "The truth is," said the Emperor to me, dictating a long note on the occasion, "that there were two courses for me to adopt, when the prosperous condition of the republic enabled me to turn my attention to St. Domingo, at that time a prey to all the dreadful calamities of civil war. The one was to clothe Toussaint l'Ouverture with the whole civil and military authority, and give him the name of governor, and to entrust the command to black generals; to consolidate and legalize the order established by Toussaint, which had been already attended with happy results, to compel the black farmers to pay a compensation to the former French proprietors, and to restrict the whole of the commerce to the capital by stationing numerous cruisers around the coasts. The second consisted in reconquering the colony by force of arms, bringing to France all those blacks who had been higher in rank than a colonel, disarming the blacks by assuring them of their civil liberty, and restoring all their property to the colonists. Each of these plans had its peculiar advantages and its inconveniences. The advantages of the former were obvious; the republic would possess an army of from 25 to 30,000 men, which would make all America tremble. This would be a new

element of power, which would cost no sacrifice either in men or money. The former proprietors, it is true, would have lost the three-fourths of their fortune; French commerce, however, would have lost nothing, because France would always have enjoyed the executive privilege. The second plan was more advantageous to the colonists, and more conformable to justice, but it required a war, which would call for great sacrifices both in men and money. The conflicting pretensions of the blacks, the men of colour, and the proprietors reinstated by force of arms, would be a continual source of embarrassment and disorder, and St. Domingo would be always upon a volcano. I had decided on the former; my policy counselled its adoption; the French flag would acquire a great development of power in the American waters, and a variety of expeditions might have been undertaken against Jamaica and all the Antilles, and against South America, with an army of 30,000 blacks trained and disciplined by French officers. I intended to have had inscribed on the colours of that army, "Brave blacks, remember that France alone recognises your liberty." For this purpose, however, it was necessary to have the frank and sincere co-operation of the chief men among the negroes; the children, brought up in our schools, and finding themselves in the enjoyment of the same rights and privileges as the whites, would have each year knitted more closely the bonds of union between St. Domingo and France; and it would thus ultimately have become one of our finest and most flourishing provinces. The pride of Toussaint l'Ouverture, or rather, the intrigues of the English government, soon changed the whole state of affairs. Vincent, a colonel of engineers, arrived in France as the bearer of a constitution which Toussaint had just proclaimed in St. Domingo, and with a modification of independence, which he had the audacity to signify to the French government.

"From that moment the honour of France demanded a very different course of action; the republic had been insulted, for of all the means of proclaiming independence and raising the standard of rebellion, the black general had chosen the most insolent. There was no longer room for deliberation; the honour as well as the interest of France called for the annihilation of the negro chiefs, who, in my eyes, were nothing more than ungrateful Africans and rebels, with whom it was impossible to establish any system."

The selection of the barren plateau of Longwood, and the measures adopted respecting the Emperor's residence, had caused a complete change in political opinion in England. "Why," said even those who were friends of the ministry, "why not have established him at Plantation-house? The exercise of useless inhumanity is only to expose themselves to severe reproach." The ministers became alive to this feeling, and caused it to be announced in their newspapers, that a large wooden house was prepared for St. Helena, all the parts of which were put on board two store ships, and complete sets of furniture, embracing all the conveniences and luxury of a nobleman's establishment of the first rank in England.

On the 6th of May, the store-ship *Adamant* cast anchor in the roads of James Town, having on board the carpenter work, stone and furniture. This was a most favourable occasion for Sir Hudson Lowe to make a communication to Longwood. He seized it with avidity, and requested to be received by the Emperor. The conversation was long and animated, and at length concluded with these words of the Emperor: "In short, sir, I wish for nothing from you; I have no request to make but one—leave me in

peace. I complained of the Admiral, but I have always done him the justice to acknowledge that he had the heart of a soldier, and I had the fullest confidence in his honour. During the month in which you have been here, you have destroyed all my confidence in you. On hearing of your arrival, I congratulated myself in having henceforward to do with a general who had been employed on affairs of importance on the Continent, and would know how to adopt respecting me measures dictated by propriety. I have been incredibly deceived. You tell me, your instructions are more rigid than those given to the Admiral. Be it so—take courage, and execute them boldly; I am prepared to expect anything from your government; here I am, execute your orders. Are they to put me to death by the sword or by poison? I know not to what means you may resort to poison me, but as to putting me to the sword, you have proved that you have the means, by threatening the officer to have the door of my chamber broken open by violence, if he refused to open it to you. The brave 53rd know that they can only enter by passing over my dead body. Dare to order them to exchange the glorious recollections inscribed upon their colours,\* for the words, '*Assassination of Napoleon!*'

"You offer me, as you say, the whole interior of the island for my drives, but you know that the necessity of being accompanied by one of your officers, makes your offer an insult. When soldiers have received the baptism of fire, they are all the same in my eyes, whatever may be the colour of their uniform, and it is not the red coats of your officers which would make me importunate, but it is, that I shall never acknowledge, by any act of my life, that I am your prisoner, and consequently, I prefer confining myself to that small corner in which at least I may walk with freedom, to submitting to your good pleasure.

"The necessity of being accompanied by one of your officers is a useless and vexatious precaution; the security of my detention consists in the *surveillance* of your cruisers, and not in having an officer galloping in my train. All these measures, as you know, are absurd; but what you do not know is, that you cover yourselves with disgrace by your conduct towards me, and that your children will blush at bearing the name you will leave them. Such will be the decree of posterity."

On going away from this audience, Sir Hudson Lowe said, "General Bonaparte, as it appears, is not satisfied with having created an imaginary France, an imaginary Spain, and an imaginary Poland, as is proved by the excellent work of the Abbé de Pradt, which I have just been reading, but he wishes still further to create an imaginary St. Helena."

Whether to distract his mind from all recollections of this discussion, or as the effect of one of those revulsions of his impressions which were habitual to him, the Emperor spoke to us of nothing, during the evening, but the Empress Josephine: "We lived together," said he, "like honest citizens in our mutual relations—and always retired together till 1805, a period in which political events obliged me to change my habits, and to add the labours of the night to those of the day. This regularity is the best guarantee for a good establishment; it ensures the respectability of the wife, the dependence of the husband, and maintains intimacy of feeling and good morals. If this is not the case, the smallest circumstances make people forget each other. A son by Josephine, would have rendered me happy,

\* The names of several battles won by the English army during the Spanish War were inscribed on the colours of the 53rd.

and have secured the reign of my dynasty. The French would have loved him very much better than the King of Rome, and I never would have put my foot on that abyss covered with flowers which was my ruin. Let no one, after this, think upon the wisdom of human combinations. Let no one venture to pronounce, before its close, on the happiness or misery of life! My poor Josephine had the instinct of the future, when she became terrified at her sterility; she knew well that a marriage is only real when there is an offspring; and in proportion as fortune smiled, her anxiety increased. She built her hopes on my adoption of Eugene, and this was the cause of all the disagreements with my brothers. She never asked anything for her son, and, with a perfect tact, she never even thanked me for anything which I did for him, so much had she it at heart to convince me that Eugene's political fortune was not her own interest, but rather mine. I was the object of her deepest attachment, and I am so convinced of it," he added, smiling, "that I believe she would have left the rendezvous of love to come and find me. If I went into my carriage at midnight for a long journey, there, to my surprise, I found her seated before me and awaiting my arrival. If I attempted to dissuade her from accompanying me, she had so many good and affectionate reasons wherewith to oppose me, that it was almost always necessary to yield. In a word, she always proved to me a happy and affectionate wife, and I have therefore preserved the tenderest recollections of her."

Passing successively in review in his thoughts the members of his family, he said to us, that in the Hundred Days he had entertained the idea of making Corsica a kind of vice-royalty for his brother Lucien, under the title of governor-general; and he added, "Had Lucien been there when I abdicated, I should have preserved the sovereignty of Corsica. All the arms and hearts of the population would have been as devoted to me as if they were my own family; and the disembarkation of 50,000 men would have proved a failure, had an attempt been made to carry me off. My presence in Corsica would have been a restraint upon the enemies of the French people, a protest in favour of all those interests which my reign created."

Lieutenant Colonel Skelton, who was returning to Europe, had pressed me strongly to take into my service a Lascar, who was an excellent valet-de-chambre, and from whom he parted with regret, and I had consented to it. The man was at Longwood, without Sir Hudson Lowe's knowledge—at least, he pretended so. As misfortune would have it—he saw him, on making one of his usual tours of inspection to know all that was going on. His rage was extreme. He took no time to reflect on the brutal impropriety of what he was about to do, and, without asking for any account from the officer on duty at Longwood, he dashed full gallop on the poor Lascar, and seizing him by the throat, as a policeman would grasp a thief, he ordered a dragoon belonging to his escort to conduct him as a prisoner to the town, to be there examined. None of the French had seen him—the English did not dare to inform me, and it was not till I was dressing for dinner, that, having sent to call my valet, in all directions, I was made acquainted with the scene which had been enacted by Sir Hudson Lowe.

The Emperor was offended; the man pleased him, and he wished him to wait at table; his Indian costume, his turban, his muslin tunic, embroidered with gold, his cachemire shawl, the tout-ensemble recalled his recol-

lections of the East. He ordered the Grand Marshal to write to Sir Hudson Lowe, who, on this occasion at least, was convinced that he was wrong, and excused himself on account of his ignorance of the true situation of the Lascar at Longwood; but he never restored him to me, for, foreseeing the issue of these explanations, he had taken care to send him on board ship two hours after his arrest.

## CHAPTER IX.

## TREATY OF THE 2ND OF AUGUST, 1815.

A COMMUNICATION of the very highest importance was made at this period, by Sir Hudson Lowe. This was the Convention signed at Paris, on the 2nd of August, 1815, by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia, which was as follows:

"Napoleon Bonaparte being in the power of the allied Sovereigns, their majesties, the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, have determined, by virtue of the stipulations of the treaty of the 26th of March, 1815, on the measures best calculated to render it impossible for him by any new enterprise to disturb the peace of Europe.

"ART. 1. Napoleon Bonaparte is regarded by the Powers who have signed the treaty of the 26th of March last, as their prisoner.

"ART. 2. His safe keeping is entrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place and of the measures best calculated to ensure the object of these stipulations, is reserved to his Britannic Majesty.

"ART. 3. The imperial courts of Austria and Russia, and the royal court of Prussia, shall appoint commissioners to reside in the place which his Britannic Majesty shall determine on as the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte, and who, without being responsible for his safe custody, shall assure themselves of his presence.

"ART. 4. His most Christian Majesty is invited, in the name of the four courts above named, in like manner to send a French commissioner to the place of Napoleon Bonaparte's detention.

"ART. 5. His Majesty the King of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, binds himself to fulfil the engagements assigned to him by the present convention.

"ART. 6. The present convention shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within a few days, or sooner if possible.

"In ratification of which the respective plenipotentiaries have affixed their hands and seals.

"Given at Paris, the 2nd of August, 1815.

(Signed)

"PRINCE METTERNICH,  
"ABERDEEN,  
"PRINCE HARDENBURG,  
"COUNT NESSELRODE.

"A true copy.

HUDSON LOWE,

"Governor of the Island of St. Helena, and  
Commissioner of his Britannic Majesty."

The reading of this convention made but little impression on the Emperor—however, he said to us, "If the people, whose interests have been conquered at Waterloo, submit to the iron yoke imposed upon them by the congress of Vienna, we shall not be worth the money which it will cost England to keep us here, and English interests will require them to get rid of us. The expenses of my captivity will certainly exceed 10,000,000

francs per annum. But, after all, what signify ten millions to England? Besides, it is not probable that this may take place before many years, for it will be only while the slumber of the nations is profound that the security of their sovereigns will lead them to calculate the inutility of the expense. We have another chance of escape: perhaps, by a course of adverse events, the sovereigns may be forced to acknowledge the error which they have committed in dethroning me, and may call me to their aid in the immense struggle of the past against the French revolution. I should be the natural mediator, because the empire which I created was at once favourable to the cause of kings, and to that of nations. It has not been the will of fate that my work should finish by effecting the social reorganization of Europe; it has conducted me hither, and the mystery of its acts are impenetrable by the most profound research. At Waterloo, I ought to have been victorious; the chances were a hundred to one in my favour; but Ney, the bravest of the brave, at the head of 42,000 Frenchmen, suffered himself to be delayed a whole day by some thousands of Nassau troops. Had it not been for this inexplicable inactivity, the English army would have been taken *flagrante delicto*, and annihilated without striking a blow.\* Grouchy, with 40,000 men, suffered Bulow and Blücher to escape from him; and, finally, a heavy fall of rain had made the ground so soft, that it was impossible to commence the attack at day-break. Had I been able to commence early, Wellington's army would have been trodden down in the defiles of the forest, before the Prussians could have had time to arrive. It was lost without resource. The defeat of Wellington's army would have been peace, the repose of Europe, the recognition of the interests of the masses, and of the democracy."

Then, after a few minutes' deep reflection, he resumed:

"Send no answer; do not acknowledge the receipt of the communication. There is time enough to do that, and I shall probably reply to it by a protest, which I shall send to Vienna and Petersburg at the same time as to London."

Colonel Wilks, the ex-governor, sent to ask permission to take leave of the Emperor before leaving the island. He had been formerly a diplomatic agent of the East India Company, and was a man of distinguished talents and various acquirements. We had, however, seen little of him, because the gout had kept him confined to bed for the most part of the year. His daughter was as remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as for her information. She spoke French like a native, and served as an interpreter for her father in his interview with us. The Emperor received them, (the father and daughter,) with a great degree of good humour; expressed his regret at their departure; and, after having conversed for a long time upon the extension of the English dominion in India, he said—"You have lost America by enfranchisement; you have perceived the reason, and, as you say, you prevent the English from becoming proprietors in India. You do well, for, when children arrive at years of maturity, it is in the nature of things that they should become independent. Your power in India has been exposed to great dangers. I have constantly assailed it by my negotiations, and I would have reached it by my arms, had I been able to come to an understanding with the Emperor of Russia, on the partition of Turkey. This was a natural consequence of that war to the death, made upon me by the blind hatred of your cabinet, which could never be made to

\* The Emperor was not aware at that time of the cause of Ney's forced inaction.



comprehend that France and England held in their hands the sceptre of the world—the sceptre of civilization, from the very day on which they were reconciled. How much evil we have done! How much good we might have effected!

"I have always wished sincerely for peace, and always offered it after a victory. I have never asked it after a reverse, because a nation more readily repairs its resources and finds new troops, than recovers its honour. I am wrongfully accused of having refused peace at Dresden. When history shall give publicity to the negotiations of Prague, the policy of Metternich will be unmasked, and justice will be done me. I wished for a general peace, honourable to all parties, and such as would secure the repose of Europe. As the price of her mediation, Austria wished, by a stroke of the pen, to demolish the ramparts of Dantzic, Custrin, Magdeburg, Wesel, Mayence, Antwerp, Alexandria, and Mantua—in short, of all the strongest places in Europe, of which my troops were still in possession, and the keys of which had cost me thirty victories. She dared to propose to me, with arms in my hands, to evacuate the half of Germany, and to wait, like a fool, behind the Rhine, till the allied armies, having recovered the losses which they had sustained in so many battles, should be in condition to put forward new pretensions. It was in the name of my father-in-law, before Austria had drawn the sword, that they flattered themselves with inducing me to sign their insulting proposal. I said to Metternich, with indignation, "Is it my father-in-law who entertains such a project? Is it he who sends you to me? In what an attitude does he wish to place me before the French people! He is strangely mistaken if he supposes that a throne so mutilated as that could afford a refuge for his daughter and his grandson in France! How much has England given you to induce you to play this game against me? Have not I done enough for your fortune? It is of no consequence—be frank—what is it you wish? If twenty millions will not satisfy you—say what you wish?"

"The sudden paleness of Metternich, and his silence, recalled me to myself; but the blow was mortal, and from that moment I had no further belief in peace. On the same evening, however, my minister for foreign affairs signed a convention, by which I accepted the mediation of Austria, which, on her part, engaged to obtain from the allies, that a congress should be assembled in Prague before the 10th of August, in order to negotiate a general peace. My plenipotentiaries went thither, and their declarations, as recorded in the minutes, prove that I wished for peace at all costs, provided French honour was respected.

"I have always been of opinion that the rivalries between great nations have been the results of misunderstanding, and from the moment that I was balked in my project of making a descent upon England, by the fault of Admiral Villeneuve, I never desired anything but peace. As long as the negotiations on your part were conducted by Fox, they were honourably conducted, and had he lived, England and France would have been united in the closest alliance since 1806. Unfortunately for both nations, Fox died, and the ministry which succeeded him, adopted the shade of Pitt for its *regis*.

"In short, I have always wished for peace with England, by all means reconcilable with the dignity of the French nation. I have desired peace, at the cost of all sacrifices consistent with national honour; I had neither prejudice, hatred, nor jealousy of ambition against England. It was of

little consequence to me that England was rich and prosperous, provided that France was so also. I should not have contested with her the dominion of the sea, I repeat, if at sea she had been ready to respect the French flag, as the Emperors of Austria or Russia would have respected our standards on land.

"Had I been conqueror at Waterloo, I would have made no change in the message sent to London before passing the Sambre.

"You are about to return to London, tell your fellow-citizens what you have just heard, and that, in going on board the *Bellerophon* of my own accord, I gave the English people the most splendid proof of my esteem."

After this audience came that of Captain Hamilton, of the frigate *Havanah*, who had made the passage with us from England. This officer was one of those who were on the most intimate terms with the Grand Marshal, so that it was almost as if one of ourselves was about to return to Europe. Very few days passed without his coming to Hut's Gate, as if he had been a fellow-countryman and a friend. The Emperor having asked, if he was likely to see the Prince Regent, said to him, on his replying in the affirmative, "Well, in that case, tell him, if he wishes to know my desire, that I have only one thing to ask, and that is, either my liberty or an executioner. I am not the prisoner of England, and the government has, in my case, most unworthily violated the sacred laws of hospitality which even savages respect.

"Neither am I the prisoner of Russia, Austria, or Prussia. I freely, and of my own accord, gave myself up to England, because I had confidence in the sacred faith of the law, and in the honour of the English people. I have been cruelly deceived; the justice of God will avenge me; and already that of man has set an indelible mark of disgrace upon the conduct of your government.

"Had I given myself up to Russia, I should have been well received, for Alexander and myself are friends. Had I surrendered to Austria I should have been respectfully received. The Emperor Francis would not have wished to inflict a disgrace upon the husband of his daughter, and the father of his grandson. Undoubtedly Metternich's police would have watched my most trifling actions, but what would his police have been to me, when I had renounced all concern in political affairs, and wished to live completely a stranger to all intrigues!

"I would have occupied the whole of my time in the education of my son, and in the peaceful enjoyment of family happiness. If, finally, I had thrown myself into the hands of Prussians, the king would have received me with the recollection of his own misfortunes and my generosity. For, if I did him much evil, it was the result of his own conduct, and it depended entirely upon myself to do him much more. The King of Prussia is an honest man—a man of honour, who would not have violated the sacred laws of hospitality. I must do him that justice.

"The hatred which your ministers bear to me has left a stain upon English honour. The Prince Regent should avow it, and protest before the nation, if he is really powerless against the decisions of his ministers. He is but a contemptible or wicked king who sympathizes with the vulgar passions of his inferiors when he is able to repress them."

During the evening, the Emperor continued to observe upon the nature of the mission which he had given to Colonel Wilks and Captain Hamilton. This circumstance furnished him with an opportunity of passing in review

the abilities of his different ambassadors—and it appeared that the Count de Narbonne was the one who really and thoroughly comprehended and exactly followed his instructions.

"This," said he, "arose, not only from his mind which was equally subtle and observing, but still more from his courtly manner of address, and his name, which opened to him every door among the old aristocracy, and gave access to a more intimate acquaintance with my natural enemies; for, when one commands, by the influence of an immediate effect or the recollection of victory, the first comer is fit to be an ambassador, and an aide-de-camp is the best possible support; but when it becomes a question of negotiation, of penetrating the secrets of foreign offices, and outwitting the diplomatic ingenuity of enemies, it is quite another affair, and then one ought to send to the old aristocracy of the European courts none but of their own stamp and order—there, aristocracy is a kind of real freemasonry. Neither an Otto nor an Andreossi would ever find access to the boudoirs of Vienna. In the presence of such persons there is no freedom of intercourse, no indiscretion of friendship. Whatever superiority of mind they may possess, whatever acquaintance with ceremonies and observances, they still constitute a part of the *profanum vulgus*, to whom the mysteries of high life are inaccessible. Otto was, undoubtedly, an extremely well informed diplomatist, and no man better understood the manner of conducting a treaty of peace or commerce; but he knew nothing whatever of the plots of Austria with Russia and England, at the close of the year 1812, and at the beginning of 1813; he was deceived by the protestations of Metternich, and contributed to blind me respecting the conduct of Austria.

"Chance led me to have some conversation respecting Vienna, with Narbonne, who happened on that occasion to be on duty aide-de-camp. I learnt from him his former intimacy with the first families among the aristocracy of Vienna, and, recollecting the services which he had already rendered me at the court of Munich, I sent him to Vienna. From the very moment of his arrival, he succeeded, by means of the friendship of one of the first ladies at court, in removing the veil which had concealed the whole truth from his predecessor. His mother had been lady of honour to the sisters of Louis XVI., and, as such, during the emigration, had contracted a great intimacy with this lady, who looked upon Narbonne, in no other light than as the son of her old friend. The ambassador was forgotten in the agreeable recollections of the heart—and the impression given by the mistress of the house produced an electrical effect on the frequenters of her salon. Hence, they conversed in the presence of Narbonne, as they would have done fifteen years before, and thus he knew all.

"I had occasion to see the same result when I removed Talleyrand from the office of foreign affairs. There were still some aristocratical affinities with Champagny, for he was ancient noble, but none whatever with Maret. Notwithstanding, the latter had all the courtliness of the old regime, and the Duchess of Bassano, without contradiction, was as graceful in her deportment as she was beautiful. It is, however, natural after all—the *barrel still smells of the herring*.

"On the whole, perhaps, it might have been better for me to have left Otto in Vienna, and to have done nothing; for Metternich, knowing that I was no longer his dupe, threw off the mask and urged on his measures. With Otto, nothing on my part would have disturbed the habitual slowness and indecision of the Chancery of Vienna, and perhaps events more favourable

for France might have occurred. Other chances, in short, of an opposite description."

The mission on which I had been employed in Germany at the period of the retreat from Russia, led me to recall various circumstances to the Emperor's attention, respecting the conduct of the Cabinet of Berlin, and that of Count de St. Marran, who was then the French minister in Prussia. "You are right," said he, "the Prussians did entertain the idea of seizing my person, and I ran that risk by crossing Silesia, but fortunately, they allowed the time to pass in deliberation in which it was possible to execute the plan. They acted precisely as the Saxons did in the case of Charles XII., and like him, I might have said, on putting my foot on Saxon ground, 'you will see that they will deliberate to-morrow, whether they ought to have stopped me to-day.'"

## CHAPTER X.

## SIR HUDSON LOWE'S ANNOYANCES.

FROM the arrival of Sir Hudson Lowe, a remarkable change took place in our relations with the colonel and the officers of the garrison of every rank. The tradespeople were forbidden to sell anything to us directly, and were threatened, in case of disobedience, with the seizure and confiscation of their goods. Everything was now to pass through the medium of the governor or his agents, and any articles whatsoever, delivered in contravention of this order, were to be treated as contraband. This restriction was made known by a proclamation affixed upon the walls in James Town. The townspeople were forbidden to hold any communication with us whatsoever, without the permission and authority of the governor, under pain of banishment, if the offence was committed by a free man, and 100 lashes if by a slave.

In consequence of this new measure, sentinels were placed in all the passages deemed practicable for illegal communications by means of negroes or Chinese, and the guards on the various paths and roads leading to Longwood received orders to allow no one to pass without giving the countersign from the governor, or the chief of his staff, and also to make a written memorandum of all persons who presented themselves with or without a pass. The report was also to record the time of passing both in going and coming. The guard of honour, posted at the entrance to Longwood, was ordered to be as particular as possible in mentioning to whom the visit was made, and how long the visitor remained with each of us.

Several officers of the garrison, the colonels, and a member of the colonial council, came to take leave of the Emperor, and to express their regret, that they found themselves, by a feeling of regard to their own honour, compelled to abstain from coming any more to Longwood, "for," said the member of the council, "this man wishes us, after having visited you, to go to him and give an account of everything you say."

Even all these measures did not satisfy the eternal mistrust of Sir Hudson Lowe; he pretended that morning and evening it was necessary for him to see the Emperor personally. He had many conferences on this point with the grand marshal, and always with more or less bitterness; always affecting, however, to preserve the forms of a profound desire to reconcile the rigour of his instructions with the respect which they prescribed to him to observe *towards the General, who had been for fifteen years the head of the French government, but whom he was forbidden to treat as a crowned head.* These were his own expressions.

The grand marshal having failed to overcome the respectful, but immovable obstinacy of the governor, the Emperor, at length, consented to give him audience, and received him, although he was much indisposed, and obliged to remain in his bed-chamber. To the great astonishment of the Emperor, however, not a word was said to him by the governor upon the subject of his conferences with Bertrand, the interest he took in his health, and his desire to remove all those obstacles, which, as he had been told,

were opposed to his making excursions beyond the limits of Longwood, and insinuations against the system of intermediation, which embittered every question. He made the warmest protestations of his wish to render as endurable as possible a captivity, which, according to his personal opinion, would not extend beyond the time of the occupation of the French territory by the allied armies; and then, as a proof of this desire, he made an offer of the daily attendance of Dr. Baxter, a physician in the English army, and a man of distinguished merit, who besides, spoke French well, which would be more convenient to us, than the necessity of consulting Mr. O'Meara in Italian or English. Such was the text of the conversation; but in spite of all his pains to please, and of an obvious desire to regain the ground which he had lost, Sir Hudson Lowe only half succeeded, for, on his departure, the Emperor said to Marchand, "Take away that cup of coffee—I do not wish to drink it; that man has approached it, and I believe him quite capable of poisoning me."

A very different effect, however, had been produced on the mind of Sir Hudson Lowe—he thought himself sure of success, and in the intoxication of his self-love, he wrote an invitation to the grand marshal, requesting the honour of *General Bonaparte's* company at dinner the next day at Plantation House, to meet the Countess of Loudon, who had just arrived from Calcutta, would only remain two days in St. Helena, and had expressed a desire to see General Bonaparte. It is not necessary to say that the Emperor refused.

Some days afterwards, Sir Hudson Lowe, according to his custom, came unexpectedly to Longwood, and took the Emperor by surprise in the garden. It was impossible to refuse receiving him, when an aide-de-camp came to solicit that honour; but the Emperor was doubly vexed, and, from the very commencement, the conversation took a tone of extreme bitterness. This circumstance led to deplorable results, as it was the first cause of the Emperor's determination not to leave the house—a determination which contributed more than anything else to the development of the malady which killed him.

This conversation led to the following message, which Mr. O'Meara was commissioned to deliver verbally to Sir Hudson Lowe: "They may with propriety keep me at a distance from the batteries and the shore; I shall never ask permission to approach them. All that is necessary, to be sure of my safe custody, is to guard sufficiently the coasts of this rock. Let General Lowe place piquets round the whole circuit of the island, which he can easily do with the number of men at his disposal, and it will be impossible for me to escape. Could he not, besides, put additional *videttes* on duty when he knows that I wish to go out? Could he not place them on the heights and everywhere else without my knowledge? I shall never give any indication of observing them. Could he not act in this manner, without obliging me to say to the officer on duty—'I wish to take a ride?' Not that I have any objection to Captain Poppleton; I like good soldiers, to whatever nation they belong; but I do not wish to do anything which can give any one a right to say that I acknowledge myself a prisoner. I have been forced to come here against the law of nations, and I shall never admit, by any part of my conduct, that I am rightfully detained. To ask an officer to accompany me, would be tacitly to make this acknowledgment. I have no intention to attempt an escape, although I have never pledged my word not to do so, because that too would be an acknowledgment of being a prisoner, which I shall never make. Could they not impose upon me new

restrictions as soon as any vessel approaches, and not allow any ship to set sail without ascertaining that I am still in the island, without employing such means of useless and vexatious constraint? It is absolutely necessary for my health to ride seven or eight leagues a day, but I shall certainly not do so with an officer in ordinary of Sir Hudson Lowe at my heels. I have always regarded it as a maxim, that a man exhibits more real courage by supporting calamities and resisting misfortunes when they occur, than by putting an end to his life. Self-destruction is the act of a gambler who has lost all, or that of a ruined spendthrift, and proves nothing but a want of courage. Your government deceives itself, if it supposes that by having recourse to all possible means of overwhelming me, such as sending me into exile on this rock, depriving me of all communication with my nearest relations, to such an extent as to leave me in absolute ignorance at this moment whether any of my blood are alive, isolating me from the world, and imposing vexatious and useless restrictions, which become more and more rigorous every day, it thinks to exhaust my power of endurance, and to drive me to commit suicide.

"This palace which they send me, according to report, is just so much money thrown into the sea. I would rather they sent me 400 volumes of books, than the whole of this house and its furniture. First, it will require several years to build this pretended palace, and before it is finished, I shall be dead.

"In short, tell your governor that I shall never go beyond the barrier, if he persists in the system which he has adopted, and that I do not wish to see him again, unless he changes it."

The Emperor breakfasted occasionally in the garden, under the shade of an old willow, the only tree at that time in the garden which was not a gum tree. I say, "at that time," because in 1819, twenty-four beautiful trees were purchased and brought to Longwood, at great cost, and planted on a line with the library, so as to form an alley under which the Emperor could walk and breathe the fresh air, without, however, going beyond the limits of the little garden under his windows, which was respected by the sentinels placed by orders of Sir Hudson Lowe, from six o'clock in the evening till six o'clock in the morning.

O'Meara returned from the town in the morning, at the time the Emperor was breakfasting under the willow. He called him, and, wishing to show his satisfaction with his services, invited him to breakfast. The news brought from James Town, and what was passing at Plantation House, where they began already to speak of the marriage of the governor's eldest daughter, led the Emperor to speak of his landing at Cannes, and his ideas impelled him beyond the limits of a conversation; he rose quickly, entered his cabinet, and without reposing for a single instant, dictated what follows, under the title of the "MSS. of the Island of Elba." At eight o'clock in the evening, I was still writing. On another occasion—on that of composing an answer to Lord Bathurst's despatch of the date of the 18th of March, 1817—he dictated to me fourteen hours continuously, without any other repose than that afforded by desiring me to read from time to time what I had written. I was completely exhausted; he was not fatigued, and after this forced labour, he dined in the best spirits, refreshing his mind by dwelling on the scenes of his youth, which he took great pleasure in relating.

"What recollections," said he, "crowd upon my memory, when my thoughts are no longer occupied with political topics, or with the insults of that wicked man. I am carried back to my first impressions of the life of

man. It seems to me always in these moments of calm, that I should have been the happiest man in the world with 12,000 francs a-year, living as the father of a family, with my wife and son, in our old house at Ajaccio. You remember its beautiful situation—you cannot have forgotten it! You have often despoiled it of its finest bunches of grapes, when you ran off with Pauline to go and satisfy your childish appetite. And Madame Jone—into what a rage she put herself, and how she scolded that poor Pauline, upon whom the whole storm always burst! Happy hours! the natal soil has infinite charms; memory embellishes it with all its powers, even to the very odour of the ground, which one can so realize to the senses, as to be able, with the eyes shut, to tell the spots first trodden by the foot of childhood.

"I still remember with emotion, the most minute details of a journey during which I accompanied Paoli. More than five hundred of us, young persons of the first families in the island, formed his guard of honour; I felt proud of walking by his side, and he appeared to take pleasure in pointing out to me, with paternal affection, the passes of our mountains, which had been witnesses of the heroic struggle of our fellow-countrymen for natural independence. The impression made upon me, whilst I listened, still vibrates in my heart! Come, place your hand upon my bosom! see, how it beats!" and it was true, his heart did beat with such rapidity, as would have excited my astonishment, had I not been acquainted with his organization, and with the kind of electric commotion which his thoughts communicated to his whole being.

"It is like the sound of a bell;" added he, "there is none here—I am no longer accustomed to hear it. The sound of a bell never strikes my ear, without carrying back my thoughts to the sensations of my youth. The Angelus' bell led me back to pleasant reveries, when, in the midst of earnest thoughts, and burdened with the weight of an imperial crown, I heard its first sounds under the shady woods of St. Cloud; and often have I been supposed to have been revolving the plan of a campaign or digesting an imperial law, when my thoughts were wholly absorbed in dwelling upon the first impressions of my youth. Religion is, in fact, the dominion of the soul—it is the hope, the anchor of safety, the deliverance from evil. What a service has Christianity rendered to humanity! what a power would it still have, did its ministers comprehend their mission!"

We shall afterwards see what ideas the Emperor entertained concerning the mission of a priest.

The restless mind of Sir Hudson Lowe could not remain long at ease without giving us new subjects of complaint against his unworthy tricks.

The declaration signed on the 17th October, 1816, did not suffice; he wished personally to interrogate each of the persons belonging to the Emperor's household; and the fear with which he meant to inspire them, by detailing the privations to which they were about to expose themselves, was a proof of the real object of this inquest, the official purpose of which was to ascertain that the declaration had been freely signed, and without regret or reserve of any kind.

The smallest details respecting Longwood assumed in his eyes an extreme importance, and in consequence, he issued an order to fix the nature and quantity of the provisions to be furnished for the use of the establishment at Longwood, and I received the following document:

"Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe has the honour to inform Lieutenant-General Count Montholon, that in consequence of an order of this day, issued to the Commissariat department, no more than the following



articles, in the quantities specified below, will be delivered for the use of the establishment at Longwood :

“ LONGWOOD HOUSE.

|                                     |            |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| 7 bottles of Claret                 | per day.   |
| 2 ditto vin de Grave                | ditto.     |
| 26 ditto Champagne                  | per month. |
| 11 ditto Constantia                 | ditto.     |
| 23 ditto Madeira                    | ditto.     |
| 4 ditto Malaga                      | ditto.     |
| 22 ditto Cape wine for the servants | per day.   |
| 7 ditto Teneriffe                   | per month. |
| 10 ditto brandy                     | ditto.     |
| 3 ditto rum                         | ditto.     |
| 3 ditto liqueurs                    | ditto.     |
| 8 ditto Sirop d'Orgeat              | ditto.     |
| 3 ditto Fruits in brandy            | per month. |
| 6 pots confections                  | ditto.     |
| 23 bottles of vinegar               | ditto.     |
| 32 flasks of olive oil              | ditto.     |
| 9 ditto olives                      | ditto.     |
| 6 pots of mustard                   | ditto.     |
| 3 jars of pickles                   | ditto.     |
| 9 small baskets of fine salt        | ditto.     |
| 30 pounds of kitchen salt           | ditto.     |
| 52 ditto bread                      | per day.   |
| 75 beef or mutton                   | ditto.     |
| 7 chickens                          | ditto.     |
| 22 roast fowls                      | per month. |
| 9 hams                              | ditto.     |
| 9 pickled tongues                   | ditto.     |
| 45 pounds of lard                   | ditto.     |
| 45 ditto suet                       | ditto.     |
| 225 ditto salt butter               | ditto.     |
| 34 eggs                             | per day.   |
| 8 bottles of milk                   | ditto.     |
| 30 pounds of cheese                 | ditto.     |
| 23 ditto soap                       | per month. |
| 200 bushels of coals                | ditto.     |
| 45 pounds of loaf sugar             | ditto.     |
| 240 ditto sugar candy               | ditto.     |
| 30 ditto dry fruit                  | ditto.     |
| 30 ditto tea                        | ditto.     |
| 188 ditto wax lights                | ditto.     |
| 45 ditto pâte d'Italie              | ditto.     |
| 70 ditto rice                       | per month. |
| 120 ditto flour                     | ditto.     |
| 2 dishes of vegetables              | per day.   |
| and 2 ditto fish, when possible,    | ditto.     |

“ The wood for warming Napoleon Bonaparte's chambers shall be furnished and gathered in Dead Wood by the Company's farmer.”

Meantime a case of recent pamphlets having been sent from England, addressed to Sir Hudson Lowe, he selected two or three of them which contained most atrocious libels upon the Emperor, and sent them to Longwood as a mark of civility, along with the "Embassy to Warsaw," by the Abbé de Pradt. He yielded without doubt, to some of the inspirations of that savage hatred, of which he had imbibed the first impressions during the time in which he was at the head of the battalion of Corsican and Calabrian deserters, which he commanded in Sicily. He was, however, deceived, for the Emperor laughed heartily at these collections of absurd fables related concerning his reign by the old gossips of the Emigration. The Embassy to Warsaw afforded him an especial subject of amusement, and he frequently repeated, "*Would you believe it, but for one man I should have been master of the world!*" Can you conceive that a clever man like the Abbé de Pradt could write such nonsense?"

In captivity, the smallest circumstances often furnish a pretext for an explosion of bad temper. A man must have worn a prisoner's chain in order to comprehend how much moral courage it requires to restrain the sufferings of the mind, and not to suffer oneself to be ruled by a spirit of acrimony, which is always ready to see an insult in a smile, a bitter word, or a difference of opinion.

Paris to Longwood, what an immense transition! I accuse no one. At first, it was too much for us all. A duel was about to take place; the Emperor heard of it, and disarmed us by saying with the emotion of a father: "Do you wish to fight under my very eyes? Am I then no longer the object of your care? Are not the eyes of our enemies fixed upon Longwood? You have quitted your families, you have sacrificed everything from love to me, and in order to share my misfortunes, and you are now about voluntarily to aggravate them, and to render them insupportable. Be brothers! otherwise you will be only an additional punishment to me! Be brothers, I command you—I entreat you as a father!"

Sir Hudson Lowe manœuvred so well, as once more to be received by the Emperor, and that even in his bed-chamber. He had, as he said, important communications to make, which could only be made to the Emperor in person. This was a mere bait to procure admission, and who would not have taken it?

The conference, although protracted, led to no particular incident, and the hope of any communications more or less important proved illusive. The Emperor alone, from some words which had fallen from Sir Hudson Lowe, thought it possible to put an end to one of the daily recurring causes of bitterness in our relations—the question respecting the Emperor's title,—and of being able to adopt, with one accord, a designation which would satisfy the pretensions of both parties. The grand marshal received orders from the Emperor to open a negotiation on this point, and to propose that for the future he should take the name of Colonel Duroc, or Colonel Muiron. These two names were dear to him, for having been borne by two friends, both of whom were killed at his side on the field of battle; Duroc, as his grand marshal in the campaign of 1813, and Muiron, as his aide-de-camp at the bridge of Arcola, covering him with his body at the moment of a frightful discharge of grape-shot, when he dashed forward on the bridge, at the head of the Grenadiers of the 32nd.

Several months elapsed in the interchange of notes without any result; and it was not till some time in the month of September, that the negotiation began to assume a substantial form, through the mediation of O'Meara;

and on the insinuation of Sir Hudson Lowe, that the title of Emperor would be always an obstacle in the way of his government opening the gates of St. Helena, "I wished," replied the Emperor, "to come here *incognito*; I proposed it to the Admiral, but the proposal was rejected. They persisted in calling me General Bonaparte. I am not ashamed of that name, but I do not wish to receive it from the English government. Had the French republic never had a legal existence for England, they would no more have had the right to call me General than first magistrate: in fact, as Emperor, I was elected by the French people, and became their first magistrate by compact.

"Had the admiral remained, it is nevertheless probable that we should have come to an understanding on this question of the name. I would have taken that of Duroc or Muiron."

Some days afterwards, the Emperor caused the following note, written by himself, but not signed, to be sent to Sir Hudson Lowe:

"It occurs to me, that in the conversation which has taken place between General Lowe and my officers, things have been said respecting my position which are not conformable to my ideas.

"I have placed my abdication in the hands of the French nation, and in favour of my son. I went to England with the most perfect confidence, either to reside there or in America, in complete retirement, and under the name of a colonel killed at my side, *resolved entirely to abstain from all connexion with political affairs of any kind whatsoever.*

"Arrived on board the Northumberland, I was told I was a prisoner of war, that the government had resolved to transport me beyond the equator, and that I was to be called general Bonaparte. I felt it my duty ostensibly to resume my title of Emperor, in opposition to that of General, which they wished to impose on me. It is now seven or eight months since Count Montholon proposed to prevent these little difficulties which are of daily occurrence, by adopting for me a common name.\*

"An appellation is at present given me, which does not recall the past, but which is not consistent with the usual forms of society. *I am always ready and willing to adopt a name which may consist with ordinary usage,* and I reiterate the assurance, that if it be judged proper to release me from this cruel abode, *I am resolved to keep myself wholly a stranger to political events of every description.* Such are my views, and whatever else may be said on this subject is destitute of foundation."

Sir Hudson considered this communication of the highest importance, and immediately sent the following reply:

"The Governor without loss of time, will forward to the British government the paper which has been delivered to him to-day, on the part of Napoleon Bonaparte."

At the same time, however, he expressed his regret at Longwood, that the Emperor had not signed the document, not that he meant to raise the slightest doubt respecting the authenticity of the writing, but only because he thought the signature would add still greater importance to the paper, and that it was consequently, only for the advantage of the person who had written it, that he took the liberty of making this observation. He said, moreover that he would carefully and anxiously re-consider his instructions, as well as those given to his predecessor, Sir George Cockburn, to see if he could find any possibility of complying with the desire which had

\* The Admiral wrote to London on this subject, and no more was heard of it.

been expressed, of consenting to adopt one of the two names proposed; he thought, however, in any case, that it would not be possible to admit them without the modification of some feudal title, in exchange for that of colonel. I was ordered to write to Sir Hudson Lowe, that the Emperor would agree to change the appellation of Colonel Duroc or Muiron, for that of Baron Duroc; and that he was ready to use that signature, if the governor would consent from that time forward, with the reservation of any future decision of his government, to adopt for him the title of Baron Duroc; but in the contrary case, he would sign nothing, and would make him acquainted with his views through one of us.

"The governor and his government," said the Emperor, "act absurdly in this question, and do not understand it at all. I do not call myself Napoleon Emperor of France, but the Emperor Napoleon, which is a very different thing, because it is in accordance with the usage adopted by sovereigns who have abdicated. It was thus that James II. preserved his title of king and majesty after having lost his crown; and that King Charles of Spain preserved the title of king, after he had abdicated in favour of his son Ferdinand VII. If I was in England, I would not call myself Emperor; but a pretension is, in this case, put forward, that the French nation had not the right to make me its sovereign without the permission of the king of England. Never shall I yield to that.

"A man at the head of a weak party during popular disturbances, is called a rebel chief; but he has no sooner succeeded, performed great actions, and raised his country and himself, than he is designated general, president, consul, or sovereign. It is success alone which justifies and confirms the title. If he be less successful or less fortunate, he remains merely a rebel chief, or perishes on the scaffold. For years Washington was nothing more than a leader of rebels in the eyes of the mother country; but victory crowned him with laurels, and England was condemned to recognize him as chief magistrate of United States of North America. It would be truly ridiculous in me to call myself Emperor in the position in which I am now placed, and this would only suggest the recollection of those unfortunate maniacs, who, in their chains, and on their bed of straw, have imagined themselves to be kings. It is only the English ministry which compels me by its conduct towards me, and makes my French pride wish and continue to claim this title as long as things shall remain as they are at present."

The very evening of his conversation with the Emperor, Sir Hudson Lowe wrote me a long letter, in order to know what part of the island we would desire to select for the erection of the new house, all the materials for which, already fashioned, as well as its furniture, had just arrived at James Town.

I received the Emperor's command to reply to his letter as follows:—

#### TO THE GOVERNOR.

"LONGWOOD, July 8, 1816.

"SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter. The Emperor having suffered the preceding night from rheumatism, I was unable to communicate it to him before yesterday evening. He said to me—'This letter has been written with the intention of being amicable. It forms a great contrast to the disgraceful vexations to which we are every day subjected. It does not agree with the conversation which I had with Sir H.

Lowe, which is here referred to. Of that conversation I only retain a painful remembrance of something disagreeable. The climate of this Island does not at all suit my health. They study new means of rendering my residence here more unhealthy and more dreadful.'

"I have considered it my duty, Sir, to acquaint you with the manner in which the Emperor thinks on the subject, as the best return I can make for the confidence you have reposed in me. He attaches a very secondary interest to all questions of lodging, furniture or anything of that sort. With the best intentions, your government cannot prevent our feeling, upon this rock, the want of articles most necessary to our comfort.

"Longwood is certainly the most unhealthy part of the island; there is no water, no vegetation, no shade; no one has ever been able to establish on this spot even a kitchen garden; the ground is scorched by the wind. This part of the island, therefore, is uninhabited and wild. Had the Emperor been settled at Plantation House, where there are trees, water and gardens, he would have been as comfortably situated as any one can be in this miserable country. If, then, you intend to build, it would be better to do so in some part of the island already cultivated, and in some place where there are trees, water, and vegetation. The idea of adding wings to the wretched building at Longwood, would include all sorts of inconveniences. It would be nothing, in the end, but enlarging a shed, and we should have the unpleasantness of workmen for five or six months. We only require at Longwood the execution of some repairs. The rain has now penetrated, for the last two months, into the rooms of Count Las Cases and of Baron Gourgaud, which must be very unhealthy. We should require at Longwood a reservoir for water to be used in case of fire; the principal part of the roof consists of pitched paper, and the least spark would set the house in a blaze. A large quantity of our linen, and other effects, has been entirely spoiled by the rats, for want of proper clothes-presses. The books which were brought out to us by the Newcastle, have been exposed to similar injuries for a fortnight, for want of proper book-shelves to place them on, &c. The most simple means, it seems to me, of arranging all these little matters would be, to give orders to a master-mason to examine and repair all such defects as soon as they appear, and to put an upholsterer in charge of the furniture, &c.; placing at his disposal the means of effecting such changes or improvements as might be required. People whose business such things are, are always best able to adopt the necessary steps on such little matters.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your humble and obedient servant,

(Signed)

"GENERAL COUNT DE MONTOLON."

## CHAPTER XI.

## ADMIRAL SIR PULTENEY MALCOLM, AND THE COMMISSIONERS.

ON the 17th of June, the frigate Newcastle had arrived, and brought us the new Admiral, together with the Austrian, Russian, and French Commissioners.

Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm came to replace Sir George Cockburn in the command of the naval station of St. Helena and the Cape of Good Hope. Lady Malcolm accompanied him. Both understood the mode of completely winning our sympathies, and took their departure from St. Helena, carrying with them the highest testimonies of the Emperor's satisfaction.

Baron Sturmer, the Austrian Commissioner, belonged to the office of Prince Metternich; his wife was a French woman, the daughter of an employé of some standing in the department of the minister of war. The Baron had become acquainted with her, and married her in 1814, during the course of a mission to Paris. Both were anxious to be on a good footing with us. The Baroness was both agreeable and handsome; her husband had been brought up in a good school, as he proved to us, and no one could be surprised at his rapid advancement in his diplomatic career.

Count Balmin, the Russian commissioner, was like all the other diplomatic agents of Russia, who have orders to please everybody, and to learn everything. He succeeded at Longwood beyond all reasonable expectation, and became a member of the family at Plantation House, by his marriage with Miss Johnson, the eldest daughter of Lady Lowe.

The Marquis de Montchenu is the type of a colonel of the reign of Louis XVI.; such as I represent to myself De la Fayette, De Noailles, De Lameth, when setting out to serve as volunteers under the orders of Washington. The Emperor had known him well at Valence, when his regiment had been a long time in garrison with the regiment of cavalry, of which the Marquis was lieutenant-colonel. They had even been rivals in paying their court to Mademoiselle de St. Germain, who married M. de Montalivet, when each of them supposed himself to be the favoured suitor. These youthful recollections regulated all the intercourse of the Marquis de Montchenu with us, even till the Emperor's death, and he deserved on all occasions our respect and commendation.

Admiral Sir Pulteney Malcolm made a most favourable impression upon the Emperor; he had hardly retired from being presented, when the Emperor said to us—"His look, his attitude, his language, are those of an honest man; I really felt pleasure in seeing and conversing with him. If he commanded here in the place of that execrable Sicilian *sbirro*, we should be at peace; nay, I really believe that if we were the most distrustful of guests, we should gain confidence in him, his appearance announces so clearly that his heart is good, and that he is an honest man."

The commissioners gave themselves much trouble, in vain, to be presented. The governor would not allow them to be presented as simple individuals, and the Emperor would not recognize them as overseers of his captivity. They

were really grieved at this, particularly the amiable Montchenu, who was so happy when he saw us; his first question after he had disembarked, and found himself in the midst of the group of officers in attendance on Sir Hudson Lowe, had been—"For the love of God, tell me if any of you speak French?"

The Newcastle frigate had brought us out several large boxes of books. This was a great pleasure to the Emperor, and it afforded him occupation for several days, to classify and arrange them on the shelves of an extempore library, which he had caused to be made of boards, in the room which I had occupied at the commencement of our establishment at Longwood, and which now became for the future the library. These books were sent by the government, but as they had been bought according to the instructions of General Bertrand, the ministry required the price of them, which, according to them, amounted to 36,000 francs. Three fowling-pieces had also been sent with this cargo. Sir Hudson Lowe took great care to send them, specifying it as a piece of politeness on the part of the Prince Regent; but the Emperor caused them to be sent back again to Plantation House, saying, that he had no need of fowling-pieces, since he was confined to a space encircled by dry lava, where there were no wild animals except rats. He added, that he could not but believe that wrong ideas were entertained in England respecting his condition, or otherwise he could not consider the present of fowling-pieces in any other light than that of an odious mockery.

As the grand marshal constantly refused to reimburse the 36,000 francs, without having received the bills, &c., the books were seized by Sir Hudson Lowe after the Emperor's death, and sold by him as the property of the government for 4 or 5,000 francs, without his having informed either General Bertrand or myself of the circumstance.

Many of these books were covered with notes written by the Emperor, and nearly all contained his impressions on reading them. The sale of these books was a subject of real grief to me, but I cannot reproach myself with having left any means untried, after the death of the Emperor, of appropriating them to myself, by offering to pay immediately the sum claimed for them. Sir Hudson Lowe asserted, and perhaps truly, that it was not in his power to dispose of the books, which were, *de facto*, the property of the government.

The orders and counter-orders dictated by the uneasy and vexatious character of the government, gave rise daily to nuisances and to misunderstandings on the part of the posts placed on the various roads. The commissioners themselves were not free from these vexations; in fact, the Marquis de Montchenu was one of the first victims. His wish to see his countrymen had determined him to direct his rides towards Longwood, and he had reason to hope that his title of a countryman would open our gates to him, and that his uniform as a general officer and commissioner of his majesty the most Christian king, would permit him to pass freely over any part of the island. Great was his astonishment, therefore, when, hardly arrived at the Alarm house, he was prevented from passing further by a sergeant, who explained to him, as well as he could, that it was precisely because he was a commissioner of his most Christian majesty, that he was not to pass. In vain the poor Marquis took off his hat, and pointing to the large white cockade in it, cried out—"Look, look!" in order to prove to the officer that he was not of our party, for he continued to labour under the mistake that the sergeant did not know him. He was obliged at length to give up the point in despair, and returned home, resolved to address a diplomatic

note on the subject to Sir Hudson Lowe. In fact, immediately on his return to the town, he dispatched his aide-de-camp to Plantation House. Sir Hudson was embarrassed; he did not wish the commissioners to see us, nor did he dare to refuse them permission officially; in fact, a thing which may appear extraordinary, he was constantly more opposed by the French commissioner, than by his colleagues, in his dark and tortuous course respecting us. Baron Sturmer, on the contrary, yielded to him in everything. As to Count Balmin, he pretended to take no trouble about the matter, and to respect all Sir Hudson Lowe's caprices; but he took his measures so well, that he was soon intimate with us, and saw General Gourgaud almost every day. The Marquis de Montchenu watched us whenever we came into the town, to offer us breakfast or dinner, and his offers were so cordial that it was impossible to refuse. His visits to Longwood were rare, in consequence of the fatigue of such a long ride to a man of his age, and probably also, because it had been proved to him that he must give up all hopes of seeing the Emperor. However, the recollections of his youth established a sort of intercourse of polite attentions between them. The Marquis never failed to send the Emperor the French newspapers, as soon as he received them, even before having read them himself, and he always added a slight extract from his private letters, as a sort of bulletin of the Paris letters. The Emperor, on the other hand, sent him books from his library, or the pamphlets of any interest, which Lady Holland was kind enough to send him by every opportunity.

The bill of the 16th of April, 1816, by which parliament sanctioned the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, and all the actions of the English government in respect to the Emperor, had just conferred on the ministry, and consequently on the governor of St. Helena, a discretionary power of determining the penalties to be incurred by any one who should violate the rules prescribed by the Emperor's guard. For us, the penalty was immediate conveyance to the Cape of Good Hope, there to remain under *surveillance* during the pleasure of the government; for the colonists, banishment from the island, without any indemnity for losses which they might suffer in consequence; for slaves or Chinese, corporal punishment. Any officer who should be guilty of the slightest violation of the general orders, was to be sent back to England, and cashiered. Finally, the punishment of high treason was incurred by any who should not immediately communicate to the governor any letter, writing, or verbal message, received from us, or who should procure us money or anything else, without having first received permission so to do.

Sir Hudson Lowe communicated this bill to us officially, on the 23rd of July, 1816, as well as the debates on the occasion, and his intention to add some more restrictions on the little liberty we enjoyed. The grand marshal had received from Sir George Cockburn the right of issuing passes to those persons who were to be presented to the Emperor, by means of which, they were allowed to enter the limits of Longwood, and this state of things had continued since our establishment there. Sir Hudson Lowe now pretended that he alone had the right to grant these passes, and a correspondence of considerable bitterness was commenced on the subject, which was only terminated by a ministerial decision in our favour in the course of 1817.

This pretension of Sir Hudson Lowe was uselessly troublesome both to the visitors and to us, since, in order to be presented, it was necessary to have previously obtained from the governor a permission to communicate with Longwood.



The expenses of the establishment at Longwood were a continual cause of chicanery and interference on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, in the slightest details of domestic life. He was not even satisfied with making arrangements respecting the quantity and the quality of the provisions for the Emperor's household, but he even required that the Emperor should contribute to the expense. I received a note from him on the 17th of August, which was to prove to me that the expenses still exceeded the allowance, notwithstanding the reductions which he had ordered to be made, and that it was necessary, therefore, in order to avoid any further reductions, which he himself allowed would be unsuitable, that I should place at his disposal 200,000 francs a year, or if I preferred it, 16,000 francs a month; he came to Longwood to communicate this verbally to the Emperor.

Deeply affected by the insult, the Emperor said to Sir Hudson Lowe, "You push the annoyance so far as to enter into the most contemptible details; you have the audacity to endeavour to make me believe that no changes have taken place since your arrival; that I mistake your intentions, and would entertain a very different opinion of you, if I knew you better. No, Sir—no, I should not change my opinion; Generals are known by their victories, or their noble actions. How should I know you in any other relation than that of my jailor? You never suffer a day to pass without torturing me by your insults. Where have you ever commanded anything but bandits or deserters, the refuse of every country? I am well acquainted with the names of all the English generals of distinction; I have never heard your name mentioned except as a brigand chief. You have never commanded men of honour; you say you have not asked for the government of this rock, but you forget that there are certain employments which are never conferred upon any, except such as are especially distinguished by the manner in which they dishonour themselves. Executioners do not solicit the disgrace of their employment, and whilst inflicting tortures on the unfortunate whom they are about to kill, like you, they say, 'I only obey my orders, and if I were less skilful, you would only suffer the more.' Moreover, I do not believe your government to be so blinded by their hatred towards me, as to have disgraced themselves by prescribing the infamous course of conduct which you pursue. In short, do not weary me any more with the disgusting details of your regulations respecting my table; send nothing to Longwood if you choose, I shall go and sit down at the table of the officers of the brave 53d; I am persuaded there is not one of them who will refuse to share his dinner with an old soldier like myself. You have full power over my body, but my mind is, and will remain, beyond your reach. It is as proud and as full of courage on this rock, as when I commanded Europe."\*

Sir Hudson Lowe did not answer at the time, but the next day he said

\* The Emperor having learned that Sir Hudson Lowe had said to the officers, that he did not wish to see them any more, and that a red coat made him sick at heart, sent for Captain Poppleton, and said to him, "Sir,—I believe you are the oldest captain of the 53rd; tell your comrades that a falsehood has been stated to them, when it was insinuated that I did not wish to see them any more, and that a red coat made me sick at heart; tell them that I see them at all times with pleasure, I esteem the 53rd—they are a regiment of brave men, and have fought valiantly; the service which the regiment is here called upon to perform, is a painful duty, which they fulfil like men of honour. In saying this, Sir, I only do my duty towards you, and all your companions. I am an old soldier, and admire brave men, who have received the baptism of fire, under whatever colours they have served."

Captain Poppleton thanked the Emperor for the kindness of what he said, and assured him that the 53rd were filled with the deepest feelings of respect and admiration for his person.

to O'Meara, "Let General Bonaparte know that it depends entirely upon me to render his situation more agreeable; but if he continues to treat me with disrespect, I will make him feel my power. He is my prisoner, and I have a right to treat him according to his behaviour. I will bring him to reason."

It seemed, indeed, as if, since the arrival of this governor, we were to be subjected to some new outrage every day.

The Emperor determined to endeavour to put a stop to it. He considered, besides, that acts of so much importance as the treaty of the 2nd of August, and the Bill of the 16th of April ought not to remain unanswered; he therefore dictated to me the following letter:—

TO GENERAL SIR H. LOWE.

"LONGWOOD, August 23, 1816.

"SIR,—I have received a copy of the treaty of the 2nd of August, 1815, concluded between his Britannic majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Prussia, inclosed in your letter of July 23rd.

"The Emperor Napoleon protests against the contents of this treaty. He is not the prisoner of the English government. After having resigned his crowns into the hands of representatives, for the advantage of the constitution adopted by the French people, and in favour of his son, he retired freely, and of his own will, to England, to live there as a private individual, under the protection of British laws. The violation of laws can never constitute a right. In point of fact, the Emperor is in the power of England, but neither *de facto* nor *de jure* has he been, nor is he, in the power of Austria, Russia, or Prussia, even according to the laws and customs of England, which never included the Russians, the Austrians, the Prussians, the Spaniards, or Portuguese, in any exchange of prisoners, even while allied with those powers and carrying on war conjointly with them. The treaty of the 2nd of August, agreed to fifteen days after the Emperor Napoleon's arrival in England, can have no effect in law; it merely presents the spectacle of the four greatest powers of Europe entering into a coalition for the oppression of a single individual; a coalition in direct opposition to the feelings of all nations, as it is to the doctrines of sound morality. The Emperors of Austria and of Russia, and the King of Prussia, having, neither in fact nor in law, any authority over the person of the Emperor Napoleon, could not legally make any arrangement respecting him. If the Emperor Napoleon had fallen into the power of the Emperor of Austria, that prince would have remembered the relation which the laws of religion and nature have established between father and son, a relation which can never be disregarded with impunity. He would have remembered that Napoleon had four times restored to him his crown—at Léoben, in 1797, and at Lunéville, in 1801, when his armies were at the walls of Vienna; at Presburg, in 1806, and at Vienna in 1809, when his armies were masters of the capital and three-fourths of the empire. That prince would have remembered the protestations of friendship which he had made to him at the bivouac in Moravia, in 1806, and at the interview at Dresden in 1812. If the person of the Emperor Napoleon had fallen into the power of the Emperor Alexander, he would have remembered the bonds of friendship contracted at Tilsit, at Erfurt, and during twelve years of daily intercourse. He would have remembered the conduct of the Emperor Napoleon, the day

after the battle of Austerlitz, when he might have made him prisoner with the wreck of his army, but contented himself with his parole, and allowed him to retreat; he would have remembered the personal danger to which the Emperor Napoleon exposed himself in his endeavours to extinguish the fire of Moscow, and to preserve his capital. Certainly, this prince would not have violated the duties of friendship and gratitude towards a friend in misfortune. If the person of the Emperor had even fallen into the power of the King of Prussia, that sovereign would not have forgotten that it had been in the power of the Emperor, after the battle of Friedland, to have placed another prince on the throne of Berlin; he would not have forgotten, before a disarmed enemy, the protestations of friendship, and the sentiments he expressed towards him at Dresden in 1812. Thus we see by Articles 2 and 5 of the said treaty of the 2nd of August, that these princes not being able to influence in any degree the fate of the Emperor, refer to what his Britannic Majesty, who takes upon him to fulfil all their obligations, may determine on the subject. These princes have reproached the Emperor for having preferred the protection of England to theirs. The false ideas which the Emperor entertained respecting the liberality of the English laws, and in reference to the influence which the opinion of a generous and free people ought to have upon its government, determined him to prefer the protection of its laws to those of his father-in-law or of his old friend. The Emperor Napoleon always had it in his power to secure his personal freedom by means of a diplomatic treaty, either by putting himself at the head of the army of the Loire, or by taking the command of the army of the Gironde, then commanded by General Clausel; but as he sought merely for retreat and the protection of free laws, whether English or American, all stipulations appeared to him unnecessary; he believed that the English people would be more bound by his frank, noble, and generous proceeding than it would have been by any treaty whatever. He has been deceived; but this error will always cause a true Briton to blush, either in the present generation or in those to come, and will be a lasting proof of the want of honour displayed by the English government. Austrian and Russian commissioners have arrived at St. Helena. If their mission is intended to fulfil a part of the duties which the Emperors of Austria and Russia have contracted in consequence of the treaty of the 2nd of August, and to take care that in a little island surrounded by the Ocean, the agents of the English government should not treat with disrespect a prince connected with them by the bonds of relationship, and by several other ties, this proceeding is worthy of the character of these two sovereigns; but, you, sir, have taken upon you to assert, that these commissioners have neither the right nor the power to have an opinion on anything which may take place on this rock.

"The English ministry has caused the Emperor Napoleon to be sent to St. Helena, 2,000 leagues from Europe. This rock, situated under the tropic at 500 leagues from any continent, is exposed to the dreadful heat of these latitudes; it is covered with clouds and fogs three-fourths of the year; it is at the same time the driest and the most humid climate in the world. It is hatred alone which has presided over the choice of this residence, detrimental as it is, and must be, to the health of the Emperor, as well as over the instructions dispatched by the English government to the officers commanding at St. Helena. They were ordered to address the Emperor as General, wishing to oblige him to acknowledge that he had never reigned in France; and it was this that determined him not to assume an *incognito*, as he had decided upon doing when he quitted France. When chief,

magistrate of the republic, under the title of First Consul, he concluded the preliminaries of the treaty of London and the treaty of Amiens with the King of Great Britain; he received as ambassadors, Lord Cornwallis, Mr. Merry, and Lord Whitworth, who signed the treaty as such at his court; he accredited, as ambassadors at the Court of Great Britain, Count Otto and General Andreossy, who resided as such at the Court of Windsor, when, after an exchange of notes between the ministers of foreign affairs of the two monarchies, Lord Lauderdale came to Paris, as plenipotentiary from the King of England; he treated with the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor Napoleon, and remained for several months at the court of the Tuileries. When afterwards, at Chatillon, Lord Castlereagh signed the ultimatum which the allied powers laid before the Emperor Napoleon, he recognized in this act the fourth dynasty. This ultimatum was more advantageous than the treaty of Paris, but it was required by it that France should give up Belgium and the left bank of the Rhine, which was contrary to the arrangements of Frankfort and to the proclamations of the allied powers, and also to the oath which the Emperor had sworn at his coronation, to maintain the integrity of the empire. The Emperor thought, then, that these natural limits were necessary to the protection of France as well as to the balance of power in Europe, he considered that the French nation, in the circumstances in which it was then placed, ought rather to run the risk of a war than to depart from them. France would have obtained its claims, and with them have preserved its honour, if treason had not aided the allies. The treaty of the 2nd of August and the bill passed by the British parliament, call the Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte, and give him no title but that of General. The title of General Bonaparte is, no doubt, an eminently glorious one; the Emperor was only General Bonaparte at Lodi, at Castiglione, at Rivoli, at Arcola, at Léoben, at the Pyramids, at Aboukir; but for seventeen years he has borne the names of First Consul and Emperor. This would, in effect, amount to acknowledging that he had neither been first magistrate of the republic, nor sovereign of the fourth dynasty. Those who consider nations as flocks of sheep, which by divine right are the property of some family, belong neither to the century, nor to the spirit of English legislation, which has several times changed the order of its dynasty, because great changes which had occurred in public opinion, and in which the reigning princes had not participated, had rendered them unfit to provide for the happiness of the majority of the nation. For kings are but hereditary magistrates, who exist merely for the happiness of the nations—not nations for the satisfaction of kings. It is this same spirit of hatred which has decreed that the Emperor Napoleon is not to be allowed to write or receive any letter which has not been opened and read by the English officers at St. Helena. By this means, he has been prevented from receiving any account of his mother, his wife, his son, or his brothers, and when he wished to free himself from the inconvenience of his letters being read by subaltern officers, and endeavoured for this purpose to send a sealed letter to the Prince Regent, he received for answer that only unsealed letters could be received; that such were the instructions of the ministry. This measure must give strange ideas of the spirit of the administration by which it was dictated; it would not have been acknowledged at Algiers. Letters arrived for general officers in the service of the Emperor, they were opened, and sent to you; you detained them because they did not pass through the English ministry; they were obliged to perform a journey of four thousand leagues, and these officers had the pain of know-

ing that there were, on this rock, accounts of their wives, their mothers, and their children, and that they would be obliged to wait six months before hearing them. We have not been allowed to subscribe to the 'Morning Chronicle,' to the 'Morning Post,' and to some French newspapers. From time to time, some copies of 'the Times' have been sent to Longwood. When we asked on board the *Northumberland*, some books were sent us; but all those relating to the affairs of the last few years were carefully kept away. At a later period, we wished to enter into correspondence with a London bookseller, to obtain directly such books as we might require; this was prevented. An English author having written an account of a journey in France sent you a copy of his work, which he had printed in London, to present it to the Emperor; you did not do so, because it had not come through the medium of the English government. It is said also, that several books forwarded by their authors for the Emperor, have not been given to him, because the address on some was to 'the Emperor Napoleon,' on others to 'Napoleon the Great.' The English ministry has no right to inflict all these vexations. The law of the British parliament, although unjust, considers the Emperor Napoleon as a prisoner of war, and prisoners of war have never been prevented from subscribing to newspapers, or from receiving books; such a prohibition is as yet only known in the dungeons of the inquisition.

"The island of St. Helena is ten leagues in circumference; it is inaccessible on every side, vessels guard the coast, and sentries are placed along the shore within sight of one another, thus rendering any communication with the sea impossible. There is but one little town, James Town, where vessels touch or get ready for sea. To prevent any individual from escaping from the island, it would be sufficient to blockade the coast by sea and land. By preventing the Emperor from enjoying the liberty of the interior of the island, only one object can be gained, that of depriving him of an opportunity of enjoying a ride or walk of eight or ten miles, the privation of which exercise, according to medical men, will tend to shorten his life.

"The Emperor has been settled at Longwood, which is exposed to every wind, is on a barren soil, uninhabited, without water, and susceptible of no cultivation. There is a space of about 2,000 or 3,000 yards without any cultivation. At a distance of some 600 yards, a camp has been established; another has been placed at about the same distance on the opposite side, so that, under all the heat of the tropics, on whichever side you turn your eyes, you only see camps. Admiral Malcolm, perceiving of what use a tent would be to the Emperor, caused one to be erected by his sailors about twenty paces from the house; this is the only spot where there is any shade. The Emperor feels himself here compelled to remark that he has had every reason to be satisfied with the spirit which animates both officers and men of the 53rd, as he also was with the crew of the *Northumberland*.

"The house at Longwood was built to serve as a barn for the Company's farm. At a later period, the deputy-governor of the island had some rooms built there; it served him as a country-house, but was in no respect suitable for a dwelling. The Emperor has been settled there a year; during the whole time, workmen have been employed in and about the house; and he has constantly been subject to the inconvenience and unhealthiness of living in a house in course of building or repair. The room in which he sleeps is too small to contain a bed of an ordinary size; but any additional building would cause the inconvenience of workmen to be prolonged. And yet, in this miserable island there are some beautiful spots, with fine trees,

gardens, and tolerable houses, among others Plantation House; but the positive instructions of the ministry forbid you to give up this house, which would have spared you a considerable expense, employed in building at Longwood, cabins covered with pitched paper, which are already out of repair. You have prohibited all correspondence between us and the inhabitants of the island; you have, in fact, isolated the house of Longwood; you have even perverted our intercourse with the officers of the garrison. You seem then to have taken pains to deprive us of all the resources which even this miserable country offers, and we are just as we should be on the uncultivated and uninhabited rock of Ascension. In the four months, during which you have been here, sir, you have rendered the Emperor's situation much worse. Count Bertrand has already had occasion to remark to you that you were violating even the laws of your legislature—that you were trampling under foot the right of general officers when prisoners of war; you replied that you only recognized the letter of your instructions, and that they were worse still than your conduct appeared to us.

(Signed)

“GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON.”

“P. S. I had already signed this letter, sir, when I received yours of the 17th, in which you inclose an estimate concerning an annual sum of £20,000, which you consider necessary for the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, after all the reductions which you have thought it necessary to make. The discussion of this estimate cannot concern us in any respect. The table of the Emperor is scarcely furnished with what is strictly necessary; all the provisions are of bad quality, and four times as dear as at Paris. You require from the Emperor a sum of £12,000 for all these expenses. I have already had the honour of informing you that the Emperor has no funds at his disposal; that, during the last year, he has neither written nor received any letter, and that he is completely ignorant of everything which has taken place, or which might have taken place, in Europe. Violently carried off to this rock, at a distance of 2,000 leagues from Europe, without being able to receive or write any letters, he is entirely at the discretion of English agents. The Emperor has always desired, and still desires, to bear all his own expenses of every kind, and he will do so as soon as you make it possible, by removing the prohibition to the merchants of the island with reference to conveying his correspondence; and as soon as he is certain of its being submitted to no examination from you or any of your agents. As soon as the necessities of the Emperor become known in Europe, those who take an interest in him will send him the necessary funds.

“The letter of Lord Bathurst, which you have communicated to me, gives rise to strange ideas. Were your ministers ignorant that the sight of a great man struggling with adversity is a most sublime sight? Were they ignorant that Napoleon at St. Helena, in the midst of persecutions of all kinds, which he meets with never-changing serenity, is greater, more sacred, more venerable, than upon the first throne in the world, where he was so long the arbiter of kings? Those who fail in respect to Napoleon in such a situation, merely debase their own character, and the nation which they represent.

(Signed)

“GENERAL COUNT MONTHOLON.”

Sir Hudson Lowe answered, that he begged me to inform him, what letters had been intercepted, and that as General Bonaparte declared that he did not wish to receive any visits, except by the mediation of General Bertrand, he must necessarily conclude, that any other manner of visitors arriving

at Longwood was disagreeable to him—that he should, therefore, take measures to prevent any visitor of importance from entering into the domain of Longwood in future. What irony!

It was the 3rd of September; the Emperor remarked upon this on reading the date of the despatch which I communicated to him. He was in the drawing-room, sitting before a large fire, and said to us:

“It is to-day the anniversary of a hideous remembrance, the massacres of September, the St. Bartholomew of the French Revolution; a bloody stain, which was the act of the Commune of Paris, a rival power to the legislature, which built its strength upon the passions of the dregs of the people. I often asked Roederer, who was procureur-general, for an explanation of this massacre, commenced without any apparent cause: he always answered, that it was an act of fanaticism, the commune neither called it forth nor protected it, and merely let it alone, because it would have compromised itself had it endeavoured to prevent it. The Septembriseurs did not pillage; they only wished to murder, and they even hanged one of their own number, for having appropriated a watch which belonged to one of their victims. They danced like cannibals around the still palpitating body of the Princess de Lamballe, while devouring her heart.

“We must acknowledge, that there has been no political change, without a fit of popular vengeance, as soon as, for any cause whatever, the mass of the people enter into action.

“The Prussian army had arrived within forty leagues of Paris, the famous manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick was to be seen on all the walls of the city, the people had persuaded themselves, that the first pledge of the safety of the revolution was the death of all the royalists. They ran to the prisons, and intoxicated themselves with blood, to the cry of ‘*Vive la Revolution.*’ Their energy had an electric effect, by the fear with which it inspired the one party, and the example which it gave to the other: 100,000 volunteers joined the army, and the revolution was saved.

“I might have saved my crown, by letting loose the people against the men of the Restoration. You well recollect, Montholon, when, at the head of your regiments of *faubouriens*, you wished to punish the treachery of Fouché, and to proclaim my dictatorship—I did not choose to do so: my whole being revolted at the thought of being king of another Jacquerie.

“General rule: no social revolution without terror. Every revolution is in principle a revolt, which time and success ennoble and render legal, but of which terror has been one of the inevitable phases. How, indeed, can we understand, that one could say to those who possess fortune and public situations, ‘Begone, and leave us your fortunes and your situations!’ without first intimidating them and rendering any defence impossible. The reign of terror began, in fact, in the night of the 4th of August, when privileges, nobility, tithes, the remains of the feudal system, and the fortune of the clergy were done away with, and all these remains of the old monarchy were thrown to the people. Then only did the people understand the revolution, because it gained something and wished to preserve it, even at the expense of blood. Till this time, a considerable part of the population of the country had believed, that without a king and the tithes for the clergy, the harvest could not be good.

“Barrère said, truly, ‘*Le peuple bat monnaie sur la place Louis XVI.*’ alluding to the guillotine which enriched the national treasury, by the death of the nobles, whose wealth became the property of the nation. A revolution is always, whatsoever some may think, one of the greatest misfortunes with

which Divine anger can punish a nation. It is the scourge of the generation which brings it about; and for a long course of years, even a century, it is the misfortune of all, the advantage of individuals.

"True social happiness consists in regular and peaceful order, in the harmony of every one's relative enjoyments. I gave millions every year to the poor, I made immense sacrifices to aid and assist industry; and yet, France has now more poor than in 1787. The reason is, that revolutions, however well conducted, destroy everything instantaneously, and only reconstruct it after a considerable time. The French revolution was a national convulsion, as irresistible in its effects as an eruption of Vesuvius. When the mysterious fusion which takes place in the entrails of the earth is at such a crisis that an explosion follows, the lava escapes and the eruption takes place. The unperceived workings of the discontent of the people follow exactly the same course; when their sufferings arrive at maturity, a revolution bursts forth.

"I have often heard it said, that Louis XVI. would have been able to consecrate the revolution, and preserve his crown. I do not think so; his education, as well as his personal convictions, made him regard, as belonging lawfully to him, all that of which the nation wished to deprive him, and which he would have been obliged to give up voluntarily, to put an end to the revolutionary movement. M. Necker, whom the favour of the people has denominated a great minister, was incapable of saving the throne; I conversed with him during my journey to Geneva; he was a good chief clerk of the treasury; nothing more. All his ideas of government were only speculations. I believe, however, that a true statesman, if prime minister under Louis XVI. at his accession to the throne, and governing in a masterly manner, like Cardinal Richelieu, would have been able to save the crown of his master, and satisfy all the reasonable demands of the French people. But at the time when the States were convoked, it was out of the power of man to prevent the revolution. Thus I understood it in my youth, and my opinion has not been changed by what I have learned and seen of royalty. A revolution can neither be made nor prevented. One or several of its children can direct it by dint of victories; its enemies may repress it for a moment by force of arms, but then the fire of revolution glimmers under the ashes, and, sooner or later, the flame kindles again and devours all before it. The Bourbons are greatly deceived if they believe themselves firmly seated on the throne of Hugh Capet. I do not know whether I shall ever again see Paris; but what I know is, that the French people will one day break the sceptre which the enemies of France have confided to Louis XVIII.

"My son will reign, if the popular masses are permitted to act without control; the crown will belong to the Duke of Orleans if those who are called liberals gain the victory over the people; but then, sooner or later, the people will discover that they have been deceived,—that the white are always white, the blue always blue,—and that there is no guarantee for their true interests, except under the reign of my dynasty, because it is the work of their creation.

"I did not usurp the crown,—I picked it up from the gutter; the people placed it on my head. I wished the name of Frenchman to be the most noble and desirable on the earth. I was king of the people, as the Bourbons are kings of the nobles, under whatever colours they may disguise the banner of their ancestors. When, full of confidence in the sympathy of the nation, I returned from Elba, my advisers insisted that I ought to take no-



tice of some chiefs of the royal party; I constantly refused, answering to those who gave me this advice: 'If I have remained in the hearts of the mass of the people, I have nothing to do with the royalists; if not, what will some more or less avail me to struggle against what would have become the opinion of the nation?' "

The clock struck eleven. The Emperor stopped: we rose. "Gentlemen," said he, "we have had enough of politics for this evening."

The letters which I had laid before the Emperor demanded an answer; but we were always obliged to begin at the beginning, and it was almost impossible to hope for any success whatever from such discussions. Too much bad faith, and, it must be acknowledged, too much talent presided over the composition of the letters which we received from Plantation House; notwithstanding, I received orders to answer them, and on the 9th of September I wrote to the governor the following letter:—

#### TO THE GOVERNOR.

"LONGWOOD, Sept. 9th, 1816.

"SIR,—I have received your two letters of the 30th of August; one of them I have not been able to communicate. Count Bertrand and myself have several times had the honour of informing you that we could not undertake anything which should be contrary to the august character of the Emperor. You know better than any one, Sir, how many letters have been sent from the post to Plantation House; you have forgotten, that to the representations which we answered several times made to you, you answered that your instructions forbade you to let anything come to Longwood, whether letter, books or pamphlets, except they had passed through the hands of your government. An officer of the Newcastle having brought a letter for Count Las Cases, you retained it, but the officer thinking his delicacy compromised, you afterwards transmitted it, thirty days after its arrival in the island. We feel sure that our families and friends write often to us; hitherto we have received but few of their letters. But it is in virtue of the same principle that you now deny that you kept back books and pamphlets addressed to you, and nevertheless you retain them.

"Your second letter, Sir, of the 30th of August, is no answer to the one which I had the honour of writing to you, in order to protest against the changes which you have effected during the month of August, and which overthrow the whole basis of our establishment in this country.

"1. 'There is no part of my written instructions more definite, or to which my attention is more pointedly called, than that no person whatever should hold any communication with (the Emperor,) except through my agency.' (You give your instructions a Jewish interpretation; there is nothing in them which justifies or authorizes your conduct. Your predecessor had these instructions, and you had them during the three months preceding the changes which you effected a month ago. In short, it would not have been difficult to you to reconcile your various duties.)

"2. 'I have already acquainted (the Emperor) personally with this.'

"3. 'In addressing all strangers and other persons, except those whose duty might lead them to Longwood, in the first instance to Count Bertrand, (or asking myself,) to ascertain whether (the Emperor) would receive their visit, and in not giving passes except such persons as had ascertained this point, or were directed to do so, I conceive, &c.'

"4. 'It is not, Sir, in my power to extend such privilege as you require to Count Bertrand, &c.'

"I am obliged, Sir, to inform you,—1st, that you have communicated nothing to the Emperor; 2nd, that for two months you have had no communication with Count Bertrand; 3rd, that we ask no privileges for Count Bertrand, since I only ask the continuation of things as they were nine months ago.

"5. 'I regret to learn that (the Emperor) has been incommoded with the visits, &c.'

"Here is irony, and how bitter!

"Instead of endeavouring to reconcile your various duties, you seem, Sir, resolved to persist in a system of continual vexations. Will this do honour to your character? will it deserve the approbation of your government, and of your nation? Allow me to doubt it.

"Several general officers who arrived by the Cornwallis wished to be presented at Longwood; if you had directed them to Count Bertrand, as you had hitherto done with all strangers who came to the island, they would have been received. You have, no doubt, your reasons for preventing persons of any consideration from coming to Longwood. Allege if you will, as you usually do, the tenour of your instructions, but do not misconstrue the intentions of the Emperor.

"The son of Count Las Cases and Captain Prowtowski went yesterday to the town; an English lieutenant accompanied them thither, and then, conformably with the arrangement which has hitherto existed, left them free to go and see whatever persons they wished. While young Las Cases was conversing with some young ladies, the officer returned, much vexed to be charged with a disagreeable mission, and informed him that he had received orders from you not to lose sight of him. This is contrary to what has hitherto been the practice. It would, I think, be fitting that you should inform us of the changes which you effect. This is interdicting us entirely from going to the town, and openly violating your instructions. And yet, you know that a person scarcely goes from Longwood to the town once a month, and no circumstance has occurred which can authorize you in changing the established order. This is pushing persecution to a great length! I cannot conceive what gave occasion to your letter of the 8th of September; I refer, Sir, to the postscript of my letter of the 23rd of August. The Emperor is ill, from the effects of the bad climate and of privations of every kind; and I have not informed him of all the fastidious details which have been communicated to me: all that has now lasted for two months, and should have been terminated long ago, since the postscript of my letter of the 23rd of August is definite. It is time, in short, that this should be at an end, but it seems to be a text for insulting us.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your most humble and obedient servant,

"GENERAL COUNT DE MONTHOLON."

## CHAPTER XII.

## THE EMPEROR'S PLATE.

THE decision of Sir Hudson Lowe, with reference to the expenses of the establishment at Longwood, had not attained the end at which he aimed; he returned to the charge, and wrote to me again, that it was indispensable that I should place at his disposal the funds necessary for covering the deficit of his responsibility on this point. The Emperor ordered me to send him, as an answer, all his plate, broken into pieces. I thought I saw in this order an impulse of indignation—justifiable, indeed, but the consequence of which would be a daily privation to long fixed habits, and twenty-four hours passed without my having obeyed. The next day, I thought, would make me certain whether this order proceeded from a well-considered and determined will, or from an impulse of the moment. In fact, next morning, when he rose, the Emperor asked me what I had done; and approving my conduct in awaiting a new command from him, before reducing him to eat off bad English ware, he told me to have only as much plate broken as I thought could be spared without encroaching upon what was actually necessary for his personal service, and to send it to the town, and sell it.

As soon as Sir Hudson Lowe learned by the telegraph from Longwood, that splendid pieces of table service were being broken up, and that the *maitre d'hotel*, Cipriani, was preparing to take the wrecks of them to the town, there to sell them and place the produce at the disposal of the commissioner of provisions for Longwood, he hastened at a gallop to Longwood, to tell me that he would oppose this sale to the Jews of James Town; and that if I insisted on the sale taking place, I must send and sell the plate to certain persons whom he would point out to me. On my answering that I certainly should insist on it, he begged me to consider the matter a little more; assuring me, that if it was true that the Emperor had no other resources at St. Helena than the value of his plate, he would refer to his government on the point, and would, in the meantime, provide for all expenses. I requested him to indicate to me the person to whom I should sell, and he named Ibbetson, the commissioner of war. Next morning, Cipriani conveyed to this agent of the government, sixty-five pounds eleven ounces of broken silver. Sir Hudson Lowe was not prepared for the effect which the sight of the wrecks of these beautiful pieces of plate would produce among the garrison and the population of the island. He was for a moment amazed at it, but his stupor soon changed to rage, and he retaliated the determination shown by the Emperor, by fresh restrictions on the small portion of liberty which we enjoyed. I transcribe these restrictions:

Restrictions made by Sir Hudson Lowe, and communicated to Longwood, the 9th of October, 1816, but which he had already put into execution, by means of various secret orders, since the month of August preceding, and which never communicated to the English officers on service, being ashamed, no doubt, of their contents.

*Text of some changes proposed in the regulations established with regard to the captives at Longwood.*

"Art. 1. Longwood, with the road by Hut's Gate, along the mountain, as far as the signal posts near Alarm House, will be established as a limit.

"Art. 2. Sentinels will be stationed at the limits, which no one will be allowed to cross, without the permission of the governor, for the purpose of approaching Longwood, or its garden.

"Art. 3. The route to the left of Hut's Gate, which returns to Longwood by Woodbridge, never having been frequented by General Bonaparte, since the arrival of the governor, the sentinels stationed there will mostly be removed; any time, however, that he may wish to ride in this direction, he will find no obstacle, if the officer be informed in proper time.

"Art. 4. If he (General Bonaparte) should wish to prolong his walk in some other direction, an officer of the governor's staff (if informed in time), will be ready to accompany him. If the time is too short to inform him, the officer on service at Longwood will fulfil this duty.

"The officer who accompanies him has orders not to approach him, unless called, and not to overlook his walk, except as far as his duty demands; that is to say, to see if, in anything, he departs from the established rules, and in this case respectfully to inform him of it.

"Art. 5. The regulations already in force for the purpose of preventing any communication with any person whatever, without the permission of the governor, are to be strictly enforced. In consequence, *General Bonaparte is required to abstain from entering any house, and from holding any communication with the persons whom he may meet*, (except what is demanded by the usual salutations and civilities, which every one will pay him,) *unless in the presence of an English officer.*

"Art. 6. The persons who with the consent of General Bonaparte, may always receive from the governor permission to visit him, cannot, notwithstanding this permission, communicate with any other person of his suite, except this is specially expressed.

"Art. 7. At sunset, the enclosure of the garden round Longwood will be regarded as the limits. At this hour, sentinels will be placed all round it, but in such a manner as not to incommode General Bonaparte, by overlooking his person, if he should wish to continue his walk in the garden some time longer. During the night, the sentinels will be placed close to the house, as was before done, and admission will be forbidden until after the sentinels have been withdrawn from the house and garden next morning.

"Art. 8. Any letter for Longwood will be put by the governor into a sealed envelope, and sent to the officer on service, to be by him delivered, sealed, to the officer of General Bonaparte's suite to whom it is addressed, and who, by this means, will be assured that no one except the governor is acquainted with the contents of it.

"In the same manner, any letter from the persons at Longwood must be delivered to the officer on service, in a second envelope, sealed and addressed to the governor, who will engage that no one but himself shall be acquainted with the contents.

"Art. 9. No letter must be written or sent, no communication whatever made, except in the above-mentioned manner. No correspondence must be maintained in the island, except the indispensable communications to the purveyor. The notes containing these must be given, open, to the officer of the guard, whose duty it is to send them to their destination.

"The above-mentioned restrictions will begin to be observed on the 10th of the present month.

H. LOWE.

"St. Helena, October 9, 1816."

The obligation under which we were to provide for a part of the expenses at Longwood not having been revoked, the Emperor ordered me to have the rest of his plate broken, to send it to the commissioner, and to employ some of the produce of it in purchasing for his table a service of English porcelain or of china, the best that could be found at James Town.

This order had all the appearance of a cool determination, and I ought, perhaps, to have obeyed it; but I knew what the force of habit was with the Emperor, and I knew what a cruel change such a striking one in the service of his table would be to him. I spoke to him of this, and proposed to keep only what was strictly necessary: he approved of my plan; and, on the 5th of November, Cipriani again conveyed to Commissioner Ibbetson broken plate, amounting in weight to eighty-two pounds nine ounces.

This time the blow was again violent to Sir Hudson Lowe, but he made no alteration in our position; and when the produce of the sale was exhausted, again demanded that I should provide for the expenses, under pain of a proportionate reduction in the provisions.

The Emperor, on his side, required that I should persist in what I had said, namely, that his plate was his only resource at St. Helena; and I received, for the third time, orders to have all the plate broken up, with the exception of twelve covers; fresh remonstrances on my part would have been useless and unbecoming; I refrained from making any, and the Emperor believed himself obeyed.

Four baskets of broken plate, weighing altogether 290lbs. 12oz., were conveyed from Longwood on the 25th of December, 1816, and dinner was served on bad china, brought by Cipriani from James Town.

When Sir Hudson Lowe was made acquainted with this third and last dispatch, and the purchase of the china, he saw that he was conquered; came to express to me his lively regret, and plainly showed how much afraid he was of blame from his government: he told me that he only acted on the conviction that we had a great quantity of gold at Longwood; that he had been assured of this; and that he would never have allowed a single piece of plate to be broken, could he have supposed that matters would go so far as to reduce General Bonaparte to eat off dishes like those of the lowest colonist in the island; that he would send immediately to the Cape of Good Hope, and procure a suitable service, until such time as he could receive one from England.

The Emperor was enchanted with the account which I gave him of this communication; but his joy was changed into perfect disgust, when he sat down to his dinner, served on the china brought by Cipriani. The physical effect upon him was such that he ate nothing, and said to me, on leaving the dinner-table, "It must be allowed, my son, that we are all great children. Can you conceive that I could not conquer my disgust at this badly-served dinner?—I, who when I was young, ate from black dishes; in truth, I am ashamed of myself to-day."

"Let the shame be of short duration," replied I, "for to-morrow your Majesty will dine with appetite." "I hope so," answered he, "for this would be too foolish."

His joy was infantine, when, next morning, Marchand brought to him in the bath, his soupe à la Reine, as usual, in the little silver-gilt bowl which

he had been accustomed for many years to see. He could not help thanking me with a smile for my disobedience, and I was greatly put to it to keep my secret till dinner-time; but I kept it, so great was my hope of giving him a few moments of agreeable impression, when he saw his dinner served as usual. I was right; for when we entered the dining-room, he took me by the ear, and said to me, in his joyous tone, "Ha, ha! Mr. Rogue, you took upon yourself yesterday to make me pass an uncomfortable quarter of an hour; it is my turn to-day!"

I confessed to him, that, not being able to resolve to take from him his last luxury, I had put aside what was necessary for his personal service; but that, to make up for this, I had been obliged to take away all the plate used by the grand marshal. He laughed very heartily at the fraud which my solicitude for his comfort had suggested to me, and said, "Upon my faith, you have done well! and so much the better, that you have succeeded with this bandit, Lowe, as well as if I had not a silver dish left. As to Bertrand, so much the worse for him, if he has nothing but china! It was his advice which I followed."

The bill of the 16th of April, and the restrictions on our free communications, proved, in fact, how much the English ministry feared the impression which would be made on public opinion, should the true state of affairs at St. Helena become known.

The Emperor had letters sent to the princes and princesses of his family, informing them that he was destitute of the most necessary things—of the comforts of life. They all hastened to offer him the whole or greater portion of their fortunes. King Joseph opened an account of ten millions; Madame Mère, Queen Hortense, and the Princess Pauline, put all that they had at his disposal. The Princess Eliza wrote that her circumstances were extremely narrow, that she had barely 20,000 francs in stock of disposable property, but that she should be very happy to divide them with her brother. The Princess Catherine of Würtemberg offered an example of the noblest devotedness: she and her husband, King Jerome, offered the Emperor all that they had saved from shipwreck. King Louis also showed a devoted tenderness towards his brother: he put all his fortune at the disposal of the Emperor, and yet, he was at that very time writing his historical documents on Holland during his reign; a work which deeply displeased Napoleon. It was on this subject that, his mind instantly recurring to the actions which in 1810 accompanied the abdication of the King of Holland, he said to me, "Since my thoughts take me back to Holland, write."

\* This dictation will be found in Chapter XIV.

## CHAPTER XIII.

## REMOVAL OF COUNT LAS CASES.

THESE dictations, in which general history often served, as may be seen, as a preface to his own history and that of his family, were a certain means of calming the mind of the Emperor, by raising him above his present situation, and making him hover above the world, like that eagle which he had taken for his arms, and which will one day again be the arms of France.

But Sir Hudson Lowe was not a man to leave his prisoner long in the enjoyment of the factitious repose given him for a moment by the power of his thoughts.

To the contentions which had arisen on a very material question, graver and more painful ones were now about to succeed. On the 4th of October, the governor, losing all hope of obtaining an audience, in order personally to communicate the instructions which, he said, he had to his great astonishment received, but which we afterwards knew to have been probably called forth by his reports concerning Longwood, sent to the Emperor, Adjutant-General Sir Thomas Reade, a person so much the more remarked for his gracious and insinuating manners, as they presented a striking contrast with those of the governor.\* The Emperor was in the garden when

## \* NOTE FROM SIR HUDSON LOWE.

"The governor's visit was at first dictated by a feeling of respect for General Bonaparte, and with a view to communicate to him some instructions concerning his officers, which ought to be known to him before they were informed of them.

"The governor would have been desirous of personally making this communication to General Bonaparte, in presence of Sir T. Reade, or some other officer of his staff, and of one of the French generals. He has never had any intention of insulting General Bonaparte; on the contrary, he is desirous of reconciling the strictness of his instructions with all that attention and respect which are due to him. He cannot conceive the reason of the resentment manifested by General Bonaparte with respect to him. If the General does not wish to consent to an interview in presence of other persons, the governor will consent to send Sir T. Reade, to communicate to him all that he has to say, leaving some points for future discussion. Should Count Bertrand be sent to the governor, he requires, at least, on his part, some apology for the expressions used by him in their last interview, according to the wish of General Bonaparte himself. The governor is also of opinion that an apology should also be made by Count Bertrand in the name of General Bonaparte himself, in reference to the unbecoming language used by him at the last interview; and then he (Sir H. Lowe) will express his regret for any expressions he may have used in reply which have been disagreeable, seeing that, on his part, he has had no intention of giving offence, and only repelled an attack; that, finally, he would not condescend to this course in the case of any other person than one so situated as General Bonaparte; but that he being determined to quarrel with the governor respecting the manner in which he is to execute the orders which he has received, he sees no hope of being able to come to an understanding without mutual apologies."

## THE EMPEROR'S REPLY TO SIR HUDSON LOWE'S NOTE.

"Since the governor declares he will not communicate his wishes fully through the medium of the chief of his staff, I will not receive Sir T. Reade; let him send him to Bertrand, Montholon, Las Cases, or Gourgaud. We cannot again meet, after what I said to him in the presence of the admiral, when he pretended that he was only doing his duty; the executioner also does his—but no one is obliged to see him till the moment of execution. I have no wish to renew such scenes. He pretends to be acting merely in conformity with his instructions. A government at a distance of two thousand leagues can give only general instructions as to the manner in which things ought to be conducted; it always leaves a

Sir Thomas Reade approached, with all the appearance of a bearer of good news. He began, in fact, by words of peace; and it was not till after he had conversed for a long time in the most respectful tone, that he acquainted the Emperor with Lord Bathurst's orders for the reduction of his personal suite, and the necessity that four persons should leave him; informing him, however, at the same time, that Sir Hudson Lowe would not presume to indicate these four persons, and left this point to the decision of the Emperor. We were far from expecting this new misfortune: it was sensibly felt by us all, but more especially by those four of our companions who now found themselves condemned to leave the master whom they loved with entire devotion. These four were, Rousseau, Archambaud, Prowtowski, and Santini. Rousseau and Archambaud, junior, were two losses easy to supply: a second overseer and a house-steward were almost useless. Prowtowski had not long joined us: he was a Polish officer of the Isle of Elba, whom his devotion to the Emperor had brought to St. Helena; but his military rank had never brought him into a sufficiently near intercourse with the Emperor for his departure to be a social loss. These three, then, we could, although we regretted them, spare without much difficulty. But Santini had for years been brought into daily intercourse with his master: he was a Corsican, a nephew of the Bishop of Ajaccio, and much raised above his rank by his education and talents; his devotion to the Emperor knew no bounds; and it was, perhaps, this excessive devotion, which induced the Emperor to point him out as one of the four who were to quit St. Helena. Santini was, as we have said, a Corsican, and consequently entirely devoted to the august fellow-countryman, whose birth made his country the most famed of islands. The traditions of revenge amongst which he had been educated, and which had followed him from his mountains to St. Helena, and the sun of the equator, were not calculated to calm his half Italian, half French blood, which was every day heated by fresh outrages. It was with great difficulty that the Emperor had obtained from him a solemn promise to renounce a project which he had formed, one fine morning, of lying in wait for Sir Hudson Lowe, at the turn of a road, and killing him, as his countrymen were in the habit of doing with their enemies. When this project had been discovered by the Emperor, Santini had faithfully promised to renounce it; but with an organization so excitable as his, a good opportunity would indubitably have broken the bonds of an oath: the Emperor did not, therefore, hesitate to separate himself from this faithful servant, rather than remain exposed to the terrible consequences of a devotedness which he found it so difficult to control.

"On the 18th of October, Prowtowski, Santini, Rousseau, and Archam-

great discretionary power in the hands of its representatives, and it is this power which Sir H. Lowe interprets by the measure of his hatred towards me, that he may make it as oppressive as possible, and subject me to torture. Evident proof of this man's being worse than his government, is to be found in the fact of many things having been sent from England for my use and convenience by the ministry, who thus testify their desire to be agreeable, and to solace my captivity. Sir H. Lowe has written to me many letters full of respect, and expressive of his desire to do what might be agreeable to me; finally, he affects to entertain the strongest feelings of respect towards me, but this is merely the better to deceive his government. If he does not wish to see Bertrand, why does he not see Montholon or Las Cases? But the same feelings which he entertains towards Bertrand, for having told him some disagreeable truths from me, he indulges towards Montholon, in consequence of his letter of the 22d of August; and towards Las Cases, for having written to a lady in London some account of the state of affairs at Longwood.

"I expect that this famous communication, is, in fact, nothing but some new outrage—at least, as I am assured, the forcible removal of one or of all the officers of my household.

"In a word, let the governor execute his orders, and leave me in peace."



baud, junior, quitted Longwood, and embarked: a most minute search was made of their luggage and persons; we were even assured that they had been entirely undressed, but nothing suspicious was found. We expected that this search would be made, and had besides too many other means of communicating secretly with Europe to run the risk of uselessly rendering the position of these honest fellows more unpleasant. Prowtowski and Santini went to England; Rousseau and Archambaud, to America, where they were received by Count Survilliers. All the four took with them from Longwood testimonies of the Emperor's satisfaction with their services: their independence was secured.

But this loss was nothing, compared to that which we were soon doomed to suffer, by one of those sudden and unadvised fits of anger so common to Sir Hudson Lowe. On the 25th of November, 1816, we had just left the breakfast table, and Count Las Cases was staying with the Emperor, for the purpose of finishing some writing which had been begun, when Sir Hudson Lowe arrived at Longwood, accompanied by the adjutant-general, Sir Thomas Reade, the aides-de-camp, Gorriquer and Pritchard, and a commissary of police. The governor and Major Gorriquer stopped at some distance from the house, while Sir Thomas Reade, the commissary, Aide-de-camp Pritchard, and two dragoons, approached the apartments of Count Las Cases, and took possession of them in his absence. Sir Thomas Reade, seeing the apartment empty, sent the commissary for Count Las Cases, and learning that he was with the Emperor, he sent to inform him that he wished to speak to him immediately, as he had a message from the governor. Although, as we have already said, Count Las Cases was at that moment writing, from the Emperor's dictation, his Majesty allowed him to go; but just as he went out, the commissary of police, who had advanced to the door of the house, arrested him. Meanwhile, the aide-de-camp Pritchard proceeded to seize all the papers which he found in Las Cases' apartment; so that the Count's removal from Longwood, and the subtraction of all his papers, was only the affair of a few moments, and he was far from us before we learned what had passed.

Sir Hudson Lowe, beaming with joy, met Doctor O'Meara on the road, and called out to him immediately on perceiving him: "*Your friend, Las Cases, is in safety! you will meet him presently!*" And in fact, a short time after, the doctor met the Count, between two dragoons, and under the conduct of Captain Pritchard, who was taking him a prisoner to Hut's Gate.

The pretext for this arbitrary and inexcusable arrest, was a letter written by Count Las Cases to Lady Clavering, containing an account of the Emperor's situation, addressed to Prince Lucien, and entrusted to a mulatto servant, to be sent to Europe without passing through the hands of Sir Hudson Lowe.

Some time before this event, Count Las Cases had attempted to send a letter to Lady Clavering, privately, to Europe, by means of this same mulatto; but the governor had discovered this, had threatened the brave fellow with a flogging if he again attempted such a thing, and had spoken of the matter to Count Las Cases, assuring him, that it was solely through regard for him that he refrained from executing, in the case of his domestic, the orders which condemned to this chastisement any mulatto or slave infringing the restrictions published concerning Longwood. Count Las Cases expected great effects from the memorial which he had addressed to Prince Lucien, on the state of things at St. Helena; and although the Emperor, to whom he had submitted it, had strongly urged him to renounce

his project, and, above all, not to employ his former messenger, he persisted in his design. His resolution was taken to send his mulatto to England; and everything being arranged between them, and the letters, written on silk, having been sowed into the lining of the mulatto's dress, the Count pretended to dismiss him from his service. This man, named Sosté, was to avail himself of the first opportunity of embarking for England; which he said he should easily be able to do, when he no longer belonged to the establishment at Longwood; but, if he loved his master and his gold, it would seem that he had still more love for his own skin; for he had scarcely received the letters and money, when he hastened to Plantation House, delivered the letters into the governor's hands, and confessed everything that his master had arranged with him.

When the Emperor was informed of Las Cases' arrest, and the causes which led to it, he shrugged his shoulders, and cried: "How could a man of so much sense as Las Cases choose for his secret agent a mulatto, who can neither read nor write, and think of sending him to England, where he has never been, and where he knows no one? and besides, how could he hope that this man would obtain permission to embark, after just leaving Longwood? Truly, all this is worthy of the imagination of a schoolboy." The grand marshal immediately received orders to go to Plantation House, and claim all papers belonging to the Emperor which might be among those seized in the apartment of Count Las Cases, and especially the first dictations on the campaigns in Italy. He was charged, at the same time, to protest against the arrest of Count Las Cases. Bertrand went immediately to James Town, and presented to Sir Hudson Lowe the reclamation with which he was charged. The governor listened to him with more deference than he had expected. A regular inventory was made of all the papers which had been seized, and the governor consented to return those claimed by General Bertrand; but Count Las Cases appeared to attach such great value to the imperial dictations, that General Bertrand took upon himself to leave in his possession those which he did not think indispensable to the Emperor's work: it was this circumstance which determined the English government to retain, till the death of the Emperor, the papers seized in the apartments of Count Las Cases, and to exact, in 1821, the written consent of his testamentary executors, before delivering them to Count Las Cases. General Bertrand and myself, on our return to England, in 1821, were required to be present at the breaking of the seals and delivery of these papers by Lord Bathurst to Lord Holland, for the Count Las Cases. We remarked that his journal was written with a broad margin, and that the last page bore the number 925.

But it was not so easy to obtain the liberation of Count Las Cases as to get back the papers; the grand marshal might claim the prisoner as he would, he was not given up, notwithstanding the marshal's often reiterated demands. The Emperor, seeing that his ambassador's conferences at Plantation House produced no effect, determined to make a last effort to bring back the count to Longwood; he hoped that a brilliant testimony of the value which he attached to his services, would stop Sir Hudson Lowe in his proceedings, through fear of the blame to which he would be exposed from public opinion in England, should it become known there that so valuable an attendant had been taken from the Emperor by a savage and unjustifiable impulse of anger.

In consequence of this determination, he wrote to Count Las Cases, on the 12th of December, 1816, as follows:

"MY DEAR COUNT LAS CASES,

"My heart is deeply sensible of what you are suffering. Torn from me seventeen or eighteen days ago, you are secretly imprisoned, and I can neither hear from you, nor send you news of myself; you have not been allowed to communicate with any one, either French or English, and are even deprived of a servant of your own choice.

"Your conduct at St. Helena has been, like your life, honourable and blameless; I have pleasure in telling you so.

"Your letter to your friend in London contains nothing reprehensible; you there poured out your heart into the bosom of friendship: this letter is like the eight or ten others which you sent open. The governor of this island, having had the indelicacy to scrutinize the expressions which you confided to friendship, reproached you with them;—lastly, he threatened to send you from the island, if your letters contained any more complaints. In acting thus, he violated the first duty of his post, the first article of his restrictions, and the first sentiment of honour. He thus authorized you to seek some means of opening your heart to your friends, and of acquainting them with the guilty conduct of the governor. But you are incapable of artifice; it was easy to surprise your confidence.

"A pretext was wanted for seizing your papers. A letter to your friend in London could not authorize a police visit to your apartment; for this letter contains no plot, no mystery; it is but the outpouring of an open and noble heart. The illegal and precipitate conduct pursued on this occasion bears the character of a mean and personal hatred.

"In the least civilized countries, exiles, prisoners, and even criminals, are under the protection of the laws or magistrates. The persons appointed to guard them have superiors, either in the administration or in the judicial order, who inspect their conduct; but here, on this rock, the same man who makes the most absurd regulations, executes them with violence and transgresses all laws, and there is no one to restrain the excess of his caprice.

"Longwood is wrapped in a veil which he would fain make impenetrable, in order to hide criminal conduct. This peculiar care to conceal matters gives room to suspect the most odious intentions.

"False rumours have been spread, for the purpose of deceiving the officers, strangers, and inhabitants of this island, and even the foreign agents, who they say are kept here by Austria and Russia. The English government is certainly deceived, in the same manner, by cunning and false information.

"Your papers, amongst which it was well known that there were some belonging to me, were seized, without any formality, close to my apartment, and with expressions of ferocious joy. I was informed of this some few moments afterwards. I looked through the window, and saw them taking you away. A numerous staff pranced about you. I imagined I saw some South Sea Islanders dancing round the prisoners whom they were about to devour.

"Your services were necessary to me; you alone could read, speak, and understand English. Nevertheless, I request you, and in case of need, command you, to require the governor to send you to the continent. He cannot refuse, because he has no power over you, except through the voluntary document which you signed. It would be a great consolation to me to know that you were on your way to more happy countries.

"When you arrive in Europe, whether you go to England or return to

France, forget the misfortunes to which you have been subjected. Boast of the fidelity you showed me, and all the affection I bore you.

"If you should some day see my wife and my son, embrace them, from me. For two years I have had no news from them, direct or indirect. A German botanist, who saw them a few days before his departure, in the garden of Schönbrunn, has been residing here for six months, but the barbarians will not allow him to come and tell me what he knows of them.

"And, lastly, be consoled, and console my friends. My body is, it is true, in the power of my enemies' hatred, and they neglect nothing which may gratify their vengeance. They are killing me by slow degrees; but Providence is too just to allow this to be much prolonged. The unhealthiness of this destroying climate, and the want of everything which sustains and animates life, will soon, I feel it, put an end to an existence, whose last moments will be the disgrace of the English character. Europe will one day point with horror at the hypocritical and wicked man whom true Englishmen will disown as a countryman.

"As all circumstances incline me to think that you will not be permitted to come and see me before your departure, receive my embraces and the assurances of my esteem and friendship. Be happy!

"Yours affectionately,

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

But this letter, sent sealed, though under cover to Sir Hudson Lowe, was returned to the grand marshal, as being a violation of the restrictions. General Bertrand, who had obtained permission to see Count Las Cases whenever he wished, was obliged to take it to himself. The wished for effect was produced on Sir Hudson Lowe as soon as he saw the terms in which the Emperor expressed his regret.

He offered to let Las Cases return to Longwood, and assured us that if he had better understood the privation which the departure of this attendant would impose on the Emperor he would have refrained from detaining him a single day from his service. Our joy on the grand marshal's receiving this communication was extreme; for we all loved the well-informed and good man whom we had pleasure in venerating as a mentor. Unfortunately, however, Count Las Cases, influenced by an extreme susceptibility of honour, thought himself bound to refuse the governor's offer; he felt himself too deeply outraged by the insult: he explained this to the grand marshal, and we were obliged to renounce the hope of again seeing him among us. It was in vain that the Emperor sent Bertrand and Gourgaud to persuade him to renounce his determination: he was resolved to leave the island; and on the 29th of December, 1816, he quitted St. Helena, in the brig Griffin, and proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope, there to await permission to return to Europe.

He was an immense loss to us, and we regretted him long; his virtues, his information, his mind at the same time pliant and commanding, made him a valuable companion in the land of exile. His devotion to the Emperor never flagged; and it may be said with truth, that his thoughts were the same in Europe as at St. Helena, entirely occupied in the service of the Emperor.

It was apropos of the memorial which Count Las Cases addressed to Prince Lucien, and which caused the catastrophe which we have just related, that the Emperor, speaking of the poem of "Charlemagne," written by his brother, made the following remarks, which I hastened to put on

paper, as a proof of that sureness and decision of mind which he possessed in literature as in everything else :

"How much labour and mind badly employed! Twenty thousand lines, without character or object. When Voltaire, who was a master of his language and of poetry, made shipwreck with his *Henriade*, in Paris, in the midst of the sanctuary, how could Lucien, whose first thoughts were in Italian, believe that it was possible for him to write a French poem in Rome, where his mind was under the daily influence of a foreign language and foreign poetry? Still more, how could he venture to pretend to create a new rhythm? He composed a bad history in bad verse; but he did not write an epic poem. An epic poem cannot be made subservient to the history of a particular man; but must be the historian of a remote and a great event.

"Lucien, perhaps, may have wished to write a work of re-action! How could he indulge the illusion of believing that he was about to restore the power of Rome? How can one admit that he consecrated twenty thousand lines to preach absurdities which no longer belong to the age; to defend prejudices which he can no longer entertain?—and he, above all—all whose opinions are controlled and regulated by the theory of republicanism.

"What a perversity of mind! What he could really have done, is a history of Italy. He possesses the necessary talents, facility, skill, and aptitude for labour; he is at Rome in the midst of the richest materials; his rank, his social relations, and the favour of the Pope, furnish the means of the most complete success in his researches, with a view to throw light upon the most hidden mysteries of history. He could have made a real offering to knowledge, and won an immortal reputation. He has preferred ridicule.

"This passion of Lucien, and others of my family, for writing poetry and romance is something quite inexplicable—Louis and Elisa write romances! There may be clearness and interest in Louis's romances, but by far the greater part will consist of sentimental metaphysics and philosophical absurdity. As to Elisa, I am at fault if she does not give us the sequel of the Monk."

Then, apropos of Charlemagne, the Emperor, passing from poetry to politics, said to me :

"My object was to destroy the whole of the feudal system, as organized by Charlemagne. With this view, I created a nobility from among the people, in order to swallow up the remains of the feudal nobility. The foundations of my ideas of fitness were abilities and personal worth; and I selected the son of a farmer or an artisan to make a duke or a marshal of France. I sought for true merit among all ranks of the great mass of the French people, and was anxious to organize a true and general system of equality. I was desirous that every Frenchman should be admissible to all the employments and dignities of the state, provided he was possessed of talents and character equal to the performance of the duties, whatever might be his family. In a word, I was eager to abolish, to the last trace, the privileges of the ancient nobility, and to establish a government, which at the same time that it held the reins of government with a firm hand, should still be a *popular government*. The oligarchs of every country in Europe soon perceived my design, and it was for this reason that war to the death was carried on against me by England. The noble families of London, as well as those of Vienna, think themselves prescriptively entitled to the occupation of all the important offices in the state, and the management and handling of the public money. Their birth is regarded by them as a substitute

for talents and capacities; and it is enough for a man to be the son of his father, to be fit to fulfil the duties of the most important employments and highest dignities of the state. They are somewhat like kings by divine right; the people are in their eyes merely milch cows, about whose real interests they feel no concern, provided the treasury is always full, and the crown resplendent with jewels.

"In short, in establishing a hereditary nobility, I had three objects in view:

"1st. To reconcile France with the rest of Europe.

"2ndly. To reconcile old with new France.

"3rdly. To put an end to all feudal institutions in Europe, by re-connecting the idea of nobility with that of public services, and detaching it from all prescriptive or feudal notions.

"The whole of Europe was governed by nobles who were strongly opposed to the progress of the French revolution, and who exercised an influence which proved a serious obstacle to the development of French principles. It was necessary to destroy this influence, and with that view to clothe the principal personages of the Empire with titles equal to theirs. The success was complete: from that time forward the nobility of Europe ceased to be opposed to France, and with secret joy witnessed the creation of a new nobility, which appeared inferior to the ancient merely because it was new; they did not foresee the consequences of the French system, which tended to depreciate and uproot the feudal nobility, or at least to compel its members to reconstitute themselves by a new title.

"The ancient nobility of France, on their restoration to their country and to a part of their estates, eagerly resumed all their titles; and, although not legally, yet in fact, considered themselves more than ever as a privileged class: every attempt at fusion or amalgamation with the chiefs of the revolution was attended with difficulties, which were at once completely removed by the creation of new titles. There were none of the ancient families which did not willingly form alliances with the new dukes; in fact, the Noailles, Corbels, Louvois, and Fleury, were new houses, creations of Louis XIV. and Louis XV. From their origin, the most ancient houses in France sought for their alliance, and in this way the families of the revolution were consolidated, and old and new France re-united. It was particularly with this view that I conferred the first title on Marshal Lefebvre. The marshal had been a common soldier, and every one in Paris had known him as a sergeant in the French guards.

"My plan was to re-construct the ancient nobility of France. Every family which reckoned among the number of its ancestors a cardinal, a great officer of the crown, a marshal of France, chancellor, keeper of the seals, minister, &c., was entitled on that account to sue for the title of duke. You, Montholon, for example, would have been a duke, because you were descended from chancellors and keepers of the great seal of France. Every family which had had an archbishop, ambassador, chief president, lieutenant-general, or vice-admiral, the title of count: every family which had had a bishop, major-general, rear-admiral, councillor of state, or president of parliament, the title of baron. These titles would not have been encumbered with any other charge than an obligation on the part of the claimants to provide a fixed income for the eldest son, of 100,000 francs for a duke, 30,000 for a count, and 10,000 for a baron. This principle was to form a rule for the past and the present, and intended also as a standard for the future. From this plan there sprung up an historical nobility which united

the past, the present, and the future; and was founded, not upon any distinctions of blood, which constitute an imaginary nobility, inasmuch as there is only one race of men, but upon services done to the state. In the same manner, therefore, the son of a peasant might say to himself, 'I shall one day be a cardinal, marshal of France, or minister;' so might he on this principle say, 'I shall one day be a duke, count, or baron,' as he may now say, 'I shall follow commerce, and gain millions for my family.' A Montmorency would have been made a duke, not because he was a Montmorency, but because one of his ancestors had been constable of France, and rendered important services to the state. This changed the whole nature of the nobility, which had been hitherto feudal, and established on its ruins an historical nobility, founded upon the claims of its possessors to the love of their country or the respect of their sovereign. This idea, like that of the Legion of Honour, and the university, was in itself eminently liberal, well calculated, at the time, to consolidate social order and to annihilate the pride of the nobility. It at once destroyed the pretensions of the oligarchy, and maintained in all their integrity the dignity and legal rights of mankind. It was a creation, organizing a liberal idea, and completely characteristic of the new age. I never had recourse to precipitation in the execution of any of my projects, always believing I had time before me. I often said to my council of state, that I required twenty years for the accomplishment of my plans; but I have only had fifteen."

The grand marshal had been established in the neighbourhood of Longwood since the 20th of October, 1816, a house had been built for him after his own plan, at 240 feet from the Emperor's dwelling, and close to the piece of land which separated us from the camp of Dead Wood, so that he was about half-way to the camp. This house was one of the dependencies of the new house which was being built for the Emperor, but as long as his Majesty occupied the old Longwood, we were, in fact, as far from the grand marshal after six o'clock in the evening, as we were when he lived at Hut's Gate, for after this hour, no communication could be had with him, without being accompanied by an English soldier with his bayonet constantly in rest, and ready to pierce the heart of the first person who should attempt to pass through a double line of sentinels, separating his house from ours.

All these events produced, as may be imagined, a change in the Emperor's habits; he divided the work which there was to do between General Gourgaud and myself. It was at this epoch that he again took up with General Gourgaud the history of the Italian campaigns, a work which he had at first intended to be performed by General Bertrand, and which, interrupted a second time by the departure of General Gourgaud, who in his turn quitted us for the purpose of returning to Europe, was entirely dictated to me, towards the close of the year 1819.

As regards the work commenced by Las Cases, it was added to that which I already had. I received, besides, the charge of the archives and that of secretary to the cabinet.

Thus, after some time, affairs had again fallen into their usual routine.

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But it was impossible for Sir Hudson Lowe to let himself be forgotten, and the Emperor endeavoured in vain to forget, in occupation, the unworthy annoyances of which he was the constant subject. One day I was writing from his dictation, when the valet-de-chambre on duty came to inform him

we had been deprived in the month of October, to Europe, had just cast anchor in the roadstead of St. James, on her return from the Cape of Good Hope, whither those poor devils had been first sent, from a refinement in barbarity. They had been thus obliged to traverse 2,000 leagues of a sea proverbial for its fury, especially in the neighborhood of the Cape, which, I know not for what reason, is at present called the Cape of Good Hope, but which the early navigators with greater reason called "Stormy Cape."

Archambaud obtained leave to go on board, and embrace his young brother for the last time. Through him we were made acquainted with all the privations to which these unfortunate persons were subjected, as a punishment for their devotedness to their master.

The health of the Emperor began to change; want of exercise sensibly affected the lymphatic system. O'Meara became uneasy, and expressed his feelings in his reports. The commissioners spoke on the subject to the governor; their instructions were formal; they wished to be made acquainted with the state of the prisoner's health, and required that all means compatible with the security of his person should be taken by the governor, in order to prevent the consequences to his health, which might result from want of proper exercise.

Sir H. Lowe was excited by this step on the part of the commissioners. It was wholly unexpected, especially as he believed himself to be sure of their readiness to yield to all his wishes. It is true, that nothing could be more complete than his influence over the Austrian commissioner, who was a mere cipher, and with regard to the Russian and French commissioners, the former was desperately in love with Miss Johnson, and his whole time and attention were occupied in endeavouring to make himself agreeable to this charming young lady; the latter, the Marquis de Montchenu, was too fond of the good dinners at Plantation house to be capable of exercising the slightest independence; he was deceived, and afterwards discovered that he was so. It was on this occasion that Sir H. Lowe said: "I am about to arrange matters in such a way, as to allow him to take horse exercise; I have no wish that he should die of an attack of apoplexy—that would be very embarrassing both to me and the government; I would much rather he should die of a tedious disease which our physicians could properly declare to be natural. Apoplexy furnishes too many grounds for comment."



## CHAPTER XIV.

## KING LOUIS AND HOLLAND.\*

"BROUGHT to France when fourteen years old, Louis entered upon the life of a man at the siege of Toulon, in hearing me say to him, in the midst of the corpses of two hundred grenadiers, slain through the ignorance of their general, at the assault of an impregnable side of Fort Pharon: 'If I had commanded here, all these brave men would still be alive. Learn, Louis, from this example, how absolutely necessary instruction is to those who aspire to the command of others.' The first time that I took him within cannon-shot was at the attack on Saorgio; he persisted in placing himself before me, in order to defend me from the enemy's balls; another time, happening to be in a battery at Barbette, against which a very sharp fire was then directed, he remained constantly standing with his head erect, although the cannoniers were sheltering themselves as much as possible; and when I asked him the reason, he answered: 'You told me that an artillery officer should not fear cannon; they are our weapons—I follow your example.'

"The youth of the schools, such as that of Paris, gloried then in their anti-republican principles, and above all, ostentatiously affected regrets and sympathies for the social forms which had been replaced by republican customs. Bernardin de St. Pierre and Jean Jacques were the favourite authors of these youths, who understood nothing of the crisis of 1793, but the horror of its crimes, and of all the blood shed to the cry of, 'Vive la République!' The public places of large towns were continually the scenes of terrible struggles between the young aristocracy and the men of the people whom the revolution had taken from their labour, to transform them into orators or frequenters of clubs.

"These impressions of his childhood easily took a firm hold on a character naturally virtuous, and susceptible of everything honourable and pure. As early as the age of eighteen, Louis regretted seeing himself thrown into a stormy life, and already sighed for retirement. I remarked this with uneasiness, and also all the contrasts of his character, which was, at the same time, grave and romantic, lively and phlegmatic.

"In the army his courage was brilliant, but as if by fits, and with indifference to the praises which his brave actions obtained. He fulfilled all his duties strictly, without regard to his personal safety; at the passage of the Po, he placed himself at the head of the attacking columns; at Pizzighetone he was the first in the breach; at the assault on Pavia he rode at the head of the sappers and grenadiers, who were ordered to break down the gates of the town with hatchets, and he thus uselessly braved a shower of balls, of which he found himself the aim. He thought it his duty to be on horseback, in order better to observe the situation of the town, as soon as the grenadiers should rush into the streets; the sight of the sack of this town, celebrated for its university, made a deep impression upon him, and rendered him still more taciturn.

\* The following is the dictation referred to at the close of Chapter XII.

"When, on the eve of the battle of Castiglione, I sent him to Paris to lay before the Directory a report of the events which had determined me to raise the siege of Mantua, and to abandon for the moment the line of the Adige, he was so unhappy at the idea of not sharing the dangers to which he believed me and the army to be exposed, that I was obliged to say to him: 'Set out without any regret, Louis; I can charge no one but my brother with this unpleasant commission; but, before you return, you shall present to the Directory the standards which I shall take to-morrow from the enemy.' And he did, in fact, present to the Directory the nine standards lost by Austria at the battle of Castiglione. They arrived in Paris nearly at the same time as himself.

"His unlucky stars would have it that during his sojourn in Paris, before setting out for Egypt, he should become acquainted with the daughter of an *émigré*, the Marquis Beauharnais,\* and fell desperately in love with her. A youthful confidence reposed in old Casabianca, a devoted friend of my family, disturbed all the dreams of this first love. The republicanism of Casabianca took alarm at the possibility of an alliance between a Bonaparte and an *émigré*; and he hastened to tell me all. There is no doubt that this marriage would have displeased public opinion, and given rise to attacks from parties who already regarded me with alarm. I did not think it would be possible to overrule by reasoning the love of a young man of twenty, and I thought the best plan would be to appear ignorant of the whole matter, and to remove him from Paris by some military commission. Next day, a post-chaise separated the lovers by 100 leagues between Lyons and Paris. But notwithstanding this precaution, neither absence, nor the campaign in Egypt, nor even the marriage of Mademoiselle Beauharnais with Monsieur Lavalette, arrested the ravages of this first love, and it exercised a fatal influence on Louis's future life. This hasty departure, without any fraternal explanation, and under the austere forms of military discipline, laid the foundation of the distrust which from that day forward repressed his gratitude for all that I did for him. I was wrong; it would have been better to have appealed to his reason, and to have acted frankly towards him.

"A short time after my accession to the consulate, I appointed him colonel of the 5th regiment of dragoons, and sent him to the army of La Vendée: his duty was to obey; he obeyed, but manœuvred in such a manner that not a man of his regiment drew a sabre. He could not, however, avoid being a witness of the execution of four unhappy Chouan chiefs, who were shot at Alençon, after the signing of the armistice, by the orders of General Guidal, and in spite of Louis's earnest entreaties to the General that he would await my confirmation of the sentence; and it was remarked that he carried his indignation so far as to shut himself up in his apartments, as on a day of mourning, commanding his officers to imitate his example.

"In the summer of 1801, he expressed to me his desire to be present at the grand manœuvres which were to take place at Potsdam. I willingly acquiesced, in hope that the various objects which would divert his mind during a long journey in the north, would combat with success the progress of a moral and physical marasmus which alarmed me; he set out with the intention of visiting all the north of Europe; but political events hastened

\* This Marquis de Beauharnais is not to be confounded with Viscount Beauharnais, general in the republican army, and first husband of the Empress Josephine.

his return to Paris, and prevented him from visiting Russia. Soon after, he set out with his regiment to join the French-Spanish army, destined to enter Portugal under the command of General Leclerc. The signing of the treaty of Amiens brought him back to France, and it was then that his marriage with Hortense became a subject of serious consideration. He had long been acquainted with the Empress Josephine's wish to call him her son-in-law, but, still under the impressions of his first love, he carefully avoided all occasions of being alone with her; a ball at Malmaison was the rock on which all his resolutions made shipwreck; an attack, as smart as it was unforeseen, drew from him his consent, and on the 4th of January, 1802, the nuptial benediction was pronounced on two beings worthy of loving each other, but whom fate separated by impressions never to be effaced.\*

"A circumstance which could only be explained by a high political idea, and which Louis did not understand, gave new activity to the incessant labour of a distrust nourished by a natural disposition to sadness and dejection.

"The empire had just been created; I wished my brothers to be initiated in all the mechanism of the state; I appointed Louis state councillor of the section of legislation, and Joseph colonel of the 4th regiment of infantry. 'Why become from a colonel a state-councillor, a lawyer; and from an ambassador a colonel?' asked Louis of himself; and he immediately took it into his head that this enigma could only find its solution in a fresh sacrifice which I did not venture to ask of him; but to which he would find himself condemned by one of the natural consequences of his entrance into the council of state.

"In spite of his imaginary fears, he received, a short time after, the title of Colonel-general of the carabiniers, and a constable's sword, as well as the command of a *corps de reserve* stationed near Lille, while the army was encamped at Boulogne, and when it set out on the campaign of Austerlitz, I confided to him the government of Paris, a very difficult post, but which he filled with remarkable zeal, activity, and talent, in the midst of the serious embarrassments occasioned me by a party which reckoned partisans in the senate, and among the highest functionaries of the state. The discredit of the Bank was at that time such, that it was obliged to suspend payment; and no day passed without witnessing innumerable assemblages of people which seemed to forebode a revolt: a few men of the imperial guard, some scarcely clothed recruits, and the police of the town of Paris, constituted the whole serviceable military force, to keep this great city in order, and to keep it faithful to the oaths which it had just taken to the third dynasty.

"When events obliged me to bring together a body of troops on the Lower Rhine in order to protect Holland, Antwerp, and the north of France from the attacks with which the hostile attitude of Prussia menaced me, I gave the command of them to Louis; he seconded me zealously; in a few weeks the system of defence was securely arranged, and Prussia, astonished at the sudden rising up of an army on its frontiers, arrested its hostile manifestations, and sent its prime minister to my head quarters.

"Von Haugwitz arrived at Brünn, in Moravia, on the eve of the battle

\* Three children were the issue of this marriage. Prince Napoleon Charles, who died in Holland; Prince Napoleon Louis, baptized by Pius VII., during his sojourn in France; and Prince Charles Louis Napoleon, the only prince of the Imperial family whose birth was registered like that of the King of Rome in the archives of the senate, with the title of heir-presumptive of the Imperial Crown.

of Austerlitz; I knew all the sharpness of the communications brought by the minister; I refused to see him, sending him this message by Talleyrand:—‘I wish to preserve friendly relations with the King of Prussia; if I received the plenipotentiary this evening we should quarrel; to-morrow, I shall have disorganized the armies of two great empires, and Von Haugwitz will have nothing to say to me but words of peace, to which I shall listen with pleasure. Let him, then, repose himself for forty-eight hours, after his long journey, and let him come the day after to-morrow to the castle of Austerlitz, where I will receive him.’

“I was in the right; Von Haugwitz allowed that he brought messages of war, but that the battle of Austerlitz rendered this impossible, and that he had now nothing to do but to thank me for the testimony of friendship I had just shown towards the King of Prussia.

“Holland had been for thirty years the field of operation of anti-French intrigues, and an incessant struggle between the partisans of the house of Orange, and the friends of France. This division had its source in the relations of the provinces among themselves. The republic was composed of seven provinces, united by politics, but independent as to their government, and of a large annexed province called La Generalité, which included Dutch Brabant, Dutch Flanders, the countries beyond the Meuse, Maestricht, Namur, Bréda, and Bois-le-Duc. This fine province, La Generalité, was to Holland what the Pays-de-Vaud was to the canton of Berne; it sent no deputy to the states-general. These, composed of deputies from the seven provinces, governed La Generalité despotically as their conquest. Such was long the fate of the Roman colonies. Each of the seven united provinces exercised, by its deputy, a portion of the general sovereignty, and had its particular sovereignty over its own district. This sovereignty was manifested in the power exercised by the Chambers, called states-provincial, formed of deputies from some privileged towns; all towns had not the right of sending deputies. Each province had the absolute sovereignty of its interior government, voted its part of the impost for the general expenses of the state, but regulated the manner of raising it. The towns administered justice in themselves by means of municipal forms. They rendered no account of their administration to the states-provincial, any more than the latter rendered any to the states-general. It would have been difficult to follow with greater exactness the order of the federative system.

“All these little burgher independencies, united into a community for the common interest, formed an independent state, which was long flourishing and prosperous. It had its origin in a fine political idea, to offer a home to the victims of policy and intolerance. It was thus that the Greeks constituted their states, and that they had been able to struggle against Asia and the Romans. Holland fell, like Greece, because it was old, troubled by intestine disorders, and its mutual bonds half broken: it had moreover a capital defect in its state-organization; its sovereign was not a monarch, but had in his hands all the means of becoming so. As long as the princes of Nassau were not ambitious on their own account, they lived honoured and glorious, and held a good rank in Europe. They courageously resisted Louis XIV.; their flag was respected; they had a preponderance among the sovereigns of the second order, and those of the first sought their alliance; they were in the true condition of a good government—equality in the sovereignty between the prince and the states-general. Should this equality once be broken by any encroachment on one side or the other, there would be danger to both; and this is precisely what happened.

"An aristocratic vein ran through this republican body—the equestrian order. This order was represented in the states-general by a special deputation of the nobility of each province. The complicated nature of this government rendered it vulnerable through its own organization; it was neither democratic enough nor aristocratic enough; there lay in it the elements of civil war, in case of an interruption of the good understanding between the various parts, and yet not sufficient means of turning this war to the advantage of the victorious party, without crushing the other by a revolution which would endanger the national independence. In order to take precautions against this danger, of which the Dutch were aware, they created the office of stadtholder, and chose a prince of the house of Nassau. They showed true wisdom in this case, in selecting their chief magistrate from an illustrious house, but one whose situation could give them no jealousy. This prince on his election was loaded with prerogatives. Captain-general, high-admiral—these were his titles, and he had besides in his power the nomination to all civil and military employments, and the disposal of a considerable treasure. The gradual system of elections, constantly renewed, presented the stadtholder with favourable chances, by means of the influence which he might there create for himself; and from time to time he would needs be absolute master, when his creatures were included in the states-general. By its nature, the office of stadtholder was permanent; so that the person holding it had always the resource and advantage of waiting, in the possession of power, to see that power increase.

"This situation of interest had several times placed the stadtholder and the states-general in opposition to each other, and the state in a crisis. Revolutions had taken place; they had been bloody; great citizens, such as Jean de Witt and Barneveldt, had lost their lives in them. The office of stadtholder had, at length, been abolished; but the dangers threatening the republic, when Louis XIV. conquered several of its provinces, forced it to re-establish this great power in favour of William III. This prince avenged it, and delivered its territories; like a skilful politician, he profited by the gratitude of the nation to assume an almost absolute authority. He treated the three provinces into which the arms of Louis had penetrated, in the same manner as the senate of Carthage treated its generals when they had been defeated; he inflicted on them a national chastisement; he declared them incapable for the future of nominating their magistrates, and took their nomination into his own hands. Thus, as the state consisted of seven provinces, he made himself master, in 1674, of three-sevenths of the sovereignty by this act of extraordinary justice, which was called the *regulation*.

"William did not rest contented with having caused himself to be acknowledged as the conqueror of the provinces invaded by Louis XIV.; he found, in the confusion resulting from the war of the succession in Spain, a pretext for obtaining the military dictatorship. As captain-general he commanded the army; but he could not order any movement or change among the garrisons without the concurrence of the state. He availed himself of this war to demonstrate the inconveniences of this dependence. The services which he had just rendered to the republic, gave him a right to use a high tone; he obtained, *for one campaign only*, the discretionary power which he coveted. This power, subversive of all republican government, became an hereditary right of the stadtholder. The town of Amsterdam, however, always refused to open its gates to the soldiers, and persisted

in considering this discretionary power as an encroachment on the liberty of the nation; the province of Holland shared to the last the courageous resistance of its capital.

"After the death of William III., the States resolved to abolish the office of stadtholder; but in the war of 1741, when Holland, forgetting its political principles, took part against France, and roused the United Provinces from the state of neutrality to which they owed their riches, the need of a chief possessing power and energy was strongly felt; the revolution which re-established the office, occupied only a fortnight; William IV. was proclaimed with an enthusiasm difficult to be described; the people heaped prodigally on his head all the privileges which he could use; they added, to the *regulation* of 1674, and to the rights-*patent*, the heirship of the office of Stadtholder in the house of Nassau-Orange, and the privilege of succession to females in case of the extinction of the male line. It was difficult for republicans to go further than this. By this last revolution, the stadtholder rose suddenly from the condition of servant of the states-general to that of protector and master. He was a sovereign. The kings of Europe treated him as such; and the great Frederic gave his niece in marriage to William V.

"This princess, whose character was haughty and vindictive, played a conspicuous part in the events which again changed the government of Holland. She thought herself entirely at liberty to act as she pleased, because she reckoned on the support of the king, her uncle, whose power and influence were the result of his glory and of his genius. "The stadtholder, on his side, relying entirely on the support of the king of England, thought he might oppress the country with impunity. The town of Amsterdam and the province of Holland generously devoted themselves to the defence of their country's liberty.

"The care of William V.'s minority had been confided to Duke Louis of Brunswick, who prolonged his guardianship beyond the time of William's majority. He had received from the states the title and the functions of lieutenant-general of the republic, and, in virtue of this office, had charge of all matters relating to war and its administration. The young prince had become accustomed to the government of Duke Louis, who spared him all the responsibilities of sovereignty, and exercised its powers. The patriots became alarmed at this prolonged authority, which was insensibly degenerating into usurpation; and they were, besides, dissatisfied with the character of William V., with his bad faith, his falsehood, his incapacity and his weakness; and in the determination which they took to save their country at all hazards, they resolved to get rid of Duke Louis. They soon found both the opportunity and the motive for which they wished, in a document signed by the stadtholder after his coming of age, in which the prince promised to undertake nothing without the sanction of the Duke of Brunswick. The partisans of the stadtholder became, by the communication of this important document, as much interested as the patriots in getting rid of an authority which was subjecting even the stadtholder himself; and the duke was obliged to take his departure. This little revolution occurred in the interior of the country, and had not much publicity. The patriots, like skilful men, had been cautious of drawing a great party to the design which they had conceived.

"This document, of which they now had possession, was the work of Blesswick, the grand pensionary, and written by his own hand. By this act alone, he had rendered himself guilty of treason; and if this document

was denounced to the states-general, it would bring him to capital condemnation. Blesswick, a man of great talent, enjoyed popular favour. The patriots, instead of ridding themselves of him, as they had done of Duke Louis who could only injure them, determined to make use of him; and they acted wisely. The character of this deliberate and prudent nation is exhibited in all their revolutions. They showed Blesswick the document which he had imprudently drawn up, and proposed to him the alternative of being accused by them or of serving them. Blesswick, as they expected, did not hesitate, as this power was in the hands of the patriots. He devoted himself to their projects, and showed himself so faithful to the engagements, though forced, into which he had entered with them, that when the five years' term of his office was elapsed, he had influence enough to get himself re-elected.

"Affairs assumed a still graver aspect in consequence of the war which England, in contempt of treaties, declared against the United Provinces, then in alliance with France, which armed against Great Britain. Unfortunate Holland was pulled about between these two great powers, one of which, England, did not wish it to have a navy; and the other, France, insisted that it should have no land army, but a navy. There was yet another perplexity; England wished the stadtholder to be an absolute monarch, and took his part: France was in favour of the republican interest. The alliance of the seven united provinces with the latter country brought down upon them a British storm. Holland, however, had done everything in its power to avert it, by protesting its neutrality; it also brought forward one of the clauses of the last treaty, which authorized the contracting parties to continue their commercial relations with powers at war with one of them, provided they refrained from importing arms and ammunition. It cited the example of England itself, which, in a similar position, had profited by these advantages. Russia offered aid to Holland, by inviting it to subscribe to the treaty of armed neutrality, which it had just concluded with Sweden and Denmark. This treaty contained the very stipulations and exceptions agreed to in the regulation of 1778, relative to the navigation of neutral countries; and the fulfilment of which, in reference to its commerce with France, Holland vainly demanded from the British government: all was useless; England, closely united to the stadtholder, on whom it reckoned, and with reason, abused the advantages offered it by treason, and declared war on the very day on which the ambassadors of the states were agreeing at Petersburg to the treaty of neutrality.

"The conduct of the stadtholder became more than suspicious to the patriots, who had their eyes open to all his operations as high-admiral. The treason of the prince soon became manifest: France demanded from Holland a fleet, to co-operate with its own in this war, and to unite with it at Brest. This fleet was to sail from the Texel. The head of the admiralty of the Meuse, the famous Paulus, displayed such activity in the matter, that forty vessels lay ready to sail in the roads of Texel. But the stadtholder, in his office of high-admiral, put so many difficulties in the way of the execution of the states' orders, that the season for putting to sea passed. He did more. The states, being informed that an English squadron, under the command of Admiral Parker, was cruising in the Sound, in the hope of getting possession of the Dutch vessels employed in the commerce of the Baltic, ordered the high-admiral to have these vessels convoyed by a considerable force. The stadtholder, compelled to obey, chose, as commander of the fleet, which received orders to prepare for sailing, Zoutman, an old man

whom he drew from obscurity; he reckoned on the weakness of this old sailor, who had been long forgotten, to allow his vessels to fall into the hands of the English, and so bent was he upon this design that he did not even give Zoutman a sufficient number of armed vessels to defend his convoy.

"The admiral complained of the insufficiency of his forces; the stadtholder informed him in reply, that he would be reinforced on the way by Admiral Kinsberg, one of the greatest naval commanders in Europe. Zoutman set sail, and met Kinsberg, whom he begged to accompany him; but what was his astonishment, when Kinsberg showed him an order which he had received, recalling him within twenty-four hours. But although this admiral was a partisan of the stadtholder, he could not resolve to let old Zoutman proceed, knowing that he would inevitably lose the vessels of war and of commerce which were under his command; he took it upon himself, therefore, to accompany him during a few days.

"The English admiral had been informed of the approach of Zoutman; he left his station and advanced to meet him, confident of taking the whole convoy almost without a struggle. But when he saw the junction of the two Dutch admirals, he was obliged to decide on giving battle; he lost it, and escaped by flight. This was called the battle of Dogger-bank, a bank of sand on the coast of Jutland. Old Zoutman fought like a hero; Kinsberg did wonders. Holland, triumphant, honoured its two admirals; but the stadtholder received them with marked indifference, and by this conduct clearly proved his perfidious engagements with England. Zoutman again returned to oblivion. This victory was then very justly regarded by the patriots as a victory over the stadtholder himself, who could not conceal his anger. The disgrace of Zoutman, the conqueror, violently inflamed parties, already irritated by the obstacles which the stadtholder had put in the way of the fleet's departure from the Texel, and of its junction with that of Brest. The nation was openly betrayed by its ruler. The treaty of 1783 terminated this war. By it England gained the settlement of Negapatnam on the coast of Coromandel, ceded to her by the Dutch.

"After this peace, the policy of the states-general leaned entirely towards the side of France, and compelled the stadtholder, against his will, to follow the negotiation. The treaty, signed at Versailles on the 8th of November, 1783, was ratified by the states on the 12th of December. The patriots loudly manifested their joy; Amsterdam and Rotterdam had medals struck in commemoration of the alliance with France. Never did a nation express more characteristically the part which it took in the policy of its government. The stadtholder, however, affected to reproach France with the loss of Negapatnam; the patriots, on the other hand, and with much more justice, reproached the prince with having prevented the junction of the Texel fleet with that of the French, which would have dealt a terrible blow to England, especially since the armed neutrality of the maritime courts of the north. This junction was what the stadtholder, in accordance with the views of the court of St. James, had carefully endeavoured to prevent, in spite of the efforts of Admiral Paulus, the orders of the states, and the agreement entered into with France.

"The death of Frederic the Great was an event of considerable importance to the affairs of Holland. The Princess of Orange reckoned, and with reason, still more on the support of her brother, who was now called to the throne of Prussia, than she had done on the protection of the old king, who had always disdained to interfere in the quarrels of this republic,



otherwise than by a moderate system of advice to both parties. His policy would besides have induced him, had he lived longer, to join France against the English party, whose instrument his name always was, and not to suffer any attack to be made on the republic, his ally. After the death of this great King, the Prince and Princess of Orange thought fit to avail themselves of their influence with the new king, in order to make him interfere as the protector of their pretensions in the usurpation of the supreme power.

"Hertzberg, under the late king, had only been an ordinary minister, for Frederic himself governed; but he became the directing minister under his successor, a weak and idolent prince, naturally averse to business, and the whole extent of whose ambition was to enjoy the glorious heritage which his uncle had founded in Europe. Hertzberg had not been able, during the late king's reign, to obtain for the solicitations of the court of the Hague, the influence which he would have wished. He indemnified himself with the new king, for his impotence during the reign of the great monarch; he persuaded him to grant to the Princess, his sister, his declared protection. The affairs of Holland were only known in Berlin by the complaints of the Orangists. Count Goertz was sent as ambassador to the Hague, with instructions to direct the stadtholder in his conduct in opposition to the states, and to give him official support. The revolution commenced in the month of September, 1785, by a revolt; it had, of course, its success, its reverses, and its triumphs. This sedition, the work of the Orangists, was directed against the functionaries of Amsterdam, Dordrecht, and Haarlem, the three principal magistrates of the country, and the chiefs of the republican party. Sunday being a day when all business was suspended, even to the functions of the states-general and provincial, was selected in preference to any other, because none of the local authorities would on that day have any repressive force at hand. Matters were so arranged that the stadtholder himself, without whose orders no military force could leave its station, should be in the country, and it would be too late when his orders should arrive. The three magistrates would infallibly have been massacred, had it not been for an unforeseen circumstance which brought to their assistance a force sufficient to disperse the rioters. The constitution had provided for the absence of the sovereign power with which the states-general were to be invested, by the establishment of a *council committee*, selected from the states themselves. In cases of emergency, this committee exercised the sovereign power in the absence of the stadtholder; it made use of its authority on the first report of the disturbance, and ordered out the garrison of the Hague against the assailants of the three magistrates.

"The next day, the assembled states declared their intention of obviating the danger to public tranquillity, resulting from the necessity of recurring to the stadtholder for orders respecting the movement of the troops, and added to the rights of the *council committee*. William V., on hearing of this determination, which took from him his highest privilege, went to the states, defended his rights, and demanded that the general command should be left to him, promising to use it in securing the public tranquillity. His entreaties were in vain; his humiliation was complete, and the states persisted in their determination.

"The stadtholder was violently irritated at the failure of his efforts; he threw off his uniform, and set out for Gelderland and Berlin, to solicit a still more active interference, which might restore to him his command. He

declared that he would not return to Holland, if this prerogative was not restored to him; that he regarded it as a right inherent in his dignity. This claim gave rise to several diplomatic memorials and notes. The states deliberated anew, and although the pensionary of Amsterdam had experienced some defection among his partisans, the patriots still had the upper hand.

"They did not sleep on their victory; but availed themselves of it to broach questions which were, no doubt, of less elevated interest, but of more popular effect. The standards of the Dutch guards, employed especially in the service of the states-general, had insensibly been transformed into standards of the stadtholder, by the great size of the prince's shield, and the diminutiveness of that of the provinces; this was a public sign of the usurpation of the military power. The patriots judged that the time was now come to open the eyes of the people to this usurpation, to which they had become accustomed, as well as to that of the legislative rights and of the sovereignty, of which the stadtholders had never, from the commencement, lost sight for a single moment. A usage, equally the fruit of usurpation, daily offended the republicans, and especially the members of the states. The palace, in which the stadtholder lived, contained the hall of assembly; a square court, common to both wings of the building, had two outlets to the town, one on the north and the other on the south; the stadtholder had taken possession of the one on the north, and no one but himself was allowed to pass through it.

"On the 27th of February, the patriots succeeded in having the standards with the stadtholder's arms immediately replaced by those adorned with the national arms; the military honours, paid till then only to the stadtholder, were to be common to the members of the states; and the reserved gate was to be thrown open. These puerile victories satisfied the vanity of the people; they reminded them that the sovereignty resided in the states-general. One circumstance was near giving rise to a serious popular movement. A member of the states, named Gislaër, endeavoured to avail himself of the right which the patriots had just obtained, of passing through the stadtholder's gate: some of the populace, purposely suborned by the Orangists, assailed his carriage, and they would indubitably have murdered him, had not the guards hastened to his rescue. A judicial process followed this affair, and the man who had appeared to direct the riot was condemned to death. At the moment when the miserable man was about to forfeit his life, Gislaër brought him his pardon, which he had generously solicited from the states. If Gislaër had been assassinated in his ambitious attempt, the people would have looked upon him as a madman; he succeeded, and became their idol. This event gave confidence to the patriots, while at the same time it diminished the number of the partisans of the court. A decree of the states pronounced the dissolution of the companies of volunteers formed by the stadtholder's party, and organized patriotic companies in their stead. It is always in times of public disturbance, and particularly when the people have obtained a victory, that those elements of a national power are thrown together, which afterwards become an army, called to defend and save their country. Every nation has at some time had, like the Dutch, its stadtholder's gate to re-conquer; the Parisians took the Bastille; the inhabitants of the Pays-de-Vaud the castle of Chillon. At Utrecht there was another patriotic movement. Since the time of William III., the provinces of Utrecht, Gelderland, and Overijssel, had not been represented separately and by deputies of their own choice; the stadtholder had the nomination of them in his

hands. This incredible prerogative, notwithstanding the direct insult to national honour contained in it, had been maintained for a period of 111 years. But, the moment appearing favourable to the three conquered provinces, for finally abolishing the regulation of 1674, the citizens of Utrecht named commissioners to draw up a new regulation which they approved. Towards the end of December, the citizens, to the number of five thousand, and unarmed, assembled quietly and without tumult, in the vast square in front of the Hôtel de Ville, and required their magistrates to replace the old regulation by the new one which they had submitted to them. It was not till the evening that this vast assembly, whose tranquillity was not for a moment interrupted, was informed that its demands were granted by the magistrates: but as they had no power to sanction them, it was necessary to await the convocation of the states of the province, which would not take place till three months afterwards. This singular scene, in which a few municipal officers deliberated coolly during twelve hours, on a demand made by five thousand men, took place on the 20th of December, 1785. The stadtholder's party availed themselves of their three months' respite to gain a majority. The attitude of the citizens, however, prevailed; the regulation of 1674 was abolished, and the regency of Utrecht established. This revolution, for it was really one, was effected without violence, and without any disturbance of the public tranquillity. The Dutch character inclines this people to avoid all excess, to calculate their movements, and not to rouse themselves except when forced to it by a feeling of their own real interest. The conduct of the inhabitants of Utrecht gave rise to the same sentiments in the provinces of Gelderland and Overijssel, which shared the interdict of 1674.

"Thus every thing was arranged at Utrecht for that province, in spite of the efforts and negotiations of the stadtholder. The nobles and clergy of Utrecht reckoned scarcely twenty members; but each of these two orders had a representative in the states-provincial, while the five voting towns were represented by one deputy. These two orders formed themselves into a body, under the name of the *states-provincial of Utrecht*, in the little town of Amersfort, where the stadtholder resided. According to agreement with them, he stationed a garrison there to protect them. One may see at every turn how defective was the constitution of the United Provinces, and how it had consequently fallen into a state of discredit, which must necessarily bring on either a popular reform, or a usurpation of power by the stadtholder.

"The province of Gelderland undertook to follow the example of Utrecht; but the revolution there was far from being equally peaceable, because the prince, furious at his defeat at Utrecht, employed violence instead of negotiation, and preferred civil war to the loss of his prerogatives. In Gelderland, the nobility, poor and numerous, were entirely devoted to the prince. But in spite of the tyranny which had robbed this province of even the shadow of liberty, a patriotism, the more ardent because it was repressed, was nourished among the citizen class. It now broke out furiously, after a silence of more than a century; and, like an electric spark, suddenly extended to the various classes of citizens in every town. Numerous addresses, expressed in the most energetic terms, and explaining the universal desire, were presented to the states-provincial. The states, entirely devoted to the stadtholder, paid no attention to them, and issued two decrees—one of which restrained the liberty of the press, and the other forbade the body of citizens to address any petitions to their sovereign. This flagrant violation of the constitution irritated the minds of the people to the highest degree; two small towns, Elsbouurg and Hattem, loudly refused to publish the reso-

lutions of the states. The stadtholder had joined insult to violence in his treatment of this last town, by appointing a soldier to be its burgomaster; the town courageously refused to receive this new kind of magistrate: this was doubtless what the prince wished, as, immediately on learning their resistance, he ordered troops to march against them. In virtue of the constitutional forms, he had obtained authority from the states of Gelderland, composed of his creatures, to employ force against the seditious citizens. The execution of these orders immediately followed; some regiments marched to Elsbourg, but they found the town deserted by its inhabitants. The whole population, rather than consent to submit to the yoke of a master whom they were too weak to resist, had taken the courageous resolution of abandoning their houses. At the news of the approach of troops, they had all embarked with whatever property they could take away, and had sought refuge at Campen, at the other side of the Yssel. At Hattem the inhabitants made resistance. The stadtholder's artillery battered down the gates, and a few persons were slain fighting.

"As soon as news was received at the Hague, of the resolution of the states of Gelderland to send troops against Elsbourg and Hattem, the states held a special meeting. Conformably to the resolution taken by the grand-pensionary De Witt, in 1663, it was decided that each member should be at liberty to express his opinion, whatever it might be, without any fear of the consequences. This deliberation announced both the crisis with which the republic was threatened, and the decided intervention which the states of Holland intended to signalize to public attention. Gislaër, the magistrate of Dort, eloquently recapitulated all the complaints of the republic against the usurpation of the stadtholders, and especially against the reigning prince. He had no difficulty in demonstrating that Gelderland, the members of whose states and magistracy were creatures of the stadtholder, was neither represented nor governed by itself, and that the troubles of this province were caused by this pernicious influence. In consequence, he proposed, 1st, to engage the states of Gelderland to abstain from all violence towards the towns of Elsbourg and Hattem, in order that the province of Holland might not be compelled to interfere; 2ndly, to invite the four other provinces to oppose the march of their troops against the citizens; and 3rdly, to write to the stadtholder, summoning him to put an end to the agitation and disturbance of the country; failing which, he would be considered as the author of the civil war, and would be deposed by the states of Holland from his power and dignity. These proposals were unanimously agreed upon by the eighteen voting towns. But this resolution, passed on the 4th of September, was prevented from being executed by the events at Elsbourg and Hattem, of which news was received at the Hague on the 6th. The two first clauses had then of course to be renounced; the third was strictly followed, and the states-general allowed the stadtholder four-and-twenty hours to send a reply and to put an end to the acts of violence which he had been committing. William V. hastened to reply that he had done nothing contrary to constitutional law, and had only acted by the orders of the states of Gelderland. It was easy to foresee this answer, to which there was no legal objection. This state of things, equally false as regarded both parties, only served to nourish their mutual hatred; and the patriots were only the more irritated at this duplicity on the part of the prince, who dared to allege in his defence the orders of the states of Gelderland, of which he himself was the sole regulator. The states of Holland now resolved to decide the matter absolutely. When they received news of what had been

done in the two towns of Gelderland, they resolved to order the prince to send back the troops to their garrisons. Three other provinces, those of Overysse, Groningen, and Zeeland, had followed this example. The states were using their constitutional powers, and the stadtholder could not elude their demands.

"A resolution still more important and more hostile was proposed on the 20th of September, and passed by a majority of sixteen votes out of eighteen; it was that by which the prince was suspended from his functions of captain-general. It now became evident that the command previously given for the recall of the troops, had only been a preparatory measure. The town of Amsterdam, whose patriotism had been the least decided during the late occurrences, now voted the most violently; it wished the resolution to be grounded on the *unexampled outrages committed* by the prince; it was truly a declaration of war.

"Holland hastened to take all military precautions, by arming its frontiers on the side of Gelderland and Utrecht, where the prince had the chief power. Preparations were made on both sides for a civil war.

"It was in these circumstances that Hertzberg, at the request of the Prince and Princess of Orange, persuaded the new King of Prussia to interfere in the affairs of the republic, eagerly seizing this opportunity of consoling himself for the state of dependence in which the great Frederic had constantly kept him, and anxious to play a part, at length, in a great affair. At this period the people who resisted oppression were called rebels. Hertzberg did not understand, or rather would not understand, that in the government of the seven provinces, the prince was the subject and the states were the sovereign. Even under the late king he had devoted himself, but without success, to the interests of the princess; it was not difficult for him to inspire the king her brother, by whom she was tenderly beloved, and over whom, on his accession, he had acquired great influence, with the resolution of interfering as arbiter in these fresh differences. He, therefore, selected Count Goertz as the instrument of his designs, and had him appointed ambassador extraordinary to the Hague. The arrival of this negotiator strangely surprised the Dutch. When his powers were known, the discontent became general; the King of Prussia took upon himself to act as *mediator*, and the stadtholder was represented as oppressed by violence. A conduct so contrary to justice was a direct outrage to the dignity of the states. They saw themselves, by a decision of the Prussian cabinet, reduced to treat with the stadtholder on a footing of equality, and to defend themselves, in the presence of a government ignorant of their debates, from the very same accusations with which they thought themselves entitled to reproach the Prince of Orange.

"The patriots soon perceived that the mission of Count Goertz, although he announced himself as a conciliator, was entirely hostile to them. They became convinced of this by the close intimacy which was suddenly formed between this envoy and Harris, the English minister (Lord Malmesbury). The states became justly alarmed at the confidence which was established between the two plenipotentiaries. It was well known that the English minister hated the Dutch republicans, who were protected by France; and this union with Prussia would expose the cause of the republic to perils of a new nature. The open protection, or rather preference, given to the cause of the stadtholder, was connected with the rivalry between England and France. Harris, after being admitted to the confidence of Count Goertz, no longer kept any measures in his personal aversion to France, nor in his

opinions on the actual debates. He treated as an insult to the King of Prussia the right which the states had just exercised, of suspending the stadtholder from his functions of captain-general. The states-general and the patriots saw themselves exposed to the united vengeance of England, Prussia, and the stadtholder. If William V. had been reduced to his own forces, that is to say, to the four or five thousand men whom he drew from the neighbouring provinces of Gelderland, Friesland, and Zeeland, he would not have been able to resist the much more numerous troops kept up by the provinces of Holland, Groningen, and Overysse. This division of forces of three provinces against three, was, in a military point of view, to the advantage of the republicans; but, if regarded under the aspect of votes to the states-general, it presented an equality which could only be removed by the representation of Utrecht. It has already been seen that this province was divided, by the resistance of its capital and by the opposition of the stadtholder's party at Amersfort. The deputation of Utrecht no longer existed, in consequence of the desertion of the two orders, who had taken refuge at Amersfort; and this circumstance stamped with illegality the proceedings of the states-general, now become incomplete. Thus the state, properly speaking, the constitutional state, no longer existed; henceforth, nothing was lawful, and the way was open to the most terrible evils.

"France, attached by a system of sound policy to the maintenance of Dutch liberty, could not remain a spectator of these events; she could not, without uneasiness, see Prussia unite with England, in order to establish the absolute power of the stadtholder over her allies. She, therefore, charged her minister at Berlin, Count Esterno, with a negotiation on the subject; and, not content with the share which she declared it her intention to take in this affair, she sent a minister extraordinary to the Hague, where she already had an ambassador.

"The communications of Count Esterno enlightened the King of Prussia concerning the true state of affairs; and the instructions of his cabinet to Count Goertz prescribed to this agent a more moderate line of conduct, to which he was to confine himself. The influence of France was manifest: Frederic not only adhered to the system of conciliation which the French cabinet had adopted, but he even admitted an examination of the pretensions of the republicans.

"They participated in the national moderation, which had not, and never declared that it had, any other intention than that of confining the office of stadtholder within the limits and privileges determined by the constitution. The republicans justly alleged that the other rights, such as those of *taxation*, the *disposal of the army*, the *agreement of 1674*, which assigned to the stadtholder the power of nominating the magistrates of the three provinces, recovered from Louis XIV.; and, finally, the command of the Hague, had not been conceded to the prince, except *during the good pleasure* of the states, which necessarily implied the right of the states to revoke what they had originally conferred. They added, that such had been the condition at the period of the establishment of the office of hereditary stadtholder in the family of Nassau-Orange; and that on the accession of the reigning prince, this stipulation had been renewed. That William V., therefore, was wrong in pretending to be responsible to his posterity for the preservation of these privileges. However, the desire of peace was so universal, that the patriots voluntarily consented to modifications, which only took away from those three privileges as much as was considered dangerous to the liberties of the public.

"The conduct of these republicans was admirable, and in no respect belied the exalted reputation which they enjoyed in Europe, both for their understanding and patriotism. Count Goertz, in compliance with the orders of his court, willingly received the proposition of the patriotic party, and approved of its wisdom and moderation; and, entertaining no doubt of the honour which would accrue to him from a reconciliation between the prince and the states, which he regarded as certain, he went to the stadtholder, at Nimeguen; he found him, however, more inflexible than ever. Instead of showing any eagerness to adopt the modifications made in their first demand, William V. replied, that it was the duty of the states of Holland to acknowledge their errors. He even required and imperiously demanded to be restored with full powers to his dignity of captain-general, as well as to the command of the Hague, adding, that when this was done, he would see what measures could be taken to restore tranquillity. This violent reply was not even committed to a diplomatic note addressed to Count Goertz, but was contained in a letter written to him by the princess. The minister addressed to the king his sister's letter, and the French envoy extraordinary, perceiving that all negotiation was become impossible, decided on returning to Versailles. Thus the hopes of the republican party respecting peace, for the attainment of which they had made such generous concessions, were altogether blasted. The stadtholder was convinced that the republicans would not submit to his will, and the latter expected the adoption of the most violent measures by the prince, they therefore assumed an attitude of defence. Civil war was now a question of public safety. A revolution had become necessary, in order to escape from the condition of anxiety into which the want of action of a legal government had plunged the people. The partisans of the stadtholder alone triumphed, because they still calculated with confidence, that the infallible result of their victory would be the establishment of the sovereignty of the house of Nassau.

"In fact, the governors of the strongest towns, such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, were almost all fiery partisans of the stadtholder, and in the most important circumstances the wishes of the citizens had been eluded by aristocratic manœuvres. For the safety of the patriots, the actual situation of things demanded a majority which was not precarious, such as that of ten out of eighteen of the cities which had the privilege of voting. Something approaching almost to unanimity was necessary, in order that the resolutions adopted should have a character of stability. The patriots and the Orangists took the field in order to secure votes in the states, and to obtain a signal victory in its deliberations. Thus some worked to destroy, and others to increase the stadtholder's partisans.

"An unforeseen circumstance suddenly occurred which set the two parties in active motion. The town of Haarlem had submitted a very democratic proposition to the estates, in which it was demanded that some sort of influence should be given to the people in public affairs, but as the proposition was only received by a very feeble majority, a commission was appointed to report on its propriety, in order to obtain the lead of the Orangists, who were greatly alarmed by the measure proposed. The citizens of Amsterdam urged the municipality to assemble and deliberate. The magistrates and council deceived the citizens; they begged the people to suffer them to manage this affair, and their proposal was accepted with confidence; they named four partisans of the prince,—one to the commission, and the three others to the states-general, in order to strengthen their deputation. In the sitting of the estates, the towns of Dort and Haarlem had proposed that the

commission should be composed of from seven to nine members ; the nobles, on the other hand, demanded that every town should elect a commissioner, as well as the equestrian order, and this was conceded. The aristocracy, which had the sway in nine cities, carried both points by a majority of one, in consequence of the accession of Amsterdam. In this manner the proposition made by Haarlem was rejected. The patriots were alarmed at finding themselves in the minority in the estates, and the question according to them, was the preservation or ruin of the country. The conduct of the corporation of Amsterdam was given up to the severest public reprobation, and the citizens swore to take vengeance on those who had betrayed them with such baseness and perfidy. Rotterdam was placed in the same condition with its corporation as Amsterdam. These two large towns came to a determination to effect a revolution in the council ; it was agreed between them that Amsterdam should set the example, because its wealth and population gave it a considerable weight in public affairs. The citizens consequently assembled, and named commissioners to represent their feelings and objects to the corporation, and to defend their rights. After the example of Utrecht, they assumed an imposing attitude, and demanded,—1st, the immediate recall of the three deputies, who had betrayed the wishes of their constituents in the states-general ; 2ndly, that the two remaining deputies should disavow the conduct of their colleagues, in the name of the city of Amsterdam ; 3rdly, that the three deputies, thus denounced as traitors, should be excluded for ever from the privilege of the representation, and brought to trial. The ruling body was obliged to accede to these demands, and the majority again reverted to the side of the patriots.

“ Proud of this victory, the republicans now engaged with zeal in reforming the municipal bodies, because, without this, the majority attained would have had no stability, and it was necessary to take advantage of the enthusiasm of the first moments of victory to ensure its permanence. On the 21st of April, 1787, some companies of citizens seized upon the post at the Hotel de Ville, whilst others remained under arms in their quarters. A deputation of citizens waited on the municipal body with a petition, praying for the dismissal of two of its members. After a long deliberation, the council replied that it was not in their power to pronounce such a sentence upon any of its members ; but the discontent of the citizens assumed such a formidable appearance, and such an effervescence was manifest in the public feeling, that they acceded by a *mezzo termine* to the general wish. The joy of the people was at its height, and was manifested by public demonstrations. Couriers were dispatched to all the provinces to announce the victory of the people, and on the 23rd, Rotterdam followed the example of Amsterdam.

“ Immediately on its installation, and with a view to accomplish the object of its regeneration, the council sent a new deputation to the States, to recall the three deputies. The old deputies of Rotterdam, arrogating to themselves the right of pronouncing the illegality of what had just taken place in that town, instead of yielding to their recall, proceeded to the place of meeting of the states before the opening of the assembly, and there was consequently a double representation. The old deputies presented an address, in which they denounced, before the states-general, the illegal conduct of the citizens of Rotterdam, and demanded the re-establishment of all that had been just annulled.

“ This address was supported by the equestrian order, and a most animated discussion arose on the question whether the states-general should



receive the new deputation. After a very stormy sitting, the majority proved favourable to the patriots, but only in the ratio of nine to eight, one of the eighteen cities having abstained from voting. The nobility became furious at receiving this check; declared they would put the resolution adopted *ad referendum*, and threatened henceforward to treat everything proposed to the states-general in the same manner. On the next day, the rejected deputation ventured to present themselves in the assembly anew; they were forbidden to sit by the side of those newly elected, and were obliged to remain standing without the bar, but were nevertheless present at the deliberation. The discussion was immediately renewed with all its former violence, although it had been decided by a majority the evening before, and the minority had only declared the *referendum*, upon which the nobility returned. The renewed discussion was altogether illegal, and besides, it far exceeded all the limits of propriety. The grand pensionary himself, who presided, and who enjoyed the respect of all parties, was personally addressed, and insulted by a young man of the equestrian order. This was to insult the states. The magistrate then rose with dignity, severely reprobated the conduct of the speaker, declared that his duty was to decide according to the majority of votes, and letting his hammer fall upon the table, closed the sitting. Thus ended the affair of the double returns from Rotterdam.

"This sitting took place on the 25th of April, and it was fortunate for the patriots that they obtained a majority; for the partisans of the stadtholder, who had calculated on a sure victory in the case of the double return from Rotterdam, were determined to avail themselves of their triumph in this point, to cause William V. to be recalled to the Hague, to restore him to the command, and to depose Blesswick, the grand pensionary, whose patriotism was so formidable to them. Harris, the English ambassador, was one of the actors in this conspiracy, and so certain of success did he regard himself, as to have ordered beforehand a grand fête in his hotel to celebrate the event.

"The province of Utrecht had now two councils, the one patriot and the other Orangist. The former held its sittings at Utrecht, and the latter at Amersfort. Its affairs, however, were far from being peacefully settled. The republicans of Holland proposed the plan of negotiation in the hope of avoiding public disturbances; the partisans of the stadtholder in Amersfort accepted the proposal, in the persuasion of being able to turn it to advantage, which really took place. The simplicity and good faith of the republicans proved quite unequal to contend with the army of veteran courtiers who directed all the stadtholder's affairs, and the manœuvres of his party. Thus, by false promises and fictitious delays, such as the genera of diplomacy and cunning know how to create, time, which was precious to the patriots, was lost, and employed to the best advantage by their opponents. The city of Utrecht soon learned that the troops of the province and those of Gueldres had been put in motion, and were under orders to march against it.

"Whilst the council of Amersfort, composed of nobles and clergy, were negotiating with the patriots of Holland, it was at the same time concerting with the prince the plan of attacking Utrecht by open force. On the 9th of May, the people of Utrecht were apprised of their city being invested. The enemy's troops had been stationed so as to cut off all communication between that city and those of Amsterdam, Leyden and the Hague; and to have the command of the old Rhine, as well as of the great dam which constituted one of the chief defensive resources of Utrecht. In the afternoon

intelligence was received that a battalion was on its march to take possession of *Vresswyck*, a lordship belonging to the town. The municipal council immediately met, and ordered a detachment consisting of 3,000 citizens to march, under the command of *Van Averhoul*, one of the new municipality, and take up their position at *Vresswyck*. The detachment met the battalion at nightfall, and an action commenced. The contest was for a time maintained with equal advantage on both sides, but *Van Averhoul* having unmasked three small field-pieces, the troops of the line were speedily and totally defeated. So complete was their rout, that they lost their colours, threw away their guns and abandoned their baggage, whilst the citizens lost only a few men. They had the glory of defeating eight companies of the line, and of entering *Vresswyck* next day. *Van Averhoul* and his companions recalled to the minds of the inhabitants the bravery and devotedness of *Leonidas* and his 300 Spartans. Thus it is, that revolutions give rise to that military renown upon which national glory is founded.

"Both commander and citizens were in action on this occasion for the first time, and they valiantly defeated regular and veteran troops. The impression produced at the Hague was deep, and the states-general of Holland gave utterance to their just indignation at the recital of an act of violence, which exceeded those which had been perpetrated upon the towns of *Elsbouurg* and *Hattem*. They determined to adopt the most energetic measures for the succour of *Utrecht*, and to resort to all the powers given them by the constitution, and which the necessity of the circumstances required. It has been seen, that every province had its own states, that is, its own local sovereign parliament:—the constitution did not permit one province to send its troops into the territories of another without the consent of the provincial government. The states of Holland, which were at the head of the confederation, could not disregard this fundamental principle of union; but they had a right to declare that the hostilities exercised against the territory of *Utrecht* annulled the compact and broke the union. In consequence, they issued orders to their general to dismiss every officer, who, in contempt of the orders of the province, should refuse to serve for the defence of *Utrecht*. It was certain that states—that is, a local sovereign power, no longer existed in the province of *Utrecht*, because the city had only a fraction in the states, whilst the other part, consisting of nobles and clergy, had retired to *Amersfort*. For the same reason, two orders, composed of a few individuals, could not form the states of the province. In this case, the stadtholder committed a serious illegality, by recognizing them as such, and doubly violated the constitution by sending a body of troops, strangers to the province, to march against its own capital in the name of states which were in themselves illegal. These two subjects of complaint were both imputed to the prince by the states of Holland, and determined their declaration to the states-general. Without loss of time, they supported their declaration by sending a regiment in their pay to the assistance of *Utrecht*; this was the body called the *Salm* legion. The political dispositions of this corps were well known, and it marched willingly to defend *Utrecht*. The general of the province of Holland received orders to hold his troops in readiness to march at a moment's notice; and thus war was declared between the prince and the country. There was, however, a great stumbling-block in the way of employing republican troops, and even foreign regiments, although they were in the direct pay of the province, as the legion of *Salm* was in the pay of Holland. This difficulty arose from the soldiers having taken two oaths, one to the province which paid them, and a second

to the states-general, without whose orders they were prohibited from entering the territory of another province. This complication of oaths gave the stadtholder an advantage in the existing state of affairs, of which he was not slow to avail himself; and though this difficulty was regarded by the states of Holland as almost insuperable, it was impossible for them to avoid it. Thus a danger arose to the patriotic party from the very means which they had of meeting it. They were obliged constantly to have a majority in the states-general, in order that the regiments might not be exposed to the perplexity of having to choose between two oaths. In order to get rid of this perplexity, the state of Holland cut the Gordian knot by an extraordinary stretch of power; this was, the dismissal and replacing of all those officers who refused to march, and alleged the solemnity of their obligation to the states-general. The province did still more—it constrained its soldiers to take a new oath, by which they were made exclusively dependent on its own states. The new officers were encouraged by extraordinary rewards, and those who had been removed, and wished to resume the service, were invariably refused. It was a wise measure, in the existing condition of Holland, to exercise a seasonable severity against those who had any hesitation in entering into their service. In this way they would no longer have under their banners any but faithful and devoted troops.

"The stadtholder's party had lost the majority in the states-general, and failed in securing the object of highest importance—that of becoming masters of the province of Holland. It owed this check to the two revolutions which Rotterdam and Amsterdam had just effected in their municipal bodies. This display of the public feeling and tendencies in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, deprived the stadtholder of all the means of a partial insurrection, on which he had counted; and he had not proved more successful in his military operations at Utrecht. After the defeat of the battalion sent to take possession of Vresswyck, a camp was formed at Zeist, near Utrecht, and the Salm regiment vigorously repulsed all its attacks. The states of Holland did not lose sight of the use which the stadtholder might make, both against their cause and that of Utrecht, of the regiments which they had in the province of Gueldres, and they required the prince to send them into the country of the *Generalité*, otherwise they would cease to pay them. The inhabitants of Gueldres, who were favourable to the stadtholder, opposed the departure of the troops, but as they were not in a condition to pay them, they devised the scheme of petitioning the states-general to raise a loan, in the name of the province of Holland, for the purpose of paying these regiments: this meant, in other words, to make Holland pay for the war which they were about to wage against itself. It is difficult to imagine anything more strange than this, on the part of a deliberative body: but in disturbed times, all reason, even political reason, that which can be least of all dispensed with, seems to become obscured and to fail with the destiny of the country.

"A new confusion of inclinations and principles served to increase the discredit of the public cause, which both parties daily brought into dispute before the states-general, who were themselves equally astonished at this continual and discreditable fluctuation. There was no longer anything stable except illegality, in consequence of the rapidity and complication of circumstances; thus the *soi-disant* states in Amersfort, whose deliberations were directed by the stadtholder, dared to write to the states-general, requiring that the orders issued by the province of Holland should be revoked, and the general brought to trial for having received and executed

them. The officers who had been dismissed by the states of Holland, and equally disowned by the stadtholder's party, applied to the states-general for protection. A discussion took place; Holland, not being able to be a judge in her own cause, had no voice in the deliberation, which was, therefore, carried on among the six other provinces. The debate was warm; on the first day, there were two votes in favour of the proposition, and three for the *referendum*, and the two representatives of the remaining province were equally divided. In spite of this circumstance, which rendered the question at most indecisive, the president declared in favour of the proposition. On the next day a third vote joined one of the two which had been divided, and voted for the *referendum*, which gave four votes out of six in favour of this opinion. Notwithstanding this, the president of the states did not hesitate to perpetrate an unexampled and scandalous action by concluding in favour of the motion, as he had done the evening before. Thus, a minority of two against four carried the question in the states-general: and all sense of shame took its departure from an assembly which had sustained its reputation with so much renown in so many glorious events. Its wisdom was gone, and its honour tarnished. This striking symptom of decay could not be otherwise than favourable to the party who wished to destroy its sovereignty, and who, in awaiting the moment for occupying its place, rejoiced in, and profited by, the degradation which it had contrived to bring upon the states, by corrupting and breaking their political bond with the nation.

"The stadtholder's party ventured to go still further. The prince issued a manifesto, in which, after having denounced, as acts of rebellion, the opposition which had been shown in the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Utrecht, and having declared, that he was about to have recourse to every possible means for the destruction of the enemies of public order, he demanded the restoration of the government of the Hague, and the functions of captain-general; declaring that he would then adopt all such measures as might appear necessary for the restoration of tranquillity. Such a declaration was necessarily the precursor of very serious events. It bore, or rather affected, a tone of superiority which must necessarily be maintained by means ready to be adopted. And, in fact, on the 30th of May, the day on which it was presented to the states-general, a violent tumult suddenly broke out in Amsterdam, caused by the Orangist party. Arrangements had been made for an insurrection by the leaders of this party; but the insurrection was not to take place till the 1st of June, according to the plan which had been agreed upon between the stadtholder and Harris, the English ambassador at Nimeguen, where the court then was. The rabble, sold to the prince, and prone by its very nature to disorder, had recourse to acts of violence against the citizens on the 30th of May; and this precipitation injured the success of the plan hatched in Nimeguen. The citizens of Amsterdam had also their party among the populace, who assailed the Orangist mob, and drove it into the sailor's quarters. The prince's party drew up the bridges in order to defend themselves in their position, but the citizen's party succeeded in forcing a passage, and having leaped into the ships and barges, attacked their enemies on all sides, and scattered them in all directions. The conquerors followed up their victory, pursued the fugitives with cruelty, and plundered the houses of two of the former members of the municipality who belonged to the Orangist party. The citizens, however, succeeded in putting an end to this popular vengeance, in which the disorder was of no advantage, even

to those who caused it, for the hatred of the masses was wholly political, and no one ever thought of appropriating any of the riches of any description contained in the houses doomed to destruction. Their object was to injure their enemies, and not to enrich themselves at their expense. This conduct on the part of the lowest populace of a great city, even when victorious in a tumult raised against its interests, proves to what extent the principles of morality had been inculcated upon the minds of the Batavian people by their republican institutions.

"The populace had had their triumph; and the citizens then proceeded with their ordinary prudence. A careful search, made by their orders among the houses of the people, was attended with the discovery of the most important papers, the knowledge of which, combined with the information derived from those who had been made prisoners, revealed the whole plan of the conspiracy of the power, in which the English ambassadors had taken a direct part. They also succeeded in obtaining possession of a quantity of ammunition, of the use of which, seized after the event, the precipitation of the populace had deprived them. It was then manifest, that the prince had omitted nothing calculated to promote his design of cutting down the citizens, if, as had been so clearly foreseen, there should be any resistance. It was on the strength of this dark and criminal organization that he rested the support of that extraordinary manifesto, which he had dared to send to the states-general. But in consequence of the error of his agents, in precipitating the attack, the plan of the court of Nimeguen failed, and the province of Holland, which would infallibly have shared the fate of its capital, was delivered from the danger with which it was threatened. This was followed by that which almost always survives success and defeat in civil commotions—a feeling of hatred and vengeance, deeper still than that which had been felt at the period of the stadtholder's undertaking against the towns of Elsbouurg and Hattem. The province of Holland had established at Woorden a military commission, under the orders of General Van Ryssel, which corresponded with the commission of defence formed at the Hague. The circumstances becoming more dangerous, in consequence of recent events, the province, with a view to make provision for a scheme of proceedings in case of danger, determined on appointing a dictatorial commission of five members, to whom the protection of the country was to be confided. The powers of this commission were unlimited: it was to dispose at pleasure, and without reference to any other authority, of all the means of attack and defence, of the armed bodies of citizens, and finally of the public treasure: it was not to be called upon to render an account till after the event. This was the only means of being prepared to carry on a struggle against the unforeseen attacks, the plots and insurrections, which, as was now evident from the last outbreak, were aimed at the destruction of the state.

"This proposition was speedily put into the form of a resolution; and the five members of the dictatorial committee were forthwith named. The towns of Haarlem, Leyden, Amsterdam, Gouda and Alkmaer, each named its commissioner. The choice fell upon those who were most distinguished for their abilities and republican virtues. The commissioners were no sooner named than they entered upon their duties; but, notwithstanding the vigour of this salutary institution, it was exposed to danger from a quarter, against which all its power was inefficient—this was the supremacy of the states-general, the sovereign power. There existed something more than a feeling of mere rivalry between the states-general and the states of

Holland; and as a proof of their animosity towards each other, all the officers whom the states of Holland had deprived of their commissions for having refused to march to the succour of Utrecht, were restored by the states-general, and those who had remained faithful to Holland were in their turn cashiered. It is true, that on the same day the states of Holland who paid the regiments, renewed their resolution respecting these officers. This conflict, this obstinate combat between the sovereign and the province of Holland, gave rise to one of the greatest evils which can befall a state; the necessity imposed upon the troops themselves of determining the question of their obedience. The patriots had committed a capital error, as appeared from the subsequent conduct of the states-general, in not taking care beforehand to secure an absolute majority in that assembly. They calculated too much on the preponderance of Holland, and attached so great an importance to its influence upon the state in general, that they persuaded themselves, that the states-general would prove inefficient and powerless without the aid of this province. This, however, blinded by its good faith, proved utterly deficient in policy; it was a war of republicans who played a bold and open game, against ambitious and skilful courtiers; and, in spite of their virtues, their perseverance, and their courage, they were obliged to give way to the combined powers of intrigue, interest, and treachery. The partisans of the stadtholder never paused in their efforts. The states of Amersfort proposed to the states-general to suspend General Van-Ryssel, who commanded the troops of Holland. On the 10th of June, the states, not satisfied with this measure, interdicted the general from exercising any authority over the troops, and forbade the officers to obey him. The same resolution was also a direct attack upon the obedience of the troops, to the orders of their province. One regiment, that of Stuart, seduced by an officer, violated its oath and left its quarters. The other officers and all the subalterns remained faithful; and even a part of those who at first deserted returned to their duty. The void caused by this desertion was filled up by volunteer corps, whom the province also paid; but, an example of disorganization had, by this act, been set in the army, by the orders of the sovereign power itself. The bond of the soldiers was broken, and it was to be expected that the first opportunity would lead to the exhibition of deplorable scenes.

"The patriots then saw that all their efforts and all their sacrifices would be useless unless they obtained a majority in the states-general. This, therefore, became the great object of their unceasing efforts. In consequence of this, they hit upon the idea of making only one deputation of that of Amersfort, which was opposed to them, and of that of Utrecht, which was in their favour. Amersfort sent two deputies, and it was determined that Utrecht should send three; and in this manner the vote of the province of Utrecht, of which Amersfort made a part, secured them a majority of three against two. On the 14th of June, the three deputies of Utrecht appeared in the assembly of the states. A discussion, which was continued the next day, arose respecting their admission, and, in spite of opposition from the friends of the stadtholder, the three deputies from Utrecht were admitted by a majority of four against two. This majority did not lose a moment in annulling all the resolutions adopted on the 10th; and, on the same day, without separating, they directed the council of state to inform General Van-Ryssel, and the chiefs of the regiments, of the change which had just taken place. Notwithstanding this advantage, however, the patriotic party was far from being sure of a durable victory.

"The combat changed its form. The states-general became the true field of battle, and the weapons of warfare were deputations. Amersfort sent three new deputies to the assistance of the two who had been previously there, in order to overwhelm the deputation from Utrecht. The latter city had foreseen this act of reprisals, and it forthwith sent four, which, being joined to the three who had preceded them, ensured them always a majority of seven against five. But the province of Friesland, whose government was separate and completely aristocratic, blamed the conduct of its deputies, and gave them new and opposite instructions, so that the vote of that province was transferred to the side of the stadtholder, and when the new deputies from the two rival towns presented themselves, those of Utrecht were rejected, and those from Amersfort admitted. In this way the states-general continually exhibited to the nation a scandalous spectacle of fluctuation and change, and ceased to be the honour of the seven united provinces, and an example to Europe.

"Disorders of the same kind prevailed in the council of state. It had refused to participate in the resolutions passed against General Van-Ryssel, on the 10th June; it had, however, given orders in consequence, and when these same resolutions were annulled, four days afterwards, it refused to forward the new orders in contradiction of the former; so that the new decision, which reinstated the general and his officers, and placed them again under obedience to the province of Holland, remained imperfect and unexecuted. This was truly anarchy, and the result of cool calculation. Desertion then began to take place among the troops of Holland, and five regiments, which formed the cordon, under the orders of General Van-Ryssel, deserted almost entirely, but they would have remained faithful to the colours of the province which paid them, had the council done its duty.

"The country was in a critical situation, the issue of which might precipitate the overthrow of its liberty. The province of Holland was not, however, discouraged by this desertion; the cities of Rotterdam and Amsterdam raised volunteer corps at great expense, put arms into the hands of the citizens, and replaced their mercenary troops by new levies. Utrecht co-operated skilfully in this new effort. Its states issued a proclamation recalling its contingent of troops, under the colours of the province, and consequently of the local sovereignty. This proclamation produced a considerable effect among the troops of the stadtholder's party, who deserted and returned to strengthen the forces of Utrecht. These measures excited little alarm at Amersfort, because the deserters, who had formed the cordon, and been won over by English money, no longer inspired any confidence. Gueldres was not more tranquil, and was in constant apprehension of the Holland regiments which it had detained, notwithstanding the order of the province of Holland. Utrecht had now within its walls an army of 7,000 men, and Overijssel had more than 4,000 at Deventer. The forces of the opposite party were very inferior in number, and, besides, the dictatorial commission of the province of Holland continued vigorously to exercise their functions. They had organized all the means both of attack and defence, and made such financial arrangements as to ensure both to officers and soldiers extraordinary pay. The country, however, was divided into four very distinct parties—the first was that of the stadtholder, which wished for the continuance of the stadtholderate with all its usurpations—it was composed of Gueldres, Amersfort, and the nobles of Holland in the states-general; the second, the aristocratic party, which wished to maintain

its own authority, and even subdue that of the stadtholder—this was the cause of the patrician families and of those who enjoyed hereditary dignities; the third, the constitutional republicans, who wished to preserve the stadholderate, with the abuses which had sprung from usurpation, and to restore it to its primitive origin—this party was openly opposed to the aristocracy and the patricians; and finally, the democratic party, which wished to put an end both to the office of stadtholder and the power of the aristocracy. This was the party of levellers, which was supported by a multitude of popular societies. These societies sent deputations to the leaders of the governments. Such was the complication of interests under which public affairs groaned.

“In such circumstances as these, it became a matter of prime necessity to have recourse to mediation, in order not to expose the nation to that general confusion which the shock of so many discordant elements would produce. The enlightened patriots of the province of Holland, influenced by the French ambassador, assembled to consult on the means of inducing the states-general to apply for the mediation of France. On account of the parties which might exist in the municipal bodies, it was first desirable to be sure of the wishes of the citizens. Their desires were unanimous, and conveyed to the municipality, which received the resolution, and transmitted it to the deputies of the province, in order to lay the proposal before the states-general. The proposition was agreed to by a majority of twelve to seven. On the succeeding day, the 7th, the resolution of the previous evening was voted *ad referendum*; this was a middle path, adopted by the prudence of some and the treachery of others. It gained time, and was, above all, the very course which was most acceptable to the Orange party.

“On all sides, wherever it was in force, this party had given the signal for the destruction of the constitutionalists, and had committed the most frightful outrages at Zutphen. The garrison of the town was unexpectedly and without provocation let loose upon the inhabitants, under the pretence of disarming them; the houses of the patriots were sacked and pillaged; the soldiers and officers resumed the Orange cockade, and by their excesses gave evidence of the cause which they had adopted. The same scenes were renewed in the unfortunate towns of Elsbourg and Hattem, and in those of Arnheim, Hochem and Doërburg. The very dregs of the populace made common cause with the soldiers. The same course was pursued at Middleburg, where the massacre of the patriots was added to the plunder and destruction of their houses. The municipality of the town was obliged to carry the Orange standard in procession through the streets, and to place it on the summit of a tower. Flessingue, Helvoetsluys, and Brille, became the scenes of disturbances, more or less violent. The prince's party, weary of so much delay, and apprehensive of the forces which the opposite party was able to bring against them, had secretly fomented these partial outbreaks, and the Hague was just about to become the theatre of similar events, when it was saved by an accidental occurrence.

“On the 28th of July, several carriages, proceeding together, were stopped at a post guarded by a detachment in the service of Holland. These carriages belonged to the princess, who was on her way from Nimeguen to the Hague. The princess was obliged to wait for authority from the general, who was at Woorden, where the sovereign commission, lately appointed, held their sittings, before she could be allowed to continue her journey. Three members of the commission immediately waited on her royal highness, and represented to her that in the present state of affairs, when the



public tranquillity was generally disturbed in the name of the prince, and many towns had been subjected to pillage and massacre, her presence at the Hague could not fail to be used as a pretext by the mal-contented for committing similar disorders. That in consequence, the commission could not take upon itself such a responsibility, but must refer the case to the states, and, in the meantime, they begged her royal highness either to return to Nimeguen, or to wait in the town for the answer of the states. The princess concealed her dissatisfaction, and retired into the small town of Schoonhaven, from whence she wrote to the grand pensionary, requesting authority to continue her journey. The states received the letter, *ad referendum*, and approved of the conduct of the commission. The princess was made acquainted with the decision of the states, and then wrote a letter to that assembly, in which she reproached them, bitterly and haughtily, for having approved of the conduct of the commission. At the same time, the states received a still more violent complaint, on the same subject, from the stadtholder, who treated the affair as an affront to his family. The prince's communication was likewise received, *ad referendum*, by the states of Holland.

"This complaint was, in fact, a manifesto against the states; and its publicity was the only thing wanting to complete the violence of that animosity of which the prince was the object, and to furnish grounds, perhaps, for just reprisals. The more prudent men, the friends of public order, were desirous of adopting a middle course, such as was calculated at once to maintain the dignity, which the states owed it to themselves to preserve, and the interests of the country. It was equally impossible to reply to the letter of the princess, and to the communication of the stadtholder, without condescending to a violent refutation, and loudly calling down upon them the vengeance of the public. As to the prince, the states had no further reason to hesitate; they should have interdicted him from all access to the province. They had already deprived him of all his dignities, and could not do otherwise than declare him to be an enemy to Holland. They took, however, a different view of the course which it was their duty to pursue towards the princess. They wished to consider her merely as the sister of the King of Prussia, and to make their indulgence in her case a measure of policy. In consequence of this view, they determined on hinting to the princess the policy of separating her cause from that of her husband; in which case, they gave her an assurance of their readiness to recognize the claims of her children—informed her, that she could continue to live in the palace at the Hague, enjoy all the honours attached to her situation, and secure for the office of stadtholder and the sovereignty of the states all that the law had given them. The exclusion of the prince was merely to be regarded as a personal exception, arising from usurpations of every description, wholly foreign to the office of stadtholder, which they were far from wishing either to abolish or to deprive of its constitutional privileges. On this occasion the states of Holland gave a noble proof of justice and moderation, for their cities, with their inhabitants and their property, had been made objects of the most culpable aggression by the prince, without warning or provocation. It was therefore just to punish him, and him alone, for his tyranny. The plan which they devised was one of great wisdom, but a circumstance of the most serious description prevented its execution.

"The princess made the bitterest and most violent complaints to her brother, of the manner in which she had been treated by a body of Holland troops, on her journey to the Hague. In the letter, which, in the meantime,

she wrote to the states, she uttered no word of complaint either against the members of the commission at Woorden, or the officer who had interrupted her progress, respecting their personal conduct towards her. The King of Prussia, deceived by the princess's letter, directed his minister to address a note to the states-general, demanding reparation for the insult and outrage which had been offered to his sister, and designating the suspension of her journey as an act of high treason. The states replied to the royal notice by a detailed explanation of the facts, gave incontestible proofs of the misrepresentations which the princess's letter contained, and did not for a moment doubt that they had satisfied the king; they even thought they might calculate on his influence, in order to prevail on the princess's sister to accept of the conditions which they had proposed to her.

"In the interval between the sending of the note by the cabinet of Berlin and the reply of the estates, the French ambassador, being perfectly cognisant of all the circumstances of the case—the stoppage of the carriages, the acts of the commission of Woorden, and all the disorders which the Orangist party had excited in the province, offered his services to assist in informing Herr Von Thulemeyer, the Prussian ambassador, of the true state of affairs. This offer was accepted both by the states and the Prussian minister, and conferences were opened for this purpose at the French ambassador's hotel. The result of the explanations given by the members of the states, especially by Gislæer, was such as to produce complete conviction in the mind of Von Thulemeyer, who undertook to inform the princess of the desire of the states, that she should change her policy, and separate her own cause from that of the stadtholderate. The minister undertook, at the same time, to communicate to his court an account both of this project and of all the information which he had just received, as well respecting the conduct of the prince, as what was merely personal to her royal highness, and the obstructions offered to her journey.

"The minister, however, was wrong in flattering himself that he could persuade the princess to give in her adherence to the views of the patriots; she calculated with too much certainty on diplomatic intervention. In fact, news was speedily received at the Hague, from the agent of the republic in Berlin, that an army of 20,000 Prussians was assembled at Wesel, and Von Thulemeyer received orders from his court to declare that these troops were designed to support the demand made for apology and reparation from the states of Holland, for the insults offered to the king's sister—his majesty not having been at all satisfied by the explanations which had been given. The minister notified, moreover, that the camp at Wesel had been judged necessary, on account of the camp of 15,000 men which the French had announced their intention of forming at Givet; but, unfortunately for the patriots of Holland, the latter camp was never really formed.

"The intervention offered by France respecting the recent events, was accepted by the states-general *ad referendum*. Afterwards, the deputies of the provinces, each according to the interests of their constituents, explained that Prussia also, as well as England, was amongst the number of the powers of whose mediation they accepted. Prussia, availing herself of an almost isolated wish, to put herself forward as a mediatrix, persisted in loudly demanding such satisfaction as the states of Holland could not give without degradation. In the meantime, the Duke of Brunswick, who was entrusted with the command of the army assembled at Wesel, proceeded to Nimeguen and had a conference with the stadtholder. Finally, and to render the difficulties of the case almost insuperable, France herself, more disposed to

advise than to take up arms, prevailed upon the states to admit Prussia and England into a share of the mediation. The cabinet of Versailles, by thus deceiving the hopes and confidence of the republican party, committed a great political error. If France had really established a camp of 15,000 men at Givet, Prussia would have recalled her 20,000 men from Wesel, and would not have ventured to risk the chances of a hostile demonstration against France. She would have preferred sacrificing the stadtholder, and been eager to accept for the princess the proposal made by the states; but all prudence, as well as all sense, had equally deserted both parties. The mediation of England was an insult to the states; it was impossible to make any proposal more revolting to the province of Holland than the mediation of England, whose money had been employed to excite those very disturbances and the defection of the troops. There was, on the other hand, great danger in refusing the mediation; and as to that of Prussia, besides embracing the differences of the respective provinces amongst themselves, it was also specially to decide the dispute between the states-general and the stadtholder, although Holland was the sovereign, and the prince its delegate. In the condition in which France had suffered the question to be placed, it was no longer possible to think of declining the English mediation without, at the same time, rejecting that of France and Prussia.

"In this difficult situation, the states thought of a means suggested by their prudence, and this was, instead of having recourse to the public mediation of the three powers, to treat under the form of a private mediation, to which the force and character of an arbitration should be given. The mediator, in this case, was to be France. A distinguished citizen should be sent to Versailles, and have an interview at Paris with the Prussian minister Count Von Goltz; and these two should plead their respective causes before Count Montmorin, the minister of foreign affairs. The plenipotentiary of Holland was to preserve the strictest incognito, in order to avoid awakening the suspicions of England, and was to assume the character of an ordinary traveller. His instructions were, to propose at first an armistice between the two parties; and then, this point being obtained, to concede the office and dignity of stadtholder to the princess. In this manner it was proposed cunningly to elude English mediation. Paulus, whom we have already mentioned, was by common consent entrusted with this delicate mission. It was impossible to trust the highest interests of the state to a more honourable or skilful man. The French minister, having been consulted on this plan, gave it his sanction.

"As, however, the negotiation necessarily required time, and it was important that the stadtholder should not profit by the delay, in order to recommence a new and successful attack upon Utrecht, an application was made to Versailles to put that city in a proper state of defence. This implied a grant of engineers and artillery, which France sent. The defences were put on a respectable footing, and the troops of the stadtholder soon discovered, on their first attack, that the town must have received powerful reinforcements. At the same time that the court of Versailles granted this aid to the patriots of Utrecht, it required the states of Holland to address a letter to the princess, such as should furnish Prussia with a reason for suspending her military operations. The idea of such a measure was far from being agreeable to the patriots; they regarded it as a positive humiliation, and a step of very doubtful prudence. Would Prussia be satisfied? And if not, would France take up arms to support her opinion? This proposal was received *ad referendum* by the states of Holland. At Amsterdam it was

rejected with indignation, and being finally sent back for deliberation to the General Assembly, it was received by a majority of ten against four. Four towns and the equestrian order refused to vote. The letter was then written to the princess in the sense, and with the intention, pointed out by the French minister. Everything, however, had become fatal to the patriots; on the 8th of September, 1787, this resolution had been adopted, the letter written, sent to the princess, and a copy transmitted to Thulemeyer, to be forwarded to Berlin: and on the next day the minister received from Berlin, and sent to the council of Holland, a note, in which the king, his master, expressed his last terms, which were such as to put a complete end to all hope of any reconciliation whatsoever. The king, moreover, fixed a period of four days, within which time the states were either to comply with his conditions, disavow all that had been done by the commission of Woorden, respecting his sister's journey, and agree to punish all of whom she had complained, or otherwise the troops at Wesel would enter the territories of the republic. This threatening note, in which the King of Prussia affected absolute dominion over the republic, at once laid open the reasons of his sister's journey, the concerted understanding which had never ceased to be maintained between the courts of Nimeguen and Berlin, and at the same time proved that Von Thulemeyer, instead of receiving orders from his master, only received them from Nimeguen, at the appointed time, to destroy on the morrow, all that had been prepared the day before. The patriots perceived also that the negotiation between Prussia and France partook of that weakness which then characterized the court of Versailles, which was buried in the enjoyment of pleasure, on the very brink of that abyss which was soon to swallow it up. Who knows what would have happened had France been faithful to her honour and her policy, and boldly maintained her feelings of friendship for the united provinces by a grand military demonstration? She gave the signal for a war into which she might have drawn one part of Europe; she could have saved the liberty of her allies, and probably would herself have escaped the revolution.

"By pursuing this course, she would have acted consistently with her conduct in the case of North America, where, without any provocation on the part of England, she had contributed her aid to increase the armies of the insurgents. The interest which she had in defending Holland, was more direct, more just, and politic, whilst in abandoning her at the moment of danger, she voluntarily condemned her to be humiliated by Prussia and England. Thus, when the French Revolution broke out, the people of Holland did not forget the grounds of reproach which they had against Louis XVI.

"On the 12th, the states, in reply to the Prussian note, declared that they could enter into no further deliberation on the communication made by Von Thulemeyer, but that two members of the states would be sent to Berlin, to offer the king new explanations respecting the interruption of the princess's journey; that they would write first to the princess to take her opinion on this mission, and that the ministers of France and Prussia should be requested to send a copy of this resolution to their respective courts. In the meantime, however, nothing was neglected to obtain assistance from France. Givet, where there was a good garrison, is so near Holland that had France been really desirous of rendering any active assistance, succours could still have reached it, in time to have made a useful junction with the Holland troops. Count Esterhazy, who was in command at Givet, was at the Hague; and an ineffectual application for interference

was made to him. The people of Holland had now no other resource, than to oppose one disaster by another, by opening their sluices. This ruinous means was far from being sufficient; it was necessary to be well assured of the fidelity of the garrisons, which were for the most part composed of foreign soldiers; and had even this been placed beyond doubt, it would only have given them time to wait for feeble assistance, which would be wholly insufficient to resist the Prussian troops.

"On the 16th, the states were informed of the march of the Prussians, who were advancing in three columns upon the province of Holland; that, the inundation having failed in consequence of drought, the fortified and strong city of Gorcum could not be maintained; and that in three days, the enemy would be at the Hague. It was known, at the same time, that France would interfere with an imposing force, provided a formal requisition to that effect was sent to the king. On the arrival of this news, two resolutions were adopted; first, to evacuate the Hague and remove the seat of government to Amsterdam, which was capable of defence; and secondly, to send without delay to Versailles and formally solicit French troops; all this was too late. Utrecht, on which they thought they might calculate, was evacuated by the advice of its commandant, the Prince of Salm, and fell into the hands of the enemy; the same took place with respect to Gorcum, which surrendered on the 17th. On the 18th, the Prussians were expected at the Hague, and the town became the scene of the most frightful excesses. The mob, instigated by the partisans of the stadtholder, mounted his colours—abused all who did not wear them—assailed the patriots in all directions—maltreated them—threw them into the canals, and plundered and destroyed their houses. The people would have also destroyed the French ambassador's hotel, had not a guard of soldiers been sent for its protection. This frightful tumult—which was repeated in the different towns of the province, and especially in those which lay on the prince's route—lasted fifteen days at the Hague, and was not suspended till the 20th of September, the day on which the stadtholder made his formal entry. By changing the municipal officers in all the towns through which he passed, he gave the signal for the reaction. The new corporations hastened to nominate new deputies to the states; and two small towns alone, together with Amsterdam, maintained those already chosen. In consequence of these new elections, the prince, on his arrival at the Hague, had obtained a majority of sixteen votes against three; and thus the revolution, or, more properly speaking, the counter-revolution was complete. The first act of the states-general was to annul all that had been done against the prerogatives of the stadtholder, and to restore him to all his dignities. The commission of Woordon was dissolved, and in order more clearly to show the spirit in which these great changes were made, and the influences which dictated them, the states resolved to invite the prince to come to the Hague. They thought themselves obliged to make this reparation, in order, as far as in them lay, to disavow the conduct of their predecessors respecting the journey of her royal highness. Their triumph, however, did not end with what regarded the reform of the government; it was necessary also to humiliate the cabinet of Versailles, which well deserved it in consequence of its unpardonable indifference; and at the same sitting it was resolved, that the King of France should be asked not to send any troops into Holland, to disturb the peace which was now re-established. In this manner, France was made to have a public share in the proscription which annihilated the liberty of Holland, and was dishonoured by

being thanked for assistance which it had never sent. The stadtholder and the princess gave themselves up to a delirium of joy, on the attainment of this criminal victory, for which they were indebted to foreign bayonets. From this moment the authority of the stadtholder was a real usurpation, and that usurpation appeared the more intolerable to the people, as the prince was ungrateful, and moreover a revolted subject.

"In the meantime, the Prussians continued their victorious march. The gates of the cities were opened on their approach; Utrecht was surrendered through the treachery of its commandant, the Prince of Salm, in spite of the efforts of the French engineer and artillery officers, who had put it in a condition to resist any attack. The places constituting the *cordon*, and the little villages in the environs of Amsterdam, defended themselves with obstinate intrepidity, and the Prussians lost great numbers of men before they could obtain possession of them. The small garrisons of these places retreated to Amsterdam, in which the Chevalier de Ternant, a brave and intelligent French officer, had the command. His orders, however, in all these parts, and especially respecting military movements, were necessarily subject to the approval of the municipality, which again depended wholly on the opinion of the citizens. This gave rise to daily obstacles in the execution of his orders, and rendered impossible that rapidity which the variety and necessity of the circumstances connected with the defence of the city imperatively required. This officer, considering it wholly useless to have the command of a town in which the armed inhabitants deliberated upon the orders issued for their safety, determined on giving it up, and secretly quitted the city without being discovered by the Prussians, by whom it was completely invested.

"This city, whose public will had been so courageous, and its determined resistance so strong, since the usurpation of the prince and the commencement of the civil war, had now no other course left than to capitulate. France, which had always been ready with advice, and never with assistance, was the first to urge the propriety of this course. The capitulation was signed on the 10th of October. As there had been a revolution, followed by a complete victory, there was necessarily a reaction against the conquered party, and this was followed by considerable emigration. The town of St. Omer became the asylum of the emigrants. France distinguished herself by a generous munificence towards the fugitives, her allies. Her army not having rendered assistance, this duty devolved upon her administration, which fulfilled it in a spirit of benevolent liberality, the recollection of which should never perish, either in France or in Holland. It was however, the duty of France, when emancipated in her turn from political bondage, to make reparation to Holland for the abandonment to which she had been exposed by monarchical France. Her power and influence were completely put aside, even as an ally, by the influence of England, which hastened to form an alliance with the new power. Prussia, and with good reason, too, figured also in these treaties; in conjunction with England and the stadtholder, she formed one of a triple alliance, by which Holland was held captive under the yoke of the most absolute despotism. It was nothing less than a cruel derision, on the part of the three powers, again to speak of Holland under the name of a republic. The two treaties in question were signed in the month of April, 1788.

"When a people fall under the yoke of an oppressive bondage, they must wait for the moment of their deliverance. Their instinct will warn them of the circumstances which can set them free. The French revolu-

tion, which broke out in the following year, was calculated to awaken the hopes of the Dutch patriots, and to show them, in their old friends the French, new allies who were finally to become their deliverers. The republic of Holland, however—oppressed by the stadtholder, by England, and by Prussia—was condemned to form a party in the coalition against free France before becoming free in its turn. Its wisdom, which had survived its independence, protested in vain in the name of the country in danger, and demanded a condition of perfect neutrality. The stadtholder, who had previously subjugated it to his yoke, was destined to save it by exposing it to new perils, and he himself was to fall by the very arms which he had employed against it—by a revolution. Finally, it was necessary that Holland should be conquered by the French republic, in order itself to become a true republic, which it had only in reality been before the establishment of the stadtholderate, and afterwards, before this office had been made hereditary in the house of Nassau-Orange.

“The annihilation of Dutch liberty was effected in less than twenty days, under the very eyes of France. This event caused no inconsiderable disquietude in Europe, and no doubts were entertained that the cabinet of Versailles would prepare to take signal vengeance upon that of Berlin, and that the war might thus become universal in Europe. This was, unquestionably, the view which ought to have been adopted by Louis XVI., whose kingdom was already beginning to be agitated, and he might probably have succeeded in turning aside the minds of the people from their designs, or at least it would have been then easy to have satisfied the wishes and interests of the citizens and the populace, by a few concessions which would not endangered the crown. By marching an army to the north, he would have forced England and Prussia to treat with him respecting the independence of Holland. By such a course, which would have been both just and politic, he would have insured the respect of his own subjects, of his allies, and his enemies; then he would have regained that preponderating voice in Europe, which would have given him the free use of the forces of his kingdom, and an opportunity for the glorious struggle of his navy with that of Great Britain. After having easily settled the affairs of Holland by his powerful intervention, he would have equally decided those of France herself. His alliance with Spain and Austria would have been strengthened by that of Prussia, and he would thus have become the head and chief of the quadruple alliance. The effect of this imposing position would have been to have brought about a peace between Russia and Turkey, and to have protected Poland against the oppression of the former power, as he would have defended Holland against Prussia. Moreover, England and Prussia, being thus isolated in the great general policy of Europe, would not have assumed the character of dictators, which they exercised at that period. Prussia, hemmed in by its three great neighbouring empires, would have been constrained to be thankful for permission to exist. England would have remained alone against Europe, and the France of Louis XVI. might have been able to realize what the France of the revolution afterwards undertook under less favourable circumstances. This quadruple alliance was attempted and concluded; and in spite of the weakness of the French ministry, it would have changed the whole condition of Europe, but cardinal Lorménie eluded that glory with perseverance. The secret of the treaty was betrayed, and the French ministry changed. Prussia now assumed in Europe the place of France, which was monstrous; and Holland became nothing better than a province of England. Austria joined

Russia in the war against the Turks, whilst the latter fought against the Swedes and Poles. The Poles threw themselves into the arms of the King of Prussia, who had become the protector of the Germanic Empire. Joseph the Second trembled on his imperial throne. Brabant revolted, and declared itself free. Prussia, which had just destroyed the legal liberty of Holland, supported the insurrection in Belgium. The revolution spread over France, and threatened Europe.

"The spirit of independence was not completely extinct in Holland, and the hatred which the victorious party of the stadtholder inspired increased from day to day, and was especially nourished by the fermentation which prevailed in Brabant. Two violent republicans, Van-der-Noot and Van-der-Mersch, had appeared in these disturbances; their object was to rouse the whole of the population against the Austrians, to drive them out of the country, and to proclaim national independence. The conquest, or rather the subjugation, of Holland, had cost the stadtholder only twenty days, and the reduction of the insurgents in Brabant was an operation scarcely more difficult for the Austrians. But, notwithstanding these successes of force, the inhabitants of these two neighbouring provinces, naturally enemies to each other, only waited for the favourable moment to regain those advantages which they had just lost. The invasion of Brabant by the army of the French republic soon avenged the Belgians for the Austrian reaction. The French were every where received as liberators. Holland would have escaped conquest, and would of herself, at a later period, and by her own strength, have accomplished her deliverance from the yoke of the stadtholder, had not the cabinet of London, which had all of a sudden come forward as an enemy of the liberty of nations, notwithstanding the bloody example which Great Britain herself had set a century before, drawn Holland, her vassal, into all the dangers of the coalition.

The conquest of Brabant was the true reason which led the English to war. The English ministry hoped to recover Belgium by the army of the allies, and also to free themselves from all uneasiness respecting Holland. It would, however, have been more natural to conclude, that Brabant being conquered and contented to be in the power of the French, France would suddenly and with advantage, pounce upon Holland, where the vengeance and oppression of the stadtholder had created so many partisans of revolutionary principles. Dumouriez, therefore, was no sooner victorious at Jemappes, than he made all possible speed to enter Holland. He had already taken Breda and Gertruydenburg, and was besieging Willemstadt and Bergen-op-zoom, when the disagreements which existed between him and his generals, and also among the generals themselves, placed Belgium anew under the power of Austria, by the loss of the battle of Neerwinden. The coalition raised the shout of victory, but it was soon obliged to pay for its first success, which was the result of the misunderstandings among the French leaders, and perhaps of an understanding with the Prince of Cobourg, of which Dumouriez was accused. Whatever may have been the fact with respect to this treason, the convention sent commissioners to arrest him in his camp at Maulde; he seized them and sent them to the Austrians. This must be regarded as a wicked action, baser than even treason itself. He might have quitted his country without delivering up his fellow-citizens; he would then have been nothing more than a deserter in dread of punishment. Dumouriez had entertained the idea of delivering up Louis XVI. himself, but was not in a condition to do it. After the death of this monarch, he had the strange and extraordinary vanity to propose marching



with his army to Paris, to destroy the convention which had condemned the king; and he was himself fortunate in escaping the vengeance of that army, of which he was in the habit of speaking with as much arrogance as if it had belonged to him. Dumouriez was neither a good general nor a good Frenchman. If he could not occupy Holland, he should, at least, have preserved Belgium; and under no circumstances should he have threatened his country with civil war, in order to punish its government—that is, to avenge himself. He betrayed and deserted his country, and spent a contemptible life in exile, gaining a scanty subsistence, by the use of his pen, in Hamburgh. England, which refused an asylum to Napoleon, gave one to Dumouriez! In that country he prolonged his exile, for France never wished for his return. There was no Frenchman who ever could have recalled him; he is the first who has ever been guilty of treason at the head of a French army, and he died abroad, amongst strangers and in their pay.

“At the close of 1794, the republic felt itself in a condition to revenge the affronts which Dumouriez had received at the gates of Holland. The armies of the North, and of the Sambre and Meuse, were encamped on the left bank of the Rhine and the Meuse. Holland, becoming fearful and restless under this proximity, sent to treat respecting peace. It was then, however, a part of the political religion of France to make war in the name of principles, and it resolved to punish the stadtholder for his usurpations over the liberties of the Batavian people. There was still another reason, that of driving out the English; who had no other military position upon the Continent than Holland, and of thus, by their expulsion, annihilating the Orangist party, of whom they constituted the political support. In consequence, the Dutch plenipotentiaries were sent back, and it was resolved to lend a helping hand to the patriots of 1787, whose wishes, long compressed, were ready to burst forth with new energy, for the re-establishment of their liberty and the destruction of the stadtholderate. The republic politically appreciated the position of Holland; and its generosity towards the Dutch constituted the whole of its policy, for the government published a declaration, that it would only attack Holland to secure her independence; and it kept its word. The danger to the stadtholder's government becoming every day more imminent, and the states still hoping to calm the storm and ward off its violence; notwithstanding the dismissal of its plenipotentiaries, asked for an armistice. The French republic was consistent in its designs, and refused. The frost had set in, and Pichegru, who was at that time both a good citizen and a good general, waited till it should become so intense as to freeze all the rivers, when he meant to commence his operations. On the 27th of December, the Meuse was frozen; he commenced with an attack upon the island of Bommel, and extended his operations at the same time along the whole of the frontiers. The brigades of Osten and Daendels passed the river in safety—marched against the island, and though unprovided with canon, took possession of its batteries. This movement was executed by the troops of Daendels. Those of Osten, at the same time, crossed the inundations, carried three forts, and passed the Waal in the same manner; and the very strong town of Heusden, finding itself blockaded, was obliged to capitulate. The Dutch troops commenced, on all sides, a retreat upon Willemstadt—abandoning the isles which defended the mouths of the Scheldt, the Rhine, and the Meuse, all the positions, all the passages, and all the fortresses. On the very first day, they lost an entire corps whose retreat was cut off, nearly 2,000 prisoners, and a vast

quantity of artillery. These operations were executed simultaneously on a preconcerted plan, by the left and centre of the French army.

"The right at first met with resistance. A corps in position at Thiel was obliged to re-cross the Waal before 7000 Austrians. England had 25,000 of them in pay in Dutch Brabant and Holland, under the orders of Alvinzy. This attack, which was followed by no result, had been agreed upon at an extraordinary council, which was convoked at Nimeguen, by the two sons of the stadtholder, and the generals of the allies. The stadtholder was still in possession of Gorcum with the grand army and that of the states-general, and was supported by the English between Cuilenburg and the canal of Sanderen. Alvinzy's army defended the Rhine, from Wesel to Arnheim. All the attacks of the French were combined on this river; they were engaged in besieging Mayence and Mannheim with success, whilst the Prussians and Austrians had united their forces for the relief of these cities, but to no purpose. The Prussian army already resumed that system of inaction which it had adopted in Holland. The cause of the stadtholder was daily more compromised by his allies themselves; and, above all, by those whom he had wished to make his subjects. The town of Grave, after a two months' siege, was compelled to surrender, and gave the French the command of the Meuse. In like manner, the capture of Thiel secured to them the passage of the Waal, which Macdonald passed below Nimeguen. Moreau commanded the right wing of the army of the north, and was covered by Vandamme. Two columns, under Reynier and Jardon, passed the Waal; then Macdonald appeared under the walls of Nimeguen, took a very strong post, and beat the combined forces of the English and Austrians. The line of the French operations embraced a part of the left bank of the Rhine, and was protected by the occupation of places on the Meuse, such as Ruremonde, Venloo, and Grave, which kept open its communication with the country to the rear. In the centre, it occupied the district between the Waal and the Meuse; Bommel, Naardem, Gertruydenburg, and Breda, were blockaded by the left wing of the army, which extended also to the banks of the Moerdijk and to Willemstadt. In consequence of this position of the French army, all that Holland could call her national barriers were become nearly useless for her defence, and the invasion of the whole territory could no longer be a matter of doubt. The province of Utrecht was, from its position, that which must first fall under the yoke of the conqueror. A crisis of nature came at this moment to the aid of the besieged government. A thaw came on, which placed the whole of the French army in a difficult position by the breaking up of the ice on the Waal, and thus cut off the communications between the main body of the army and the divisions which occupied the territory called the Island of Batavia, situated between the Waal and the Rhine. Every exertion was made to furnish them with supplies of all kinds, but there was great reason to fear that the whole success of this fortunate invasion, which depended on the strength of the ice, would be lost, and that recourse must be had to all the tedious operations of an ordinary campaign, after the sufferings of a severe winter. Fortunately, the frost returned with all its previous intensity, and the troops in the Island of Batavia were delivered from danger.

"The army commenced its operations anew on the 11th of January. The enemy was forced along the whole line; after a bloody encounter, Buren and Cuilenburg surrendered. The allies retired on the right bank of the Rhine, and some of the forts of Gertruydenburg were taken. Piche-

gru had an immense advantage in this undertaking, in the moral conspiracy of the people in favour of the republic. The towns which were taken they regarded as delivered; and it was so in reality. The citizens, oppressed for seven years by the nobles, went out to meet the conqueror. On every new success, the French general found additional auxiliaries, and loosened the bond between the allies and the stadtholder's troops. Two affairs were going on at the same time, which gave each other mutual aid—a revolution in favour of the invaded nation, and a war against its oppressors; the latter was kept no secret, for the convention caused it to be everywhere proclaimed by its agents.

"The Dutch general, Daendels, who from the very commencement of the disturbances, had taken refuge in France, to escape the vengeance of the stadtholder, addressed a communication to the towns of his native country, in the following terms:—'The representatives of the French people call upon the Dutch nation to deliver itself from bondage. They have no wish whatever, as conquerors, to reduce it to subjection, or to force it to accept assignments, but to form an alliance with it as a free people. Let Dort, Haarlem, Leyden, and Amsterdam, then, organize and make the revolution, and determine its nature by deputies, their representatives, in Bois-le-duc.' It was impossible to pursue a better line of policy. Such language, supported and confirmed by the movements and success of a noble army, could not fail to produce an immense effect. It was calculated at once to convince and to exalt the people. This war might have been well and justly called, the war of the public welfare; for it was advantageous to two nations, and that, too, in a manner altogether beyond suspicion. There was a well-understood service—a natural feeling of gratitude, and a near and indissoluble alliance.

"Daendels' letter was rapidly circulated through all the towns; in Leyden its effect was electrical; the citizens peaceably declared to their magistrates that their functions were at an end, and proceeded to appoint others. The revolution was conducted *en famille*. On the same day on which the letter was received in Amsterdam, the same course was pursued in Leyden, with this single difference, that the magistrates asked twenty-four hours for deliberation; but whilst they were deliberating, one of Daendels' aides-de-camp arrived, who made them responsible for the public tranquillity. The burgo-masters then resigned their office, and a French commandant assumed the duties relinquished by an officer of the stadtholder. The national colours were hoisted; every one submitted to the rule of the republic, and, on the next day, Daendels entered Amsterdam with some troops. Utrecht had, in like manner, thrown open its gates to Pichegru. The plan adopted by the convention was thus completely successful. It was Holland herself that had carried out this revolution, under the protection of France. Changes continued to be daily effected, from the 15th to the 31st of January. After the 17th, and before the revolution in Leyden and Amsterdam, the stadtholder had gone to the states-general and resigned all his offices and dignities, for himself and his two sons. From thence he proceeded direct to Scheveningen, and embarked, with his family, for England.

"The King of Prussia, who seven years before braved monarchical France, and dared to send an army to bring Holland under the yoke of his brother-in-law, and who, by virtue of the treaty of Antwerp, made with England and Austria, had engaged to raise 60,000 men for the objects of the coalition, now remained an unmoved spectator of the ruin of the stadtholder, and of

the triumph of the French republic over his allies. This remarkable inconsistency with the principles which he had maintained in 1787, and which he had fully recognized by recent treaties, was made equally manifest by the inaction of General Mollendorf, whose co-operation would have been so useful to German patriotism, in enabling the allies to raise the sieges of Mayence and Mannheim. Conduct like this announced a complete change of policy. Frederick-William, with his allies, had just destroyed the kingdom of Poland, and shared the spoils of that conquest, in which his arms reaped but little glory. This prince had, apparently, no liking for anything but such successes as were at once infallible and useful. From the bottom of his heart he would have wished to destroy the French republic also, as he had done the kingdom of Poland, and to become a sharer in the spoil. The scheme of partition had been indeed premeditated, agreed on, and stipulated at Pilnitz, and a large portion of France was, in their own minds, destined to be the prey of the allies. But France was a very different enemy from Poland; although, at that time, she had no citizen so great as *Kosciusko*.

"The King of Prussia had, no doubt, calculated that even if he should defend Holland, he would be no less obliged, at a later period, to defend himself at home. He had the courage to give to all monarchies an example, which, no doubt, indicated more policy than generosity or fidelity to his engagements. During the time that his allies were being beaten from the coasts of Holland to Mannheim, he was carrying on negotiations for peace in Basle, with the committee of public safety which all the monarchs of Europe had placed under the ban. This government has for twenty years preserved the privilege of being disposed to make peace with its enemies, and to go to war with its friends; to make and unmake treaties, and to carry on a double line of negotiations, in order that it may always attach itself to the stronger. At this period, the arms of France were in the ascendant; and the court of Berlin sought for the friendship of the republic, because its friendship constituted a protection.

"Notwithstanding the departure of the stadtholder and his family, the war continued to be carried on in Holland by the Anglo-Austrian army, but merely on the position of a retreat against an invasion. This was the French inundation over the ice of the Batavian inundation. Vandamme had been at Utrecht from the 17th of January; the English evacuated the town in the presence of our troops; it was a pursuit in full view. The army of the Sambre and Meuse formed a junction with the army of the north, and when the latter marched on the Yssel, the former occupied its position in the territory of Cleves. On the 18th of January, the city of Amersfort, which had been the seat of government since the revolution of 1787, fell into the power of Macdonald's division, and with it the whole country as far as Leek, to the north of Amsterdam. This corps was the advanced guard of the centre, which was under the orders of Moreau. This general replaced the divisions on the Rhine, which had been sent forward. On the 18th, the day on which these movements took place, Pichegru having entered Amsterdam, Gertruydenburg capitulated; and four days afterwards, the left of the army having marched on the ice, across an arm of the sea, took possession of Dort, Rotterdam, the Hague, &c. The convention resounded with the miraculous triumphs of the republican armies.

"Two noble citizens, Paulus and Schimmelpennynck, did honour to their country, and can never be forgotten in France. The former, in his character of president of the states-general, convoked an assembly at the Hague, which

constituted itself under the name of the *Provisional Representatives of the Dutch People*. This body adopted as its model, the government and usages of liberating France. The sovereignty of the people, the rights of man, and the equality of citizens, were announced with acclamations; committees of public safety were established, the abolition of the stadtholderate pronounced, and the oath to the constitution of 1787 annulled. The French general had his instructions; he issued a proclamation which forbade the Dutch troops to be disarmed; and no better proof could be given either of the strength or the intentions of his government.

"This course was very skilfully adapted; for there is nothing more grievous to the conquered, than to be disarmed. France had no desire to conquer the Dutch—she only conquered them with a view to their liberty and independence. Finally, the new states decreed, that their troops should take an oath not to carry arms against France; and, on the 24th of January, they sent orders to all the cities and towns to open their gates.

"At this period a feat of arms was accomplished, quite new in the history of nations. The Dutch fleet, which was frozen up in the Zuider Zee, was captured by our artillery and light cavalry: this must be regarded rather as a singularity than a prodigy—above all, after the march which the army had made across the rivers and canals by which Holland is intersected in all directions. In this way the most insurmountable means of defence had become natural means of attack, which permitted the invaders to approach the objects of their assault on those sides on which their points of defence were entrusted to the sluices and canals. The taking of the Dutch fleet by the French cavalry presented something so marvellous and unexampled in the annals of war, that it made a greater impression upon Europe than the gaining of a pitched battle would have done. Middleburg, Flessingue, and, finally, Zeeland, although defended by the sea, surrendered to the French troops, which were established there in a strong military position. Terror seized upon the English in all directions, and their precipitate retreat before the smallest movements of our troops decided the army to march on the Yssel, the attack of which appeared to have been put off till the spring. Between the 3rd and the 11th of February, the whole province of Overijssel was occupied, and the English retired into the two most distant provinces, those of Friesland and Groningen. Thither they were followed by the divisions of Moreau and Macdonald. Groningen surrendered, after some engagements in the environs, where the allies had fortified themselves. Their fixed retreat, however, was still honoured by some warm affairs. At length they evacuated the country. The English, repelled by the inhabitants, and pursued by the French, retreated in all haste to embark at Bremen, and the conquest of Holland completed the grand system of the frontiers of France. The whole Rhine belonged to her; there was no longer an electorate or sovereign bishopric on its banks. Austria and the German princes had lost all their possessions on this river. The Rhine fortress opposite Mannheim was in the power of the French; that town and Mayence were closely invested, and about to fall under the repeated assaults of the besiegers. The taking of Savoy and of the country of Nice, the occupation of a portion of Biscay and Catalonia, had brought the Pyrenees and the Alps within the circuit of the republican limits. The military glory of the French republic was sufficiently attested by the glorious results of the campaigns of 1794 and 1795. The capture of a hundred and fifty cities, one hundred engagements, and twenty-nine pitched battles, exalted the

French name above that of all the other nations of Europe—even above the most glorious recollections of its own history. Such was the glory of France, and the war in Italy had not then taken place.

"The relations between France and Holland were settled by a treaty of peace. This was the work of Sièyes, and established a happy harmony between the interests of the two nations. In its negotiations, the convention kept strictly in view the principles by which it had been animated during the war. The first article of the treaty recognized *the sovereignty and independence of the united provinces*; but it was necessary for the French government to retain securities, and the armies of France kept possession of those strong places which England might have seized upon by surprise.

"Sièyes having presented the Dutch negotiators in a solemn sitting of the convention, the treaty was ratified. In this sitting, the influence of the convention insensibly exalted the grave character of the Dutch, and they in their turn allowed themselves to be warmed by the clubs and popular societies, whose authority had at that time risen, as was the case in France, above that of the magistrates. These acts of violence constituted, indeed, but feeble reprisals against the partisans of the house of Orange, who, in the year 1787, had caused numerous towns to be sacked, and crowds of patriots to be drowned by their emissaries; these disturbances were, however, soon appeased. The national moderation assumed its ascendancy; and justice healed all wounds. On the 28th of January, 1796, the joyful anniversary of the establishment of the Batavian republic, a grand solemnity was celebrated at the Hague. The opening of the National Assembly, of which the celebrated Peter Paulus was elected President, took place on the 1st of March. This noble citizen did not, however, long enjoy the splendid recompense bestowed on his patriotism, for on the 17th of the same month, the people, whom he had so energetically defended against the stadtholder, followed him to his grave.

"After the convention, the Batavian republic had a collision with the Directory, which sent it a constitution. There could be no charter, however excellent, to which there would not have been a strong opposition in Holland, on the very ground of its being sent from a foreign country, notwithstanding the terrific preponderance of the French republic. A fortunate circumstance came suddenly to the aid of the Batavians, to whom their opposition to France might have become fatal. The government of the Hague received intelligence, that a squadron of six French vessels had arrived in Batavia, had been there received, and protected that important colony against the attacks of England. Out of gratitude for this signal service, which could scarcely have been expected, the constitution sent by the Directory was accepted, and the Dutch sea and land forces were placed at the disposal of France. In the conferences which were held at Lille, it is worthy of remark, that England only asked a trifling indemnity for the dispossessed stadtholder, and the King of Prussia observed profound silence respecting the fate of his brother-in-law, to whom, seven years before, he had given an army. It was in accordance with the conduct of this prince, to push his neutrality to extremes. The house of Nassau had disappeared irrecoverably, and Dutch liberty was peaceably installed in its stead, by the mere will of France. Thus this power, reconstituted, freed, and protected by the grand republic, participated with the latter in all its hatred against England; and with it also continued to the very last to be regarded by the English as an object both of vengeance and jealousy.

"In spite of the defection of the courts of Prussia and Spain, which had

entered into treaties with the committee of public safety, the coalition still included a most formidable triple alliance, of which the powers were, Austria, Russia, and England. Italy and Switzerland were occupied by Austro-Russian armies, and an Anglo-Russian one appeared unexpectedly on the coasts of Holland, whose independence England wished, at any cost, to destroy, and to wrest it from the power of the French republic. Forty thousand men of these two nations disembarked under the orders of a son of England—the Duke of York. This great undertaking was supported by a considerable fleet, which, if it had succeeded, and in the situation in which the Directory had then allowed itself to be entangled in the affairs of Italy and Germany, would have annihilated all the triumphs of France on the Rhine, which would have been to endanger the existence of the republic.

“The Austrians were also in force; and the French soil might have been attacked by its old frontiers. General Abercrombie commanded the advanced guard of the Anglo-Russian force, and was opposed by General Daendels with as many Batavian troops as he could collect, but without effect. The passage of the Helder was forced, and a most shameful treason on the part of the Dutch marine delivered up the Dutch fleet on the first appearance of the English in the Zuider Zee, and it was again united with the British flag. Brune collected 25,000 men, and hastened to North Holland to repel the invasion of the Duke of York. Several engagements, without any decided results, served to signalize the courage of our soldiers. The Anglo-Russians advanced, and gained a solid footing in the country, and it would have been all over with the Batavian republic, had the whole 40,000 men disembarked on one day. The English reckoned on the aid of the stadtholder's party, in driving out the French, and reducing Holland again under the yoke of the house of Orange. The time, however, had not yet arrived; the cowardice of the fleet, which had submitted to them without a combat, gave them the best reason to hope for success. Amsterdam, however, was to be again called upon to act a great part in the destinies of Holland. On the news of the taking of the Texel by the English fleet, and when there was nothing more to prevent them from approaching its very walls, Amsterdam armed all her batteries, opened her coffers, raised national levies, and established defences by means of her canals. Forty gun-boats were armed as if by enchantment; reinforcements from France arrived, and that beautiful capital was saved. Notwithstanding the example given by the navy, and the immense advantages which commerce might have flattered itself with deriving from an accommodation with England, love for their country and hatred towards the stadtholder prevailed. It was, indeed, a nation of merchants, but it possessed, in the highest degree, the virtues of a nation which was free, and which deserved to be so. It rose against strangers. General Brune took advantage of this natural impulse, to organize an imposing force. He not only stopped the progress of the enemy, but proved victorious in two pitched battles; at Castricum and Alkmaer. The Batavian troops distinguished themselves, and proved themselves worthy of fighting in the French ranks; their generals merited every commendation. Brune was justly hailed as the deliverer of the Batavian republic; the Romans would have decreed him the honours of a triumph.

“By saving Holland, he saved France from invasion, and the day of Alkmaer was decisive of the fate of the Anglo-Russian expedition. The Duke of York, driven into the sand hills, cut off from his fleet, encumbered with wounded, and destitute of supplies, resolved to negotiate. The French

general did not conceal from himself the important loss which he had suffered, nor how many brave men his victory had cost him, and he eagerly accepted the proposition of the enemy. Conferences were established, the negotiators soon came to an understanding, and the capitulation was signed. By virtue of this treaty, the Duke of York was to evacuate all the positions which he occupied on the Zuider Zee, to re-embark his troops, and to send from England 800 French prisoners in exchange for the same number of Anglo-Russians, who were given up to him. General Brune has been reproached for not having required the restitution of the Texel fleet.

"The issue of this formidable expedition raised the patriotic courage of the Batavians, who had so nobly rushed to arms to repulse a foreign invasion. From that moment, the political and military destinies of the two republics became inseparable.

"Four times after this period did the Dutch uselessly change the form of their government, each change being founded upon a similar operation in the forms of the government of France, but none of them proved sufficient to re-establish the prosperity of the country. The sternest patriots in Holland recognized the advantages which this country would derive from being incorporated with the French empire, but they were kept back in their resolves by the loss of their nationality; on the other hand, the partisans of the Prince of Orange consisted merely of those who regretted the loss of offices and employments which were no longer necessary in a republic, and the whole of the nobility of Gueldres would rally eagerly around the throne of a King of Holland.

"The Grand-Pensionary Schimmelpennynck requested urgently to be allowed to resign his power; all the assistance of art had proved unequal to save the country, and the highest functionaries of the state proclaimed aloud the necessity of trusting to the fortune of France the future good or ill of their unfortunate country.

"The opportunity was excellent for removing Holland from the influence and commerce of England, but was it more advisable to reunite it to the empire, or to form it into a new kingdom, under the sceptre of a French prince?

"The former of these plans might have increased the difficulties of a negotiation for a general peace; it would have burthened the treasury of France with the payment of an enormous debt, which at that time amounted in capital to a sum exceeding two millions of francs, and the annual interest of which exceeded 80,000,000, and that in presence of a system of imposts, which reached every taxable article, and deprived the Dutch of sixty-five per cent. of their income. It is true, the union with France would have discharged Holland from all those obligations towards France which treaties had imposed on her, but this would only have been to deprive France of so much of her resources. The Batavian republic was obliged to pay an annual subsidy of 25,000,000 francs, and to maintain an army of 25,000 French on a war footing. This led to the greatest abuses, but all in favour of France. The French regiments were all sent successively to Holland to be clothed, mounted, and paid. These circumstances formed a serious counterbalance to the advantages which might have been derived from the union, and all yielded in importance to a system which would place Holland, politically, within the sphere of French interests, leaving to it the possession of its own nationality, with monarchical forms under the crown of a French prince. I was firmly of opinion that no human consider-



ation would be able to withdraw one of my brothers from my supreme dictation, nor turn him aside from his duties towards me, as the chief and benefactor of the family.

"The individuals sent to Paris by the states-general as ambassadors extraordinary, were Admiral Werhuel, Gogel the minister of finance, Van Styrum and William-Six, councillors of state, in order to declare that Holland, seeing no other prospect except that of a frightful national bankruptcy, the results of which it was impossible to foresee, requested its incorporation in the empire as a favour, which would relieve it from the burthen of its military condition, and restore it to the commerce of the empire. They even proffered in this case to allow their debt to remain chargeable upon themselves, and to make every exertion to pay, provided they were no longer called upon to submit to a greater amount of taxation than the French.

"The ambassadors remained four months in Paris, and were, at length, authorized to offer the crown of Holland to Prince Louis. 'We come,' said they, 'of our own accord, and supported by the suffrages of nine-tenths of our fellow-countrymen, to entreat you to unite your fate with ours, and to save a whole people from the perils with which they are threatened.'

"The prince did not dissemble the repugnance which he felt to undertake the burthen of a crown, and it was necessary to command in order to induce him to decide. When the minister for foreign affairs went to St. Leu, to submit the constitution of Holland for his signature, he said to him : 'It is impossible for me to form a judgment of the contents of such an important document at one reading, being a stranger to all the preliminary discussions which have taken place ; I do not know whether they may not call upon me to promise more than I shall be able to fulfil. The only assurance which it is possible for me to give, is, that I will devote myself with zeal to the interests of Holland, and use my best endeavours to justify the good opinion of me with which, no doubt, the Emperor my brother has inspired you.'

"All Louis's impressions at that time were under the dominion of a morbid state of mind. He avowed to his most intimate friends, that he felt in a condition of moral spasm, which rendered life insupportable ; but that, by his acceptance of the throne, he hoped for a cure. 'In Holland,' he said, 'the interests and wants of the public, and the administration of their affairs, will completely occupy my mind ; I shall carry with me into my adopted country all my best affections, and I shall probably be able, by degrees, to recover from my physical and moral prostration.' Mistrust, however, already governed all his actions, even before he left Paris, for a single word which escaped from Talleyrand gave him reason to suspect that he was sacrificed to a mere political expedient.

"The solemnity of the proclamation of the King of Holland took place at St. Cloud, and made a great sensation in the political world, in consequence of the declaration of the reasons assigned by the Batavian republic for placing itself under the dominion of a French prince.

"As a king, prince Louis always exhibited a truly paternal solicitude for the interests of his people, and sacrificed to them even all his patriotic feelings as a Frenchman ; and no Dutchman could ever say, that he was a more ardent lover of his country than the king. His abdication, after a reign of five years, was the action of a morbid mind, but the consequence of the course of political conduct which he pursued, in direct contradiction to those principles which had placed the crown on his head. The error which

my brothers committed consisted in not comprehending that they were not, and could not be, kings, except as supporters of my policy; and that their kingdoms could never acquire prosperity except as satellites of France. The act of the King of Westphalia in quitting the grand army with his guard, in order not for a moment to be under the command of a French marshal, and that of the King of Holland, in submitting, as a question to his privy council, whether they should not, at the cannon's mouth, refuse entrance into Amsterdam to the corps of Marshal Oudinot, are things which common sense could scarcely believe, were it not that the testimony of credible witnesses of those moments of infatuation does not permit the facts to be doubted.

"The first cause of coolness between the King of Holland and my cabinet, was a question respecting commercial duties. The manufactures of Leyden, and the linens of Overijssel and Haarlem, suffered extremely from the protection granted to articles of the same description by the tariff of customs established in the empire, and I constantly resisted all the importunities of the king to obtain some reduction or modification of these duties.

"Shortly afterwards, the military condition of Holland became also a subject of vexation and bitterness. I required that its army should be maintained on a respectable footing, and on this promise I had consented to withdraw the 25,000 Frenchmen, whom the Dutch had hitherto been obliged to support, clothe, and pay, in compliance with the treaty of 1799. The Dutch army, however, underwent most important reductions in its effective force, and secret orders from the king had successively recalled into the ports of Holland, under pretence of repairs, but, in fact, to be disarmed, the vessels belonging to the flotilla of Boulogne. There was no longer left at Boulogne any thing except a few Dutch sloops, out of a flotilla of above one hundred sail. I was deeply offended, as a sovereign and a brother, but I confined myself to writing thus to Louis—'You are sacrificing your navy to an unseasonable idea of reform; you will lose your colonies, and I shall do nothing for Holland, if you diminish your land and sea forces. It is necessary to have 50,000 men, and twenty sail of the line. It is not you who can save Holland, it is only the sincerity of her progress in my line of policy. Why do you interfere? Flushing has not been divided; withdraw from it the Dutch administration which impedes the execution of my orders. I wish to have no other commandant there than my own. I am desirous of carrying on great works there, which will be for the advantage of the country, and of the administration of Zeeland, with which I do not wish to interfere.'

"When war with Prussia became imminent, I thought it necessary to collect at Wesel a body of troops, Dutch and French, and I wrote to Louis, 'You will make a useful diversion at Wesel, where I beg you to concentrate your army, which I shall augment by the addition of a division of my troops. This army shall be called the army of the north, of which you will take the command, and you will so manage as to give the impression that it is larger than it really is. If the Prussians become aware of the change of my dispositions, and invade Holland, they are lost, and if they do not do so, they are equally lost. Whilst they suppose that I am arranging my line of operations to march to the Rhine, I have already calculated that in a few hours after the declaration of war, they cannot prevent me from outflanking their left, and bearing down upon them with a greater force than they can oppose, or than is necessary for their destruction. The line once

broken, all their efforts to succour their left will result to their disadvantage; and if cut off in their march, they will fall successively into my line. The results will be incalculable; perhaps in six weeks I may be in Berlin—my army is stronger than that of the Prussians—and even if they should beat me at first, they shall soon afterwards find me in their centre with 100,000 fresh troops, and bent on the execution of my plan.

“ Marshal Mortier will manœuvre with the 8th corps, in order to get possession of Hesse-Cassel, and to drive out the elector, who is Prussian both in his heart and as a general in the service of that kingdom. He only wishes to remain neutral in order the better to serve the King of Prussia, and to injure my army, in the rear of which he wishes to find himself placed by the events of the opening of the campaign. It is necessary that the army under your command should be always in readiness to give assistance to Marshal Mortier, who has but few troops under his orders.”

“ The King of Holland obeyed. But how? And yet he had written to me, ‘ My co-operations as a king allied with your majesty, shall be as free and open as the friendship which I feel for your majesty as a brother, and which has subsisted since my earliest youth.’ ”

“ The details, respecting the composition of the army which was to be collected at Wesel, were very offensive to the King of Holland. Each brigade was to be formed of a French and a Dutch regiment. The chief commands were to be reserved to the French generals, even to that of the artillery, although the whole of the batteries were to be furnished by the Dutch artillery.

“ These two circumstances—the occupation of the electorate of Hesse, and the fusion of the Dutch regiments into the French ranks—made a deep and bitter impression upon the king, who said he owed it to his honour to show the troops of his new country in line; and this co-operation in a project calculated to injure a prince with whom he was on the most friendly terms was very repulsive to his feelings of delicacy. In what regarded the organization of the army, he was obliged to obey, but he flattered himself that it would be possible for him to avoid allowing a single man in his army to enter the territory of Hesse-Cassel. In this hope he was deceived, for Marshal Mortier, by virtue of the Emperor's orders, insisted on an active co-operation; and on the 1st of November, the King of Holland was on his march in person against Hesse-Cassel. When the elector sent his first equerry to compliment him, he availed himself of the opportunity to say to that prince, that he had been obliged to invade his territory—for being necessarily engaged in the war, and having the command of a corps of the French army, he had to conform to the plan of operations by which the whole was regulated; but as a neighbour and a sovereign he thought he might, without betraying his duties to his ally, advise the elector to remain in his capital, which would otherwise be taken from his country; whereas, if he persisted, things might still be arranged, as he had declared his wish to remain neutral.

“ An accidental circumstance which occurred during this campaign, developed, in the mind of the King of Holland, the feeling of distrust which destroyed all his relations with the Emperor. General Dupont-Chaumont, the minister of France at the Hague, under the former government, had not yet been accredited to the government of the king, although he still continued to be the channel through which all diplomatic relations were carried on. He was an old soldier of reputation, and a man of remarkable talent; the king induced him to accompany him to the army, perhaps to

enjoy the benefits of his military experience, and, perhaps also, because of the interest which he felt in the recitals of the early events of our revolution, and of the wars of the republic, in which this general had taken a very active part. All the reserve of diplomacy gradually disappeared before the intimacy of military companionship; the most secret instructions of the ambassador were divulged; the king learned, that if new credentials were not delivered to him, if he was only regarded in the grand army as a French prince, if the order of the union, the guards of the Dutch marshals, and finally, the coronation itself still remained, notwithstanding his warm importunity, questions unresolved by the Emperor, it was because the affairs of Holland were not yet definitively settled in his political scheme, and that the country was reserved as a sacrifice for a peace with England. It was from this circumstance that was dated Louis's resolution secretly to resist all my wishes, my advice, and even my orders. 'I cannot,' said he, 'resist my brother by open force; but if I have been deceived by him as to the character which awaited me as king of Holland, I will prove at least to my people and to posterity, that nothing has been able to make me deviate from what I owe to a country which has become mine, and to which I am bound by the most sacred oaths and obligations.'

"General Dupont-Chaumont, who, by his indiscretion, and still more by his own impressions, had thus betrayed his duty as representative of the empire, sent a report to Paris of all that had taken place during these conversations on the march and at head-quarters.

"He wrote that the king had resolved to act, henceforward, exclusively as king of Holland, and put a stop to the effect of those dispositions which he had adopted since his accession to the throne, with a view to the complete amalgamation of the interests of the two countries, but which he now began to foresee might eventually prove ruinous to the cause of Holland.

"Justice, however, must be done to Louis, by admitting that he rendered very important services during that war.

"Another circumstance, the Berlin decrees, became a source of bitterness in the relations between the courts of the Hague and the Tuileries. The rigorous execution of the continental system was the same as a death-blow to Dutch commerce. The Berlin decrees bore date 21st of November, 1806, and are as follow:

"'Seeing, first, that England does not recognize the law of nations, as observed by all civilized; states secondly, that she not only treats as an enemy every thing which belongs to the states with which she is at war, and thus not only seizes upon ships of war, and makes prisoners of their crews, but even of the crews of merchant vessels and their supercargoes, who, in consequence of their being obliged to go to sea on matters of business, fall into her hands; thirdly, that the right of conquest is applied by her to merchant vessels and private property, whilst it ought in reality to affect the property of the hostile state alone; fourthly, that she extends the right of blockade to fortified places and commercial cities, as well as to bays and the mouths of rivers, whilst, according to the usages of civilized nations, it can be applied only to fortified places; that she declares a place in a state of blockade, even when there is no ship of war actually there, and no blockade really exists, whilst a place cannot be considered in this condition, except where it is properly invested, so that nothing can go out; and that a state of blockade cannot be established, even with the combination of all her naval forces, along the whole coasts of a country; fifthly, that it is an

unheard of abuse of the right of blockade, to use it merely with a view to prevent communications among nations, and to establish the manufacturing interest of England on the ruins of those of the continental nations; sixthly, that the object of England is to oblige all who have any intercourse with her on the continent to favour her views and become her accomplices; seventhly, that such conduct on the part of England, worthy of barbarous times alone, can merely be useful to herself, and is prejudicial to all other powers; and, eighthly, that it is a natural right to oppose an enemy with the same arms which she employs, and, when she discards all liberal views, the result of the progress of knowledge and civilization, to throw them aside in opposition to her.

“ We have resolved to oppose England by the adoption of those maxims against her which she has adopted in her maritime code.

“ The principles of the present decree shall be considered as one of the fundamental laws of the empire, till England shall see fit to regard the rights of war, as the same by sea as by land; to see that they do not extend to private property, and still less to the persons of private individuals, who are not taken with arms in their hands; and that the right of blockade can only extend to places invested by a sufficient force to effect such a purpose.

“ We have decreed, and do decree as follows :

“ Art. 1. The British isles are declared to be in a state of blockade.

“ Art. 2. All commerce or intercourse with the said isles is strictly interdicted.

“ Art. 3. All letters or parcels addressed to England, or to an Englishman, or written in English, shall be detained at the post-office.

“ Art. 4. Every subject of England, of whatever rank or condition he may be, who shall be found in our states, or in those of any of our allies, shall be made a prisoner of war.

“ Art. 5. All goods or property, of whatsoever kind, belonging to English subjects, shall be considered as lawful prizes.

“ Art. 6. All commercial intercourse with England is strictly prohibited; and all the manufactures of that country, or its colonies, wheresoever found, are to be regarded as lawful prizes.

“ Art. 7. The one-half of the proceeds arising from the sale of such goods or merchandise, shall be applied to the re-imbursement of those merchants whose ships have been taken by English ships or corsairs.

“ Art. 8. No ship coming direct from England, or any of her colonies, or proceeding thither, after the publication of this decree, shall be allowed to enter any port.

“ Art. 9. Every ship which shall make use of any false papers, so as to defeat this decree, shall be seized, and her cargo confiscated and treated as English property.

“ Art. 10. Our *Conseil des Prises* (Admiralty Court), at Paris, is charged with the duty of deciding all disputes, which shall arise on the subject of these captures, which shall be made within the empire, or the countries occupied by our troops, in consequence of this decree. Our court of justice in Milan is charged with the decision of all such disputes as shall arise on this subject in our kingdom of Italy.

“ Art. 11. The present decree shall be communicated by our minister of foreign affairs to the Kings of Spain, Holland, Naples, and Turin, as well as to our allies, whose subjects, as well as ours, are the victims of English injustice on sea.’

“Undoubtedly, the last article was equivalent to an order for the execution of these articles to the Kings of Spain, Holland, and Naples, and the less doubt that could be entertained of this, the more culpable did these kings render themselves, who, yielding to the influences of local interests, eluded the full execution of these measures, which were the results of deep political views, and intended as a means of compelling England to enter upon negotiations, which aim, from the moment of my accession to power, was the ruling idea of all my political conduct.”

## NOTE.

The following note will serve to finish the portrait of Sir Hudson Lowe, and to represent him in his true colours :

"General Bonaparte cannot be allowed to traverse the island freely. Had the only question been that of his safety, a mere commission of the East India Company would have been sufficient to guard him at St. Helena. He may consider himself fortunate that my government has sent a man so kind as myself to guard him, otherwise he would be put in chains, to teach him to conduct himself better."

To this note the Emperor replied :

"In this case it is obvious that, if the instructions given to Sir Hudson Lowe by Lords Bathurst and Castlereagh do not contain an order to kill me, a verbal order must have been given ; for whenever people wish mysteriously to destroy a man, the first thing they do is to cut him off from all communication with society, and surround him with the shades of mystery, till, having accustomed the world to hear nothing said of him, and to forget him, they can easily torture him or make him disappear."





HISTORY  
OF THE  
CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON.  
VOL II.



# HISTORY

OF THE

## CAPTIVITY OF NAPOLEON

### IN ST. HELENA.

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#### CHAPTER I.

##### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON FRANCE.

"FRANCE, by her geographical situation, the fertility of her soil, the energy and intelligence of her inhabitants, is the arbitress of European states. She departs from the character assigned her by nature when she becomes a conquering power. She descends from it, when she consents to obey the obligations of any alliance whatsoever. She is among the nations of Europe what the lion is amongst the other animals which surround him. She cannot move without being either a protectress or a destroyer. She lends the assistance of her arm, but never exchanges aid for her own personal interest, or to augment the weight of her influence in the scale of nations. Her own force is always sufficient; for, even when she is momentarily affected by the malady of nations—intestine divisions—she recovers, by convulsive efforts, the power of punishing her enemies for having dared to provoke her to the combat. In 1793 and 1794, the whole of Europe formed a coalition against her; 100,000 fanatical Vendéans, armed and paid by England, threatened Paris; 1,300,000 Frenchmen instantly flew to arms, from the love of their country, and not, as has been said, through fear of the guillotine. Europe was conquered—condemned to recognise the French republic, and to submit to the empire of those principles of liberty and equality by which France had just been regenerated. There is nothing great of which the French are not capable; danger electrifies them; it is their Gallic inheritance. The love of glory is with them like a sixth sense; and when, after many years of peace, the wailings of a few mothers shall no longer find an echo, the conscription will become a point of honour, and the nation will be able to defy reverses, invasion, and ages!

"Those who are called to hold the reins of such a kingdom should comprehend the full value and bearing of the favourable position which France

enjoys, and never suffer a *nation which was destined to be a sun, to degenerate into a satellite.*

"The whole of my policy was uniformly directed by this opinion, both during the consulate and the empire. I was ambitious to effect the fusion of all the great interests of Europe, as that of parties had been effected in France—to become the arbiter between nations and their kings; but for this, it was first necessary to gain the confidence and the friendship of the latter, which could only be acquired at the expense of my popularity with the former. I knew it, but I felt myself to be all-powerful, and took little note of those murmurs which would have been soon replaced by gratitude, had the great work of my ambition been accomplished. It was with this view, that, after the battle of Austerlitz, I gave liberty to Alexander, who, being hemmed in at Holich, asked it of me, and gave me his imperial word that he would lead back into Russia, by hasty marches, the shattered remnants of the Russian army, and no longer mix himself in the quarrels of Austria;—that after Wagram I did not partition Austria; I could have done it—nothing would have been easier; for one of the arch-dukes begged me to separate the crowns of Bohemia and Hungary from that of Austria; and he said to me—'Place me upon the throne, I will give you every possible guarantee that you can require, and then only you will have nothing to fear from the Austrian power, whose policy is the depression of France. Metternich is your personal enemy; my brother suffers himself to be led blindfold by him; and, whatever may be said, he will still remain master under the reign of my nephew.'

"I, however, believed the protestations of the Emperor Francis. I suffered the triple crown to remain upon his head, but I was wrong. I committed a fault, also, in marrying the arch-duchess Marie-Louise, because from that day I looked upon the house of Austria as a part of my family, and if I had not been ruled by my own impressions of the sacredness of family bonds, I would have waited for the pacification of Spain before I engaged in the affairs of the north, and the re-establishment of the kingdom of Poland. Had I not reckoned on the integrity of the Austrian alliance, the war in Russia would not have taken place. It could have been avoided in principle. It would have been enough for that purpose not to have interfered with the infractions of the treaty of Tilsit, and to have allowed Russia to sell her natural productions to England in exchange for English manufactures. This was the vital question of the quarrel.

"Each of my victories was a diplomatic step in my aim of restoring peace to Europe. After the battle of Marengo, as well as after those of Austerlitz, Jena, Wagram and Dresden, I always offered a general peace; and when 400,000 Frenchmen and allies of France were on the banks of the Niemen, and whilst the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were waiting for a friendly reception on my passage, I still stretched out the hand of a brother to the Emperor Alexander, and renewed to him the solemn declaration, that all my conquests beyond the natural limits of France, were neither made nor retained for any other purpose than that of compensation or exchange at a general peace.

"Had I reigned twenty years longer, I would have shown the difference between a constitutional emperor and a king of France. The kings of France have never done any thing but for the interests of their dynasty, and with a view of increasing their feudal power by the depression of the high nobility, the extinction of the great fiefs and their reunion with the crown.

"Henry IV. was a valiant captain, but he owed his crown more to his double abjuration than to his victories. His memory is only popular, because by a *bon-mot* he gave evidence of some sympathies for the people. But, in fact, he never did any thing for them.

"Louis XIV. was a great king. He did great things, and nobly maintained the honour of the nation, both in his wars and by his diplomatic acts; but the whole spirit of his reign may be compressed into the single phrase—'*L'état c'est moi,*' (I am the state.) All his actions and thoughts were directed towards the attainment of personal greatness. He acted and created from pride, and not from patriotism.

"The national character sank under the reign of the kings of the third race: every thing for the moment and the fancy, and nothing for the future; such was the principle and such were the manners which they conferred on the French nation. I would have changed the face of France and of Europe. Archimedes promised to move the world, if they only furnished him with a fulcrum for his lever; I would have made a fulcrum for myself, wherever I could have placed my energy, my perseverance, and my budgets. With budgets well employed, a world may be regenerated; with budgets squandered, a world may be ruined. Had the city of Paris employed, in solid buildings, all the money which it wasted for ten centuries on structures of wood and painted cloth, to feast its kings, Paris would have been a wonder worthy of fabulous times: wherever my dominion has extended, there remain durable monuments of its benefits.

"The magnificent docks of Antwerp and Flushing are capable of containing the most numerous fleets and sheltering them both from the fury of the tempest and the attacks of enemies—the hydraulic works of Dunkirk, Havre, and Nice—the gigantic harbour of Cherbourg—the maritime works in Venice—the beautiful roads from Antwerp to Amsterdam—the plan and commencement of the canal, intended to connect Amsterdam with Hamburg and the Baltic—the road along the banks of the Rhine—the road from Bourdeaux to Bayonne—the passes of the Simplon, Mont Cenis, Mont Genève, and the Corniche, which open up the Alps in four directions, are works which exceed in boldness, grandeur, and art, any thing ever attempted by the Romans. The bridges of Jena, Austerlitz, Sévres, and Mours—that over the Durance—those of Bourdeaux, Moissac, Rouen, Turin, and Lisere—the canal which connects the Rhine and the Rhone by the Doubs, and unites the German ocean with the Mediterranean—that which unites the Scheldt and the Somme, and forms a channel for commerce between Amsterdam and Paris—that which joins the Rance and the Vilaine—the canal of Arles, that of Pavia, and that of the Rhine—the draining of the marshes of Bourgoin, Cotentin, and Rochefort—the works undertaken for draining the Pontine marshes, which would have been completed in 1820—the rebuilding and reparation of almost all the churches in France, demolished or injured in the revolution—the construction, in eighty-three departments, of buildings, as establishments for the extirpation of mendicity, by offering work and a refuge to the poor against the infirmities of age, and the evils of destitution—the embellishments of Paris, the Louvre, the Exchange, the square on the Quai d'Orsay, the triumphal arch of the Barrière de l'Etoile, the granaries, the Madeleine, the canal of Ourg, and the subterraneous channels for the distribution and the construction of sewers—the restoration of the monuments of Rome, the re-establishment of the manufactories of Lyons, and the reconstruction of its buildings and streets destroyed in 1793—the erection of many hundred

manufactories of cotton, of beet-root sugar, or of wood, all raised by the aid of millions supplied from the civil list—50,000,000 employed in repairing and embellishing the palaces of the crown—60,000,000 in furniture placed in the royal residences in France, Holland, Turin, and Rome—60,000,000 in diamonds as a dotation to the crown of France, all purchased with my treasures—the Musée Napoleon, estimated at more than 400,000,000, created by my victories, and containing nothing but objects legitimately acquired by treaties;—these are the monuments left by my passage; and history will record that all this was accomplished in the midst of continual wars, without a loan, whilst the public debt was in the course of extinction every year, with a normal budget of less than 800,000,000 for more than 40,000,000 of people in the empire, and when the army amounted to 600,000 men, with the crews of 100 sail of the line.

“France was in want of a great naval harbour in the channel, as was often felt during the last war; Louis XVI. had undertaken to form one at Cherbourg, which was a gigantic undertaking for the means at his disposal at that period, in which the finances of the country were in a deplorable condition. The protection of the roads by a breakwater presented the greatest difficulties; it was suggested to employ cones constructed on shore, towed to the spot destined for the breakwater, then filled with stones, and sunk for a foundation; this was extremely ingenious. From rivalry, however, the project failed. The genius which was to have constructed defences on shore, which were to serve as auxiliaries to those of the dike, constructed them in such a manner in the Isle of Pelet, and at Fort Querqueville, that the breakwater became no longer the principal part, and that which had been intended to cover and protect a great navy, whether collected to terrify the enemy, or driven in for refuge in the chances of war, offered only an asylum for a small number of ships, when it ought to have contained 100 at least. The additional accommodation might have been gained at a small increase of expense, by carrying the breakwater further out into the roads. There was another inexcusable circumstance connected with the execution of these works, and one very characteristic of this period of decay. All the works connected with the eastern entrance were finished before it was even thought necessary to try, by actual soundings, whether ships of war could enter at low water without striking, and it was discovered also that the western passage would be impracticable for ships drawing more than eighteen feet water, unless they diminished the length of the breakwater, leaving the passage 2400 yards wide, which would have rendered the fire from Fort Querqueville very uncertain in its effect.

“One of my first cares was to complete the works of Cherbourg. After a long examination of the whole subject, I gave orders for the elevation of the breakwater, and for the construction of three strong forts, one at each extremity, and the third in the centre. In less than a year there sprang up, as if by magic, a real island, crowned with batteries of the heaviest calibre. Till this time, the English merely laughed at our efforts, which they believed would lead to no result. The cones, they said would go to pieces in time, the stones would be scattered by the force of the sea, and French fickleness would do the rest. But now it became another affair. The western passage was still too wide, a cross-fire could not have been maintained with effect, and a bold enemy might have renewed the disasters of Aboukir. I gave orders for the construction of an enormous elliptical fort within the breakwater. This fort was at its centre, designed

for its support, and commanding the central battery. It was two stories high, fitted with casements, and bomb proof, mounted with fifty heavy guns, and twenty mortars of large dimensions. The docks, excavated in the granite rocks, are works worthy of the greatest periods of Rome, and the Romans never executed any thing more magnificent. All these works were completed in 1814. I had thus obtained a means of sheltering fifty additional ships of the line, but this was not enough to complete my conception. I proposed to renew the wonders of Egypt at Cherbourg. I had built my pyramid in the sea, and I now wished for my lake Mœris. I was desirous of concentrating at Cherbourg an immense naval force, in order to have it always in my power to threaten England, and to attack her with great force in case of necessity. I took up a position in which the two nations could fight, as it were, at close quarters, and the issue could not be doubtful, for it would have been the struggle, hand to hand, of forty millions of Frenchmen against from fifteen to twenty millions of Englishmen. It would have been terminated by a battle of Actium, and then what would I have done with England?—destroyed her? Certainly not. I would only have required from her that the term of her naval domination should cease, that her intolerable usurpation, her enjoyment of the rights imprescriptible and sacred to all, should have an end. I would have required the freedom, the liberty of the seas, the independence and honour of the flags of all nations, and I should have had on my side the power, the good rights, and the wishes of the whole continent.

“The convention had no desire for a war with England, and had a good negotiator in London; Chauvelin, the ambassador, was no longer recognised, but Maret, who then had charge of foreign affairs, was directed to treat. He made very reasonable overtures, which were rejected. Having returned with new powers, he made important concessions, very advantageous both to England and Holland; but Pitt dreaded the degree of power to which France might raise herself, if she were allowed peaceably to establish her revolution, and he never thought that he would imperil the destiny of the whole of Europe by taking up arms against French liberty.

“The convention had sacrificed Louis XVI. The great crime was committed: but England was the only power in Europe which had no pretence of right to punish them for it. It was England, nevertheless, that undertook to perform an act of vengeance which would have been quite natural for the houses of Spain or Austria. It was evident that after having dared to commit such a crime, the convention neither had the inclination nor the power to shrink before any menaces, nor to retrograde in its career. The warlike enthusiasm, but, above all, the revolutionary enthusiasm, which had been exhibited in France after the battle of Jemappes, ought to have led men to foresee, that in the moment of the most serious danger, when the armies of Clairfait and the emigrés were threatening the country, there would be a great national demonstration—an unanimous rising *en masse* throughout the whole of France for its defence. England, however, which assumed the lead in forming the coalition, knew well that she would only occupy the second line in the war, and would even scarcely appear otherwise than in her subsidies. It was of great importance to her, that continental Europe should be embroiled in dangers; the supremacy which she aimed at usurping would thus become more certain, and she would rule over Europe by the evils which she was instrumental in causing—she would curb and delay the progress of French industry, by keeping the French people busy in the field of battle. She supported within the repub-

lic those factions which were to tear it to pieces; she refused to negotiate with the convention, and she promised herself to nourish terror; she wished to be heir of the death of Louis XVI., and dispute its results with the republic. Chauvelin was dismissed on the 24th of January, 1793; Maret remained till February 3d, but he also was ordered to leave the country when war became imminent; he carried back with him the conviction, that Pitt was the irreconcilable enemy of the prosperity of France. England carried with her, in her hatred, all Europe, except Denmark, which always remained faithful to France, and Tuscany, governed by the wise and liberal Leopold. This was a sentence of death to Holland, which was so placed as to receive the first fire of the republic; but William V., who had destroyed that fine country, to which his ancestors had been invited with such glorious hospitality, was, in consequence of his eagerness to accede to the wishes of England, obliged to submit to the results of his usurpation and his servility. The convention declared war against England, and against Holland, which had become her satellite.

"It would be a magnificent field for speculation, to estimate what would have been the destinies of France and of Europe, had England satisfied herself with denouncing the murder of Louis XVI., which would have been for the interest of public morality, and listened to the counsels of a philanthropic policy by accepting revolutionized France as an ally. Scaffolds would not then have been erected over the whole country; kings would not have shaken on their thrones, but their states would have all, more or less, passed through a revolutionary process, and the whole of Europe, without a convulsion, would have become constitutional and free, without jealousy and without ambition. The fancy of the Abbé de St. Pierre would have been realized. The French republic would have felt secure in her own resources and surrounding safety, and would not have entertained the idea, or felt the wish, of invading other states. She would not have felt the necessity of victory, and the implacable legislation which supported that necessity within herself would not have shed those torrents of blood which have steeped the soil of France: no other superiority, except that of law, would have sprung up in her bosom, and there would have been no room for the display of private ambition. Her whole glory would have been in her tribunes and on her seats of justice, and all her interests would have constrained the development and perfection of industry. Commerce and agriculture, with the arts, would have become the patrimony of liberty. A single campaign, perhaps, would have taken place in the commencement, which would have fixed the limits of France at the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees. This would have been her only conquest. France would then have been the greatest miracle in civilization; she would have revived the Rome of the Scipios, and the Greece of Miltiades and Leonidas. England would have been merely a manufactory and a counting-house, because France would have become the metropolis of the world. The sentence of death was passed upon France by England, but events seemed to arrest the judgment and to give hopes of its revocation.

"A king does not belong to nature, but only to civilization, and he must march at its head. The ancient crown of the Bourbons was broken, and Louis XVI. brought to the scaffold, because royalty had not kept pace with the progress of civilization. The French people said of Napoleon, 'HE IS OUR KING—the others are THE KINGS OF THE NOBLES.' The confidence of the people constituted his power. The people were right; all



Napoleon's thoughts when on the throne were for France ; all his wishes in exile were for her happiness, and if he gained the affection of the French people, it was because he deserved it, by never promising anything which he did not perform. The first duty of a prince is to fulfil the wishes and meet the expectations of his people, but what the people wish seldom corresponds with what they say ; the wishes and wants of the people are found less in their mouths than in the heart of the prince. Every system may be maintained, that of affability as well as that of severity ; both have their chances of success and their dangers. I often affected severity in order to spare myself the necessity of doing that which policy demanded. The archives of my ministers, those of my cabinet, have fallen into the hands of my most implacable enemies, and what have they found there to impugn my justice, and the rigid probity of my administration ? Nothing. Where is the sovereign who, in my position, in the midst of factions, disturbances and unceasing conspiracies, would have inflicted fewer punishments, or had less recourse to the executioner ? And, notwithstanding, what was the calm which pervaded France on my elevation to the head of affairs as First Consul ! All my disinterestedness and all the inflexibility of my character were absolutely necessary to change the modes of administration and to put an end to that frightful spectacle of demoralization organized in the saloons of Barras, which recalled the monstrous disorders of the times of the regency.

"Immorality is, unquestionably, the worst and most destructive disposition which a sovereign can possess, because it becomes the fashion and a means of success to courtiers, among whom all vices find their natural support ; it poisons the very sources of all virtue, and infects the whole social body like an epidemic. It is, in short, the most dreadful of all national scourges. Public morality, on the contrary is the natural complement of law, and has an especial code of its own. There is no doubt, that revolutions regenerate morals, in the same manner as the richest manure produces the most splendid vegetation.

"The occupation of Amsterdam by our troops, was ordered by me, because of the necessity for shutting all the coasts and the ports of Holland against English commerce. I ordered the French division of our garrison, which was cantoned at Utrecht, to guard the coasts of the Zuyder Zee.

"The king abdicated. If he had had more confidence in me, he would have remained King of Holland ; the Dutch loved him, and justly, and would have preserved him at the peace ; the esteem and love of his people, would have done for him what the treaty of 1813 did for Murat.

"The dangers of France brought back Louis to me ; he came to offer me his services like a good brother and a good Frenchman.

"The expedition against Walcheren and against Antwerp, was the means of proving his worth as a king and as a general. His instantaneous and energetic decision saved Antwerp ; Holland was almost destitute of troops ; all the disposable forces of the Dutch army were on the Elbe. Louis did not hesitate to confide the crown to the patriotism of the Dutch, and he arrived at the head of the royal guards to the assistance of Antwerp ; he had escaped every danger, and had paralysed the English expedition, when Bernadotte arrived there. France will acknowledge, sooner or later, when her hour of reverses shall come, the good conduct of all my brothers. All eagerly advanced to offer for her service their persons and their fortunes ; my sisters even sacrificed with joy their jewels to pay

for the recruiting of the army. Proscription and ruin are the effects of French gratitude at the present day."

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It appears to me that the proper place for the two following letters, is at the end of this dictation; they explain the causes of the bad understanding between the two brothers as sovereigns:

"When your majesty ascended the throne of Holland, one part of the Dutch nation wished for a union with France; the esteem which history made me conceive for this brave nation, made me desirous that it should retain its name, and its independence. I myself framed its constitution, which was to form the foundation of the throne of your majesty, and I placed you on it.

"I cherished the hope that your majesty, educated according to my principles, would have perceived that Holland, which had been conquered by my subjects, and which only owed its existence and independence to their generosity,—that Holland, weak, without allies, without an army, could be and ought to be conquered the very day that she should attempt any direct opposition against France,—that your majesty would not separate your policy from mine,—that Holland, in short, was bound by treaties to me. I had hoped that by placing on her throne a prince of my own blood, I had found the *mezzo termine* which would conciliate the interests of the two states, by uniting them in a common interest, and in a common hatred of England; and I was proud of having given to Holland a government suited to it, as I had given one to Switzerland by my act of mediation. But I have not been slow in perceiving that I deceived myself with vain hopes; my expectations have been disappointed; your majesty has, on ascending the throne of Holland, stretched all the springs of your reason, and tormented the delicacy of your conscience, to persuade yourself that you are Dutch.

"I carry in my heart, and I have raised upon the bayonets of my soldiers, the estimation and honour of the French name too high, for Holland or any one to insult it with impunity.

"Of what do the Dutch complain? Have they not been conquered by our armies? Do they not owe their independence to the generosity of France, which has consequently opened to their commerce its rivers, and its ports, which has only made use of its conquest to protect them, and which has, till this hour, made no other use of its power, than to consolidate their independence?

"You must understand that I do not separate myself from my predecessors, that I consider myself the representative of them all, from Clovis down to the committee of public safety, and that the evil said out of pure gaiety of heart against the governments which preceded me, I consider said with the intention of offending myself. I know that it has become the fashion among certain persons to praise me, and to decry France; but those who do not love France, do not love me, and I consider those my greatest enemies who calumniate my people.

"Your majesty has deceived yourself respecting my character; you have a false idea of my kindness, and of my feelings towards yourself.

"You have disarmed your squadrons, dismissed your sailors, disorgan-

ized your armies, so that Holland is at present without an army and without a fleet, as if magazines, merchandize, and merchants could consolidate one's power: all this constitutes a rich community, but there cannot be a king without means of raising an army, and without a fleet.

"The Dutch merchants have taken advantage of the period when I was engaged on the Continent, to renew their relations with England, and thus to defeat the only means of injuring that nation. I have clearly shown my dissatisfaction at this conduct by closing France against them, and I have given you to understand that without any assistance from my armies, and by merely shutting up the Rhine, the Weser, the Scheldt, and the Meuse, as far as Holland is concerned, I should place her in a more critical position than if I declared war against her, and that I should isolate her in such a manner as to annihilate her utterly.

"This intention was known in Holland; your majesty appealed to my generosity, to my sentiments as a brother, in order to change my intentions; I considered that this hint of my wishes would be sufficient, and removed the prohibition from my custom-houses; but your government has soon returned to its former system.

"All the American vessels which presented themselves at any of the Dutch ports, whilst they were not permitted to enter those of France, have been received by your majesty. I was obliged a second time to close my ports against Dutch traders; certainly I could not well have made a more definite declaration of war. In this state of things, we were at liberty to consider ourselves as really at war. In my address to the legislative body, I partly expressed my dissatisfaction, and I will not conceal from you, that it is my intention to annex Holland to France, as the most dreadful blow I can give to England.

"In fact, the mouth of the Rhine and that of the Meuse ought to belong to us. The principle in France, that the Rhine is our natural limit, is a fundamental principle. Your Majesty writes to me, in your letter of the 17th, that you are certain of being able to hinder all commerce with England; that you can have finances, fleets, and armies; that you will re-establish the privileges of the constitution, by allowing of no principles exclusively belonging to the nobility, by reforming the marshals—a rank which is nothing but a caricature, and which is incompatible with a power of the second rank; finally, that you will command the seizure of the depôts of colonial merchandise, and everything which has arrived in American vessels, and which should not have been permitted to enter the port. My opinion is, that your Majesty is making engagements which you will not be able to fulfil; and that the union of Holland to France is only deferred for a time. I confess that I have no more interest in uniting the right bank of the Rhine with France, than I have in incorporating with it the duchy of Berg or the Hanseatic towns. I have no objection, therefore, to leave Holland in possession of the right bank of the Rhine; and I shall remove the prohibition given to my custom-houses, whenever the existing treaties, which shall be renewed, are fulfilled. These are my demands—

"1. Interdiction of all commerce and of all communication with England.

"2. A fleet of fourteen ships of the line, seven frigates, and seven brigs or corvettes, armed and fully equipped.

"3. An army of 25,000 men.

"4. Suppression of marshals.

“ 5. Destruction of all the privileges of the nobility, contrary to the constitution, which I have given and guaranteed.”

“ Your majesty can negotiate on these principles with the Duke of Cadou, by means of your ministers ; but you may be certain that the first packet, the first vessel of any kind that is introduced into Holland, I shall re-establish the closing of my ports ; that the first insult that is offered to my flag, I shall seize by force, and have hanged at the yard-arm the Dutch officer offering the insult to my Eagle. Your Majesty will find in me a brother, if I find in you a Frenchman upon the throne of Holland ; but if you forget the sentiments which attach you to our common country, you will not be surprised if I also forget those bonds which nature has placed between us. In a word, the union of Holland with France is that which is most useful to France, to Holland, and to the Continent ; for it is what would be most injurious to England. This union may be effected by mutual arrangement, or by force. I have sufficient cause of complaint against Holland to declare war against her ; but I will place no difficulties in the way of any arrangement which will yield to me the boundary of the Rhine, and by which Holland will bind herself to fulfil the conditions above stipulated.

“ Your affectionate brother,

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.

“ Trianon, July 21, 1809.”

“ **MON FRERE**,—I have received your letter of the 16th of May. In the situation in which we are, it is necessary always to speak openly. You know that I have heard of some of your tricks, which were not intended to fall under my eyes. I know your most secret feelings, and everything you can say in contradiction will be of no avail. You need not speak of your feelings, and of your childhood ; experience has taught me how much regard I am to pay to such phrases. Holland is in a disagreeable situation, it is true. I can well understand that you would like to be out of it, but I am surprised at your addressing yourself to me on the subject. I can do nothing in the matter ; it is yourself and yourself alone who can produce any effect. As soon as you conduct yourself in such a manner as to persuade the Dutch *that you act according to my advice*—that all your proceedings, and all your feelings are in accordance with mine, you will be beloved and esteemed, and you will acquire the power necessary to re-constitute Holland. This illusion sustains you somewhat even yet.

“ *Your late journey to Paris*—your return, and that of the Queen, and some other circumstances, have made your people believe that it is still possible you may return to my system and to my opinions ; but you alone can confirm this hope, and destroy every doubt of such a termination. There is not one of your actions which your clumsy Dutchmen do not weigh, as they would weigh matters of credit or of commerce ; they know, therefore, with what they have to do. When, to be a friend of France and of me, is sufficient reason for being in favour at your court, all Holland will perceive this—all Holland will rejoice at it, and will consider this a natural situation ; but all this depends upon yourself, and since your return you have done nothing to forward it. Do you wish to know what will be the result of your conduct ? Your subjects, finding themselves tossed about from France to England, and from England to France, not knowing what hopes to form, what wishes to express, will throw them-

selves into the arms of France, and will loudly demand their union with that country, as a refuge against so much uncertainty. Your government aims at being paternal, and is, in fact, only weak.

"Even in Zealand, where everything is Dutch, the people are content to be united to a great country, in order to be freed from this fluctuation, which they cannot conceive.

"Do not deceive yourself, every one knows that without me there is no credit—that without me you are nothing; if, then, the example that you have had in Paris—if the knowledge of my character, which is, to go straight to my end without allowing myself to be stopped by anything, has not sufficiently enlightened you, what would you have me do? Having possession of the Meuse and of the Rhine, as far as their *embouchure*, I can do without Holland; Holland cannot do without my protection. If, subject to one of my brothers, and only expecting its safety from me, it does not see in you my image; if, when you speak, it is not I who speak, you will destroy your own sovereignty. Do not believe that you can deceive anybody. Do you wish to see the course which good policy recommends to you? Serve France—serve glory; it is the only way to remain King of Holland. Under a king, the Dutch have lost the advantages of a free government; you were, then, for them a harbour of refuge, but you have spoiled this harbour; you have strewn it with reefs, by wishing to be King of Holland before being my brother.

"Do you know why you were a harbour of refuge to the Dutch? It is because you were the pledge of an eternal union between France and Holland, the bond of a community of interest between myself and that country, which had become, by means of you, a part of my empire; a province, moreover, particularly dear to me, because I had given to it a prince who was to me almost as a son. If you had been what you ought to have been, I should take as much interest in Holland as in France; its prosperity would be a matter of as much anxiety to me as that of France.

"If you had understood me, you would be at present king of 6,000,000 of subjects. I should have considered the throne of Holland as a pedestal upon which I should have set up Hamburg, Osnaburg, and a part of the north of Germany: this would have been the kernel of a people which would have assisted in destroying the national feeling of the Germans, which is the principal object of my policy. Far from doing this, however, you have followed a course diametrically opposed to it; I have been compelled to forbid you France, and to take possession of a part of your country.

"You do not say a word in your advices, or inform me of a single circumstance, which is not already known to me, which does not turn to your disadvantage and injure you; for, in the mind of the Dutch, you are a Frenchman, in the midst of them for four years only; they only see in you a representative of me, and the advantage of being freed from all subaltern robbers and agitators, who have harassed them since their conquest. If you wish to make yourself a Dutchman, you would be less to them than a Prince of Orange, to whose race they owe their standing as a nation, and a long course of prosperity and glory. It is proved to Holland that your removal from my policy has caused them to lose advantages which they would not have lost under Schimmelpennynck or a prince of Orange. Be first the brother of the Emperor, and you may be sure that you will be on the road to promote the advantage of Holland. But to what purpose is all this? The die has been cast; you are incorrigible. Already you

are driving out the few French who remain with you ; I can no longer give you counsel or advice, but must make use of threats and force.

“ What is the use of these prayers and mysterious fasts, which you have ordered. Louis, you do not wish to reign long. All your actions reveal, better than your confidential letters, the secret feelings of your soul. Listen to a man who knows more of it than you ; return from your false course, and believe me,

“ Your affectionate brother,

(Signed)

“ NAPOLEON.”

## CHAPTER II.

## SITUATION OF ITALY IN THE SPRING OF THE YEAR 1796.—NEGOTIATION WITH THE REPUBLIC OF GENOA.

"My first acts, as General, after my entrance into Milan, were the pacification and re-organization of Italy.

"The minority of the aristocracy which governed the republic of Genoa, the majority of the third class, and the whole of the population on the shores of the Ponente, were favourable to French ideas. The city of Genoa was the only one in this state which had stability; it was defended by a double circle of fortifications, a great number of cannon, 6000 regular troops, and a national guard amounting to the same number.

"At the first signal from the senate, 30,000 men, collected from the inferior corporations, such as those of the colliers and porters, the peasants of the valleys of the Polcevera, the Besagno, and the Fontana-Bona, were ready to rise in defence of their prince.

"An army of 40,000 men, the whole *equipage de siège*, and two months' labour, would be required in order to take this capital. In 1794, 1795, and the beginning of 1796, the Austro-Sardinian army covered it on the north, and communicated with it by the Bochetta; the French army covered it on the west, and communicated with it by the corniche of Savona. Being thus placed between the two belligerent armies, Genoa was in a position to be equally succoured by both,—she held the balance between them; the one in whose favour she should decide, would gain a great advantage; she was, therefore, in the existing circumstances, of great weight in the affairs of Italy. The Genoese senate felt all the delicacy, and, at the same time, the strength of this position; it availed itself of them to remain neuter, and constantly resisted the offers and threats of the coalition. The commerce of the town became more extensive, and brought immense riches into the republic; but its port had been forcibly entered by the English squadron; the catastrophe of the frigate "La Modeste" had deeply affected every French heart; the convention had dissimulated, but only awaited a favourable opportunity for exacting a signal reparation. Several noble families, who were the most attached to France, had been banished; this was a fresh insult which the government had to redress. After the battle of Loano, in the winter of 1796, the directory thought that the favourable moment for its purpose was now arrived; so much the more so, as the penury which its Italian army was then suffering, made it attach great importance to an extraordinary aid of five or six millions. These negotiations were proceeding at the time when Napoleon was raised to the command of the army; he disapproved of this sordid policy, which could have no success, and the necessary effect of which would be to embitter the minds of the inhabitants of this important capital, and render them unfavourable to the French. 'We must either,' said he, 'scale the ramparts, establish ourselves by a vigorous stroke, and destroy the aristocracy, or

respect the independence of the town, and above all, leave it its money.' A few days afterwards, the enemy having been driven beyond the Po, and the King of Sardinia having laid down his arms, the republic of Genoa was at the mercy of France.

"The directory would have wished to establish a democracy in this state, but the French armies were already on their way from Genoa. The presence, and perhaps the sojourn of a body of 15,000 French soldiers under its walls, would have been necessary to secure the success of such a revolution.

"The march of Wurmser, who was then crossing Germany and entering the Tyrol, was already echoed on all sides. After that time, the defeat of Wurmser, the manœuvres in the Tyrol and among the defiles of the Brenta, and the movements made by Alvinzi for the purpose of relieving Wurmser, who was blockaded in Mantua, rendered it necessary that the army should be concentrated on the Adige; the army had besides nothing to fear from the Genoese—their nobles were divided among themselves, and the people were favourable to the French.

"Girola, the imperial minister, profiting by the absence of the French army, and secretly favoured by the feudatory families, had kindled an insurrection in the imperial fiefs, and had formed bands composed of Piedmontese deserters, of vagabonds left without any employment, in consequence of the disbandment of the light Piedmontese troops, and of Austrian prisoners, who had been carelessly guarded by the French, and had escaped on the march. These bands infested the Appenines, and harassed the rear of the French army. Matters went so far, that in the month of June it was found absolutely necessary to put an end to this state of things; a detachment of 1200 men, and the presence of the general-in-chief at Tortona, sufficed to re-establish order. Napoleon gave instructions to the French minister at Genoa, Faypoult, to commence negotiations, for the purpose of increasing the influence of France with the government, as far as this could be done without rendering the presence of an army necessary. He required—1stly, the expulsion of the Austrian minister, Girola; 2ndly, the expulsion of the feudatory families, conformably to one of the statutes of the republic; and finally, the recall of the banished families.

"These negotiations were drawn out to a great length. While they were going on, five French merchant vessels were carried off from the port of Genoa, without any attempt being made to protect them, although they lay close under the Genoese batteries; the senate, alarmed at the threats of the French agents, sent to Paris the senator, Vincentes Spinola, a man very favourable to France, who, after some negotiation, signed, on the 6th of October, 1796, an agreement with Charles Lacroix, minister of foreign affairs. All the complaints of France against Genoa were sunk in oblivion, and the senate paid a contribution of four millions, and recalled the banished families; France ought, perhaps, to have profited by these favourable circumstances, to bind the republic by an offensive and defensive alliance, to add the imperial fiefs and Massadi Carara to its territories, and to draw from it a contingent of 4000 infantry, 400 cavalry, and 200 artillery. But the utility of this system of alliance with the oligarchs was repugnant to the democrats of Paris.

"By this agreement, however, tranquillity was restored, and lasted till the treaty of Montebello, in 1797; and during the whole time that the French army was in Germany, no cause of complaint arose from the conduct of the people of Genoa.



"The armistice of Cherasco with the King of Sardinia, had isolated the Austrian army, and had given the French an opportunity of expelling it from Italy, investing Mantua, and occupying the line of the Adige.

"The peace concluded at Paris in the month of May following, placed all the fortresses of Piedmont, except Turin, in the power of France. The King of Sardinia thus found himself at the disposal of the republic. His army was reduced to 20,000 men; his paper money threatened the ruin of the private gentry, and of the State; his subjects were malcontent and divided—even French ideas had partisans, though but few. Politic statesmen would have wished to revolutionize Piedmont, in order to leave nothing which might harass the rear of the army, and to increase the means of France against Austria; but it would have been impossible to overthrow the throne of Sardinia, without intervening directly and with imposing forces; while the scenes which were passing before Mantua sufficiently occupied all the republic's Italian troops; and, besides, a revolution in Piedmont might lead to a civil war; it would, in this case, be necessary to leave in Piedmont, for the purpose of keeping it in order, more French troops than could be supplied by Piedmontese levies; and in case of a retreat, the population, which would have been put into a state of excitement, would run into inevitable excesses; and moreover, might not the Kings of Spain and Prussia be alarmed at seeing the French republic, the hater of kings, overthrow with its own hands a prince with whom it had but shortly before signed a treaty of peace? These considerations determined Napoleon to come to the same result by an opposite road—viz., an offensive and defensive alliance with the King of Sardinia; this plan united all advantages, and had no drawback. In the first place, this treaty would in itself be a proclamation which would restrain the malcontents; they would no longer be able to give credit to the protestations of the democrats of the army, who did not fail to promise them the support of France; the country would, therefore, remain quiet; 2ndly, a division of fine old troops, of 10,000 Piedmontese, would reinforce the French army, and would give it fresh chances of success; 3rdly, the example of the court of Turin would have a happy influence on the Venetians, and would contribute towards determining them to seek in an alliance with France, a guarantee for the integrity of their territories, and the maintenance of their constitution; at the same time, the Piedmontese troops which were enrolled in the French army would become imbued with its spirit, and would be attached to the general who should lead them to victory; in any case, they would be hostages placed in the centre of the army, and would be guarantees for the disposition of the Piedmontese, and if it was true that the King of Sardinia could not maintain his position, surrounded as he was by the democratic republics of Liguria, Lombardy, and France, his fall would be the result of the nature of things, and not that of a political act, of a nature to alienate the other allied kings from France.

"The alliance of France with Sardinia," said Napoleon, "resembles a giant embracing a pigmy; if he stifles him, it is against his will, and solely the effect of the extreme difference in their bodily strength."

The directory *would* not understand the wisdom and depth of this policy; it authorized the opening of negotiations, but shackled their conclusion. Monsieur Poussielgue, secretary of legation at Genoa, had conferences at Turin during several months; he found the court disposed to form an alliance with the republic; but this not very skilful negotiator allowed himself to be drawn into granting concessions which were evidently exaggerated;

he promised Lombardy to the King of Sardinia. Now, such a project was not at all to be brought into consideration—to increase this prince's territories, and give him hopes which were never to be realized; he would reap sufficient advantage from the treaty, in a guarantee that his kingdom would be kept entire.

When Mantua opened its gates and Napoleon marched to Tolentino in order to dictate from thence the terms of peace to the Holy See, and afterwards to proceed to Vienna, he fully saw how important it was to bring the affairs of Piedmont to a conclusion, and authorized General Clarke to negotiate with Monsieur de Saint Marson an offensive and defensive alliance; this treaty was signed at Bologna, on the 1st of March, 1797; the King received from the republic the guarantee of his states; he furnished to the French army a contingent of 8000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and twenty pieces of cannon.

The court of Turin, entertaining no doubts of the ratification of a treaty set on foot by the general-in-chief, hastened to assemble its contingent, which would have rejoined the army then in Carinthia; but the Directory hesitated to ratify the treaty, and the contingent remained in Piedmont, cantoned near Novarro, during the whole of the campaign of 1797.

The policy to be pursued towards the Infant, the Duke of Parma, was prescribed by our relations with Spain; an armistice was first granted, on the 9th of May, 1797, and some months afterwards, the Infant signed at Paris his treaty of peace with the republic; but the French minister did not understand how to realize the aim which the general-in-chief had proposed to himself. The success of the French army in Italy had determined the King of Spain to conclude, in the month of August, 1796, an offensive and defensive alliance with the republic; consequently, it would have been easy to persuade the court of Madrid to send a division of 10,000 men to the Po, for the purpose of guarding the Duke of Parma, and, by help of the bait of an addition to the territories of this prince, to have enlisted this division under the French standard. Its presence would have awed Rome and Naples, and would have contributed, in no small degree, to the success of all the military movements; the alliance with Spain having determined the English to evacuate the Mediterranean, the French and Spanish squadrons were masters of it, and this facilitated the movements of the Spanish troops in Italy. The sight of a Spanish division in the ranks of a French army would have a fortunate influence in deciding the senate to form an alliance with France, and this alliance would bring to the army a reinforcement of 10,000 Slavonians.

The armistice of Milan, of the 20th of May, 1796, had suspended the hostilities which had been carried on against the Duke of Modena; the French army was not large, and the space of country which it occupied immense; it would, therefore, have been very unwise to have taken a detachment of two or three battalions from it for a secondary object. The armistice with Modena placed all the resources of that duchy at the disposal of the army, and did not require the employment of any troops for the maintenance of the public tranquillity. Commander d'Este, furnished with powers from the Duke, commenced at Paris, negotiations for a definitive peace; the French ministry acted wisely, and did not hasten to come to any conclusion. The Duke, who was entirely devoted to the Austrians, had retired to Venice, and the regency which governed his states had sent several convoys of provisions into Mantua, at the moment when the blockade was raised at the end of August and the beginning of September; as soon as the general-

in-chief was informed of this direct violation of the armistice, he complained of it to the regency, who vainly attempted to justify itself on the ground of the existence of former treaties. In the meantime, however, a detachment of the garrison of Mantua, which had passed the Po at Borgo-forte, was intercepted; it marched to Reggio on the 20th of October, intending to proceed to Tuscany; the inhabitants of Reggio closed the gates of their town; the detachment then took refuge in the fort of Monte-Cherisio, where the patriots surrounded it, and forced the soldiers to lay down their arms: two Reggians were killed in the struggle; they were the first Italians who sealed the liberty of their country with their blood. The prisoners were conducted to Milan by a detachment of the national guard of Reggio, and were received there in triumph by the congress of Lombardy, the national guard, and the general-in-chief; and this event was the subject of several civic fêtes which contributed to excite the imaginations of the Italians. Reggio proclaimed its liberty; the people of Modena wished to do the same, but were restrained by the garrison; in this state of things, there was but one plan of action to be pursued. The general-in-chief declared that the armistice of Milan had been violated by the regency in re-victualling Mantua; he sent garrisons to the fortresses of the three duchies of Reggio, Modena, and Mirandola; and, in virtue of his right of conquest, proclaimed their independence. This revolution ameliorated the position of the army, as a provisional government, entirely devoted to the French cause, was now substituted for the former unfriendly regency; national guards, composed of warm patriots, were formed in every duchy. Hostilities with Rome having been suspended by the armistice of Bologna, June 23rd, 1796, the papal court sent Monsignor Pétrarchi to Paris. After passing some weeks in conferences, Pétrarchi sent to Rome a prospectus of the treaty proposed by the directory. The assembly of cardinals gave their opinion that it contained things contrary to the faith, and was not admissible; Pétrarchi was recalled. In September, the negotiations were recommenced at Florence; the government commissioners then with the army were invested with the powers of the directory. After one or two conferences, the commissioners presented to Monsignor Galeppi, plenipotentiary of the pope, a treaty of sixty articles, as a *sine quâ non*, declaring that they could make no change in any part of it.

The cardinals decided that this treaty also contained things contrary to the faith; and the negotiations were broken off, on the 25th of September. The court of Rome, no longer doubting that France was bent upon its destruction, gave itself up to despair, and resolved to ally itself exclusively with the court of Vienna. It began by suspending the execution of the armistice of Bologna; it had still to pay sixteen millions, which were now on the way to Bologna, where they were to be paid into the treasury of the army; these convoys of money returned to Rome; their re-entrance was a triumph. Monsignor Albani set out on the 6th of October for Vienna, there to solicit the support of the Austrian government; the Roman princes offered patriotic gifts and levied regiments, and the pope issued proclamations for the purpose of kindling the holy war.

All the efforts of the court of Rome were calculated to be able to raise an army of 10,000 men, of the most miserable troops possible; but it counted on the assistance of the King of Naples, who secretly engaged to support it with an army of 30,000 men; and although the inimical disposition and bad faith of the Neapolitan cabinet were well known at the Vatican, the pope still invoked its aid.

"Any means are welcome to them in their delirium," wrote the minister Cacault; "they would cling to red-hot iron." This state of affairs had a vexatious effect on the whole of Italy. Napoleon was in sufficiently embarrassing circumstances without this fresh addition; he was already menaced by Alvinzi, whose troops were being collected in the Tyrol and on the Piave; he reproached the French ministry for having left him ignorant of negotiations which he alone could direct. Had he been entrusted with their direction, as he ought to have been, he would have delayed the overture for two or three weeks, in order to have received the sixteen millions owed by the Holy See, in fulfilment of the armistice of Bologna. He would not have allowed spiritual and temporal affairs to have been brought forward at the same time in the treaty; for, let the latter, which formed the essential part of it, once be arranged, a few months delay in coming to an understanding concerning the former, would have been indifferent; but the mischief was done, and the French government, which now perceived it, invested him with the authority necessary to remedy it, if this should be possible. The essential thing was, to gain time, to calm the passions which had been roused, to restore confidence, and to restrain within bounds the alarmed spirits of the Vatican. He commissioned M. Cacault, the French agent at Rome, to disavow, confidentially, all the spiritual matter contained in the negotiations of Paris and Florence; and to inform the papal see that Napoleon was now charged with the negotiation, and that it would no longer have to do either with the directory or the commissioners, but with him. These overtures produced a good effect. In order the more to strike the minds of the people, the general went to Ferrara, on the 21st of October, drove to the house of Cardinal Mattei, archbishop of that city, and had several conferences with him; he convinced him of his pacific intentions, and sent him to Rome with a direct message of peace to the pope. The hopes to which the army of Alvinzi had given rise in Italy, were, a few days afterwards, extinguished by the battle of Arcola. Napoleon thought this a favourable moment for terminating the affairs of Rome; he went to Bologna with 1500 French troops and 4000 Cispadans and Lombards, and threatened to march against Rome; but this time the papal see laughed at his menaces, it was negotiating a treaty through its minister at Vienna, and knew that two fresh and large armies were advancing into Italy; the cardinal and the Austrian minister at Rome said, haughtily—"Should it be necessary, the pope will evacuate Rome; for the further the French general removes his army from the Adige, the nearer we shall be to our safety." And, in fact, Napoleon, being a few days afterwards informed of Alvinzi's movements, recrossed the Po and marched quickly to Verona. But the battle of Rivoli, fought in the month of January, 1797, destroyed for ever the hopes of the enemies of France. Mantua shortly after opened its gates—the moment for chastising Rome had arrived; a small Gallo-Italian army marched to the Appenines. All the difficulties between France and the papal see were settled by the treaty of Tolentino, as will be seen in the next chapter.

The Grand Duke of Tuscany was the first prince in Europe who acknowledged the French republic. At the time when the French army invaded Italy, he was at peace with France, his states, which lay beyond the Appenines, exercised no influence on the theatre of the war. It is true, that after the investiture of Mantua, a French brigade marched upon Livorno, but this was only for the purpose of expelling English commerce from it, and facilitating the deliverance of Corsica; in every other affair,

the States of Tuscany were respected. The garrison of Livorno was never above 1800 men; it was doubtless a sacrifice to employ three battalions for a secondary object; but the soldiers employed in this service were those of the 57th half brigade, who had suffered much, and needed repose.

Manfredini, the prime minister of the grand duke, showed skill and activity in removing any obstacles which might injure his master, and to him the duke owed the preservation of his states. Three or four agreements of slight importance were signed between the French general and the Marquis Manfredini; by the last, signed at Bologna, it was agreed that the French garrison should evacuate Livorno; on this occasion the grand duke, in order to liquidate old accounts, put two millions into the treasury of the army. On the conclusion of the peace of Campo-Formio, this prince preserved his states entire; he had experienced some annoyance, but nothing more; during the Italian war, no injury was done to him, partly out of respect for existing treaties, and partly on account of the desire entertained by France to soften the animosity with which the house of Lorraine was animated against the republic, and to detach it from England. When the French army had reached the Adige, and central and lower Italy thus found themselves cut off from Germany, Prince Pignatelli came to head-quarters, and demanded and obtained for the King of Naples an armistice, which was signed on the 5th of June, 1796. The division of Neapolitan cavalry, consisting of 2400 horsemen, which formed a part of Beaulieu's army, went into cantonment around Brescia, in the centre of the French army. A Neapolitan plenipotentiary was dispatched to Paris, with powers to negotiate and sign a definitive treaty of peace with the republic; this treaty met with difficulties from the ill-timed cavils which were carried on at Paris, and from the effects of the constant and well-known bad faith of the court of the two Sicilies. The directory should have thought itself only too happy in being able to make peace with the King of Naples, since this prince had 60,000 men under arms, and had from 25 to 30,000 men at his disposal to send to the Po. Napoleon incessantly urged the conclusion of this treaty. The French minister of foreign affairs demanded from Naples a contribution of some millions, which that government refused, and with justice, to pay; but in the month of September, when it was acknowledged by all parties that the alliance of Spain with France, and the deliverance of Corsica from the English yoke, had determined the cabinet of St. James's to recall its squadrons from the Mediterranean, thus leaving that sea and the Adriatic in the power of the French squadrons, the court of Naples, alarmed at these events, subscribed to all the demands made by the directory, and the peace was signed on the 8th of October.

But the hatred and bad faith of this cabinet, and its little respect for its signature and its treaties, were such, that it continued, long after the peace had been signed, to harass Italy by the movement of troops on its frontiers, and by menaces of attack; conducting itself, in fact, just as if it had been in a state of war. It would be difficult to express the indignation excited by this want of all shame and respect, which finally brought on the ruin of this cabinet. In the beginning of September, when the French armies of the Rhine, Sambre, and Meuse, were still in Germany, the French government instructed Napoleon to write to the Emperor, threatening that if he would not consent to peace, the French armies would destroy his maritime establishments at Fiume and Trieste. Nothing was to be hoped from so inexpedient a step. Afterwards, when the armies of the

Sambre, Meuse, and Rhine had been thrown back into France, and the bridge-entrances of Kehl and Honingen were besieged, Moreau proposed an armistice, which the arch-duke refused, declaring that he intended to get possession of both; but as Marshal Wurmsur, with nearly 30,000 Austrians, was blockaded in Mantua, and as Alvinzi's efforts to relieve him had just been defeated at Arcola, the directory conceived the hope of obtaining the acceptance of a general armistice, which would preserve Honingen and Kehl to France, and Mantua to Austria. In consequence of this project, General Clarke received the necessary powers, and went to Vienna to propose this armistice, which was to last till the month of June, 1797; the sieges of Kehl and Honingen were to be raised, and the *statu quo* established, as regarded Mantua; Austrian and French commissaries were to send into the town the provisions necessary for the inhabitants and troops. General Clarke arrived at Milan on the 1st of December, in order to arrange matters with the general-in-chief, who was commissioned to take the necessary steps in order to obtain for the plenipotentiary all the passports which he needed. Napoleon said to him—"The sieges of Kehl and Honingen are easy to raise; the arch-duke has but 40,000 men before Kehl; let Moreau sally out at break of day from his entrenched camp with 60,000 men, defeat him, take his artillery and provisions, and destroy all his works; and besides, Kehl and Honingen are not equal in value to Mantua; there would be no means of feeding the number of inhabitants—men, women, and children—not even that of the garrison. Marshal Wurmsur, by reducing all the inhabitants to half rations, would in six months save enough to live on for another six; if the government propose that this armistice shall serve as an opportunity for commencing negotiations for peace, this is an additional reason for not proposing it as long as Mantua remains in the power of the Austrians; we ought to gain a battle under the walls of Kehl, and await the surrender of Mantua, before offering an armistice and peace." The orders of the government were, however, decisive: General Clarke wrote to the Emperor, and sent him a letter from the directory. In consequence of this proceeding, Baron Vincent, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and General Clarke, met at Vicenza, on the 3d of January; they had two conferences there. Baron Vincent declared that the Emperor could not receive at Vienna the plenipotentiaries of a republic which he did not acknowledge; that, moreover, he could not detach himself from his allies; and that, finally, if the French minister had any communications to make, he might address himself to Monsieur Giraldis, the Austrian minister at Turin. Thus, this disastrous idea of an armistice was happily eluded by the enemy. The French minister had scarcely returned to the Adige, when Alvinzi began manœuvring to relieve Mantua; this gave rise to the battles of Rivoli and La Favorite, as will be seen in the account of the Italian wars.

The cabinet of Luxembourg, however, saw in this answer of Baron Vincent's, it knew not why, an open tendency towards negotiations, and during the month of January, 1797, it addressed to General Clarke instructions for negotiating a peace, which he was authorized to sign—on condition, 1stly, that the Emperor should renounce Belgium, and the province of Luxembourg; 2ndly, that he should acknowledge to the republic the cession of Liege and other small enclosures of principalities which had been made; 3rdly, that he should use his influence in order to give to the stadtholder an indemnity in Germany; 4thly, that the republic, on its part, should restore to Austria all its Italian states; these conditions did not obtain the appro-

bation of Napoleon, who thought that the republic had a right to require the limits of the Rhine, and a state in Italy, which might nourish French influence, and keep the republic of Genoa, the King of Sardinia, and the Pope, in their state of dependence, for Italy could no longer be considered as it was before the war; if the French ever repassed the Alps, without leaving a powerful auxiliary in Italy, the aristocracies of Genoa and Venice, and the King of Sardinia, influenced by the necessity of securing their interior existence against democratic and popular ideas would attach themselves to Austria by indissoluble bonds. Venice, which, for a century past, had had no influence in the balance of Europe, enlightened now by an experience of the dangers she had just seen, would have energy, money, and armies, to reinforce the Emperor, and repress the ideas of liberty and independence which were nourished on the main land. Pontiffs, kings, and nobles, would unite in defending their privileges, and closing the Alps against modern ideas.

Three months afterwards, Napoleon signed the preliminaries of peace on the basis of the limits of the Rhine; that is to say, with an acquisition to the republic of the fortress of Mayence, and a population of 1,500,000 persons over and above what the directory required, and the existence of one or two democratic republics in Italy, which communicated with Switzerland, forming a line across the whole of Italy from north to south, from the Alps to the Po, surrounding the King of Sardinia, and covering, along the line of the Po, the centre and south of Italy.

In case of need, the French armies, pouring in through Genoa, Parma, Modena, and Bologna, might appear suddenly on the Piave, having passed the Mincio, Mantua, and the Adige. Genoa, this republic of 3,000,000 inhabitants, would secure the French influence over the 3,000,000 inhabitants of the kingdom of Sardinia, and the 3,000,000 of the states of the church and Tuscany, and even over the kingdom of Naples.

The course of conduct to be pursued towards the people of Lombardy was a delicate matter; France was willing to conclude a peace as soon as the Emperor should renounce Belgium and Luxembourg. No engagements could, therefore, be contracted; no guarantee given, which was contrary to these secret arrangements of the cabinet. On the other hand, all the expenses of the army had to be borne by the country, and they not only absorbed the revenues, but gave rise to an overplus of charges, greater or smaller in proportion to the number of troops which were quartered in different places. In France, the system of indirect taxation had been suppressed. The system of contributions was very insufficient; the treasury was not under proper control; everything was conducted in an irregular, corrupt, and unskilful manner; all the wants of the army were left unprovided for; it was necessary to supply them by contributions raised in Italy; considerable sums were sent from thence to aid the armies of the Rhine, the squadrons of Toulon and Brest, and even the administration of Paris.

In the meantime it became essential to counterbalance in Italy the influence of the Austrian party, which was composed of the nobility, and a part of the clergy, on whom the influence of Rome acted with more or less success. Napoleon supported the party which wished for the independence of Italy, yet without compromising himself; and in spite of the critical state of the times, he gained over the opinion of the majority of the nation. He not only had a great respect for religion, but he neglected nothing which was likely to conciliate the minds of the clergy. He made

use, at the right moment, of the talismanic words, *liberty and national independence*, which, since the times of Rome, have never ceased to be dear to the Italians. He confided the administration of the provinces, towns, and communes, to the inhabitants, by choosing from among them such men as were most to be recommended, and who enjoyed the greatest proportion of popular favour; he appointed, as police, the national guards, who were levied throughout the whole of Lombardy, in imitation of those of France, under the Italian colours—red, white, and green.

Milan had been attached to the Guelph party, and such was still the general tendency of the inhabitants. The patriot-party was daily increasing in number; French ideas were daily making fresh progress, and the state of the public mind, after the entire defeat of Wurmser, was such, that the general-in-chief authorized the Lombard congress to make a levy of a legion of 3000 men. In the course of November, the polish generals, Zayonyerk and Dombrowski, hastened from Poland with a great number of their officers, to offer their services to Italy; the congress was authorized to levy a legion of 3000 Poles. These troops were not brought forward against the Austrians, but served to maintain public tranquillity, and to restrain the pope's army. When difficult circumstances determined the general-in-chief to proclaim the Cispadan republic, the Lombard congress was greatly alarmed, but it was soon made evident that this was the effect of the difference of circumstances. The army's line of operations did not pass through the Cispadan territories; and, in short, it was not difficult to convince the most enlightened members of the assembly, that, even were it true that this proceeding originated in the desire felt by the French government not to enter into engagements which the issue of the war might not enable it to fulfil, this ought not to be any cause of alarm; for that, in fine, it was evident that the fate of the French party in Italy depended on the hazards of the battle-field; and that, moreover, the guarantee which France henceforth gave to the Cispadan republic, was equally favourable to them; since, if circumstances should one day oblige the French to consent to the return of the Austrians into Lombardy, the Cispadan republic would then be a place of refuge for the Lombards, and a central point where the flame of Italian liberty might be preserved and cherished.

Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, embraced the whole extent of the country, from the Adriatic to the states of Parma, by which they were joined to the republic of Genoa, and through this to France.

If the French government thought it should be obliged to restore Lombardy to Austria in order to facilitate peace, it felt so much the more strongly the importance of preserving, on the right shore of the Po, a democratic republic, over which the house of Austria could establish neither right nor claim.

These four states preserved, for several months, their independence, under the government of their municipality; a junto of general safety, composed of the Capratas, &c. &c., was organized for the purpose of concerting means of defence, and restraining the malcontents. A congress, composed of a hundred deputies, assembled at Modena during the month of November; the Lombard colours were there declared to be the colours of Italy; some bases of a government were decreed—viz., the suppression of feudality and the equality of the rights of man; these small republics formed a confederation for the common defence, and united to raise an Italian legion, containing 3000 men. The congress was composed of per-



sons of all ranks : cardinals, nobles, merchants, lawyers, and men of letters. Insensibly, ideas became more enlarged, the press more free, and at length, in the beginning of January, 1797, after some resistance, the spirit of locality was conquered ; these different republics united themselves into one, under the name of the Cispadan republic, of which Bologna was declared the capital, and adopted a representative constitution. The counter-blow of this event made itself felt at Rome.

The organization and disposition of these new republicans formed an efficacious barrier against the spirit which was being propagated by the Holy See, and against the troops which it was collecting in Romagna. The Lombard congress formed a close alliance with the Cispadan republic, which thenceforth attracted the eyes of all Italy. Of all the cities of Italy, Bologna is the one which has constantly exhibited the greatest degree of energy and of true enlightenment. In February, 1797, after the peace of Tolentino, Romagna having been ceded by the pope, was naturally joined to the Cispadan republic, and increased its population to nearly two millions. Such was the state of Italy at the end of the year 1796, and the spring of 1797, when the French army resolved to cross the Julian Alps, and march against Vienna.

## CHAPTER III.

## TOLENTINO.

CARDINAL BUSCA had, six months before, succeeded Cardinal Zelada in the office of secretary of state in Rome. He had broken with France, and openly formed a connexion with Austria, and laboured with more zeal than success in the attempt to form a respectable army. He was anxious to restore those times when the pontifical armies decided the fate of the Peninsula. He had contrived to stimulate the Roman nobles to such a degree, that, with greater emphasis than sincerity, they offered to provide regiments fully equipped, horses, and armies. The cardinal had great confidence in the attachment of the Italians to their religion, and in the naturally warlike spirit of the people of the Apennines. Napoleon had dissembled amid many outrages, and many insults; but the fall of Mantua placed him in a situation to take a splendid vengeance.

On the 10th of January, 1797, a courier sent with despatches from Cardinal Busca to Monsignor Albani, *chargé d'affaires* at Vienna, was intercepted near Mezzolo, and the whole policy of the Roman Government was unveiled. The contents of these despatches were as follow: "That the French were desirous of peace, and even solicited it with importunity; but that he would obstruct and prolong its conclusion, because the Pope had determined to trust entirely to the fortune of the house of Austria; that the conditions of the armistice of Bologna neither had been nor would be executed, notwithstanding the loud complaints of Cacault, the French minister; that fresh troops were in the course of being levied with activity in the states of the church; that his holiness accepted General Colli, whom the court of Vienna proposed, as the commander of the papal armies; that it was necessary for this general to bring with him a good number of officers, especially of engineers and artillery; that orders had been given at Ancona for their reception; that he was sorry to see that Colli would be obliged to come to an understanding with Alvinzi, with whose manoeuvres he was dissatisfied; and that it would be well for him to go and review the Pope's troops in Romagna, before coming to Rome."

A courier was instantly dispatched to Cacault, the French minister, with orders to leave Rome "for several months." Napoleon wrote to him: "They have loaded you with humiliations, and have had recourse to all possible means to lead you to depart from Rome. Now, resist all their urgent solicitations to induce you to remain; set out immediately on the receipt of this letter."

Cacault wrote to Cardinal Busca, secretary of state, in the following terms: "I have been recalled by my government, and am obliged to set out this evening for Florence, of which I have the honour to give your eminence due notice, and subscribe myself," &c.

Busca kept up the game till the very last, and replied: "Cardinal Busca was far from expecting to receive such news as that which the honour-

able Monsieur Cacault has just communicated to him. His sudden departure for Florence does not allow Cardinal Busca to do more, than assure him of his profound esteem."

At the same moment, General Victor crossed the Po at Borgo-Forte, at the head of 4000 infantry, and 600 horse, and formed a junction at Bologna with the Italian division of 4000 men under General Lahoz. These 9000 men were quite sufficient to conquer the states of the church.

A few days afterwards, Napoleon went to Bologna, and published a manifesto in the following terms:

"Art. 1. The Holy See has formally refused Articles 8 and 9 of the Armistice concluded at Bologna, on the 20th of June, under the mediation of Spain, and solemnly ratified at Rome, on the 27th of the same month.

"2. The Roman government has never ceased to arm and excite the people to war, by means of manifestoes; it has caused the territory of Bologna to be violated; its troops have advanced to within ten miles of that city, and threatened to occupy it.

"3. His holiness has entered into negotiations with the court of Vienna, hostile to France, as is proved by the letters of Cardinal Busca, and the mission of Bishop Albani to Vienna.

"4. He has confided the command of his troops to Austrian generals and officers, recommended and sent by the court of Vienna.

"5. He has refused to give any reply to the official notes addressed to the Roman government by citizen Cacault, minister of the French republic, with a view of opening negotiations for a peace.

"6. The treaty of armistice has therefore been broken and infringed by the Holy See, in consequence whereof, I hereby declare the armistice concluded between the court of Rome and the French republic on the 20th of June, to be at an end."

In support of this manifesto, Cardinal Busca's intercepted letters were published, and many other documents might have been added, but these letters revealed the whole.

Cardinal Mattei, after having been three months in a college at Brescia, had obtained permission to return to Rome. Availing himself of the opportunity which he had had of knowing the general, he had written to him several times, and the latter profited by the circumstance to forward to this Cardinal in Rome the intercepted letters of Cardinal Busca. The reading of these communications filled the whole of the sacred college with confusion, and effectually closed the mouths of that minister's partisans.

On the 2nd of February, head quarters were established at Imola, in the palace of Bishop Cheramonte, afterwards Pope Pius VII. On the 3rd, the small French army arrived at Castel-Bolognese, in presence of the Pope's army, which was drawn up in position on the right bank of the Senio, in order to dispute the passage of the bridge. This army was composed of from 6 to 7000 regular troops, or peasants collected by the tocsin, commanded by monks, and inspired with fanaticism by the preachers and missionaries. It had eight pieces of cannon. The day's march had been long, and as the French were placing their guards, the bearer of a flag of truce presented himself in a burlesque manner, and declared, on behalf of his eminence, the cardinal-in-chief, that if the French army continued to advance, he would fire upon them. This terrible menace caused a fit of hearty laughter. An answer was returned, that there was no desire to expose the French army to the cardinal's fire, and that the army was only

taking up its position for the night. Cardinal Busca, however, had succeeded in his expectations. Romagna was on fire, a holy war had been proclaimed; the tocsin had never ceased for three days, and the lowest classes of the people were in a state of frenzy and madness. The forty hours' prayers, missions in the public places, indulgences, and even miracles, had all been put in requisition. Here were martyrs, whose wounds had bled; there Madonnas which had shed tears; everything announced a fire ready to consume that beautiful province. Cardinal Busca had said to Cacaault, the French minister: "We shall make a Vendée of the Romagna; we shall make one of the high lands of Liguria; we shall make one of all Italy."

The following proclamation was posted at Imola—"The French army is about to enter the Pope's territories. It will be faithful to the maxims which it professes; it will protect religion and the people.

"The French soldier carries in one hand the bayonet as a guarantee of victory; in the other, the olive branch as a symbol of peace, and the pledge of protection. Woe to those, who, seduced by profoundly hypocritical men, shall draw down upon themselves and their houses, the vengeance of an army, which, in six months, has made prisoners of 100,000 of the Emperor's best troops, taken 400 pieces of cannon, 110 stand of colours, and destroyed five armies."

At four o'clock in the morning, General Lannes, commanding the advanced guard of the small French army, ascended the Senio for a league and a half, passed the river at a ford at daybreak, and formed in order of battle in the rear of the Pope's forces, cutting off their retreat to Faenza.

General Lahoz, supported by a battery, and covered by a line of sharpshooters, passed the bridge in close column. In a moment, the whole of the armed multitude were in disorder, the artillery and baggage were taken, and between 4 and 5000 cut down. A few monks, chiefly of the mendicant orders, fell with crucifixes in their hands—almost all the troops of the line were taken prisoners. The cardinal-general made his escape. The battle did not last an hour, and the loss, on the part of the French, was very small. On the same day they arrived at Faenza, where they found the gates shut and the tocsin ringing; the ramparts were mounted by a few pieces of cannon, and the people in their fury provoked their conquerors by every species of insult. On being summoned to open their gates, an insolent reply was returned from the town.

It became, therefore, necessary to break them down and to enter by main force. "The case is the same as that of Pavia!" cried the soldiers—which was a request to be allowed to pillage. "No," replied Napoleon; "at Pavia, the people, after having taken an oath of obedience, revolted, and attempted to murder our soldiers who were their guests. These people are only mad, and must be subdued by clemency." A few convents only were maltreated. This interesting town being saved from its own madness, the French next proceeded to deliver the province. Agents were sent throughout the country to enlighten the minds of the people, and to calm their agitation and frenzy which were extreme; the most effectual means, however, was the restoration of the prisoners of war.

The prisoners taken at the battle of the Senio were collected in the garden of one of the convents in Faenza. The first moments of terror still continued, and the prisoners, in fear of losing their lives, fell on their knees, and begged for mercy with loud cries, on the approach of Napoleon. He addressed them in Italian, and said: "I am the friend of the whole people

of Italy, and particularly of those of Rome. I come among you for your good—you are free; return to the bosom of your families, and tell them that the French are friends of religion, of order, and of poor people." Joy succeeded consternation—the unfortunate prisoners gave way to their feelings of gratitude with all that vivacity which belongs to the Italian character.

From the garden, Napoleon went to the refectory, where the officers were assembled, of whom there were several hundreds, and among them some members of the best families of Rome. He conversed with them for a long time, spoke of the liberty of Italy—of the abuses of the pontifical government—of those who acted in opposition to the spirit of the gospel, and of the folly of attempting to resist a victorious and well-disciplined army, which had seen so much service. He gave them permission to return to their respective homes, and, as the price of his clemency, he requested them to make known the sentiments with which he was animated towards the whole people of Italy, and especially towards the people of Rome. These prisoners became so many missionaries, who spread themselves over all the states of the church, and never ceased to pour out eulogies upon the good treatment which they had experienced. They carried with them proclamations, which by these means reached the most remote villages in the Apennines. The plan was successful, the public mind underwent a complete change, and when the army arrived successively at Forlì, Casano, Rimini, Pegaro, and Sinigaglia, the people showed themselves most favourably disposed. They had passed from one extreme to another, and now received, with every demonstration of joy, those Frenchmen whom a few days before they had been taught to consider, and did consider, as the enemies of their religion, property and laws. The monks themselves, with the exception of the mendicant orders, calculating on the interest which they had really at stake, seriously applied themselves to the task of informing the masses respecting the real state of the question. There were among them many men of real merit, who were groaning under the follies of the government.

Colli, who was at the head of the Pope's army, had commanded the Piedmontese forces at Mondovì and Cherasco; he knew whom he had to deal with; and on this occasion he chose an excellent position on the heights in advance of Ancona, and there formed a camp with the 3,000 men who remained with him. But under various pretexts, he and his Austrian officers retired to Loreto as soon as the French army appeared. The position occupied by the Romans was excellent. General Victor dispatched an officer with a flag of truce, to summon them to submit, and whilst the conferences were taking place with this view, the French and Italian troops extended their line to the right and left, surrounded them, took them prisoners without firing a shot, and entered the citadel without resistance.

The same course was pursued respecting the prisoners, as had been adopted in the case of those taken at the battle of the Senio; they were sent home, well supplied with proclamations, and formed a body of new missionaries, who preceded the march of the army. Ancona is the only port in the Adriatic between Venice and Brindisi, which is at the extremity of the most easterly point of Italy; but it was then in such a neglected condition, that even frigates could not enter the harbour. It was on this occasion that Napoleon perceived what was necessary to be done to fortify the place and improve the port. Great works were executed at Ancona, during the existence of the kingdom of Italy; and now, ships of any size, even three-

deckers, can enter the harbour with safety. The Jews, who are very numerous in Ancona, as well as the Mahometans of Albania and Greece, were there subjected to ancient and humiliating restrictions, only fit for a barbarous age. One of the first acts of the Emperor was to strike off their bonds and set them free. In spite, however, of the presence of the army, the people ran in crowds to throw themselves at the feet of a Madonna which shed tears. Some sensible citizens gave intelligence of this proceeding, and Mœnge was sent thither. He reported that in reality the Madonna did weep. The chapter was ordered to bring her to head quarters, and it was discovered that the whole was an optical illusion, very skilfully managed by the assistance of a glass. The next day the Madonna was replaced in the church, but without the glass; she wept no more. A chaplain, who had been guilty of this piece of knavery, was arrested. It was regarded both as an offence against the army, and a means of bringing religion into contempt.

On the 10th the army encamped at the church of our lady of Loretto. This is a bishop's see, and the seat of a magnificent convent; the church and the buildings are splendid. There are immense and beautifully furnished apartments for the treasures of the Madonna, and the lodgings of the clergy, the chapter, and the pilgrims. The church contains the *casa-santo*, or dwelling of the Virgin at Nazareth, the very place in which she was visited by the angel Gabriel. This dwelling consists of a small house, of ten or twelve yards square, in which there is a Madonna placed under a canopy. The legend says, that angels carried it from Nazareth to Dalmatia, when the infidels overran Syria, and thence across the Adriatic to the summits of Loretto. The shrine of the Virgin is visited by pilgrims from all parts of Christendom. Presents, consisting of diamonds and all sorts of precious stones and metals, sent from various countries, formed her treasury, which amounted to many millions. The court of Rome no sooner knew of the approach of the French army, than they ordered all the treasures of Loretto to be packed up and placed beyond the reach of danger; above a million, however, was still found in gold and silver. The Madonna itself was sent to Paris and deposited in the national library, where it was to be seen for many years. It was a statue very rudely carved, which was a proof of its antiquity. The first consul restored this relic to the Pope on the conclusion of the concordat, and it has been replaced in the *Casa-Santa*.

Several thousand French priests, who had left their country, were now sojourning in Italy; and, in proportion as the French army advanced into the Peninsula, the tide was rolled back upon Rome. As soon, however, as the army entered the papal states, they found themselves deprived of further means of retreat or refuge. Some of the more timid had crossed the Adige in good time, and returned into Germany, for Naples had refused them an asylum. The heads of the different convents, on whose resources they were a heavy burden, seized upon the pretext of the arrival of the army, and affected to fear that the presence of the French priests would draw down the vengeance of the conqueror upon their convents, and they drove away these unfortunate men. Napoleon made a decree, and issued a proclamation, in which he relieved the apprehensions of the French priests, and commanded the convents, bishops, and chapters, to receive them, and to furnish them with everything necessary for their support and comfort. He prescribed to them the duty of looking upon those priests as friends and countrymen, and ordered them to receive and treat them as such. The whole army became animated by the same feelings, and this led to a great

number of very affecting scenes; many of the soldiers recognised their old pastors, and these unfortunate old men, living in exile many hundred leagues from their own country, received for the first time, marks of respect and affection from their countrymen, who, until then, had treated them as enemies and criminals. The news of this measure was spread abroad throughout the whole of Christendom, and especially in France. Some critics were unfavourable to this policy, but their views were stifled by the feeling of general approbation, and especially by that of the directory.

In the meantime, consternation reigned in the Vatican. One piece of bad news rapidly succeeded another. The government first learned that the papal army, on which they had placed such confidence, had been completely destroyed, without having opposed the slightest resistance. The couriers, who afterwards arrived, bringing intelligence of the arrival of the French in the various cities, made them acquainted with the complete change of opinion which had taken place in the public mind, and informed them that sentiments of friendship and a desire for liberty had taken the place of hatred and fanaticism. Busca soon became convinced that a *Vendée* was not a thing to be created at pleasure; that if extraordinary circumstances do create it, nothing but grave faults can give it consistency and duration. It was soon known that the French army had taken possession of Ancona, Loretto, and Macerata, and that the advanced guard was already on the summits of the Apennines. "The French do not march," said the prelates; "they run."

In the meantime, the officers and soldiers who had been taken prisoners and sent home from Faenza and Ancona, diffused the feelings of confidence, by which they themselves were animated, throughout all the quarters of Rome. The partisans of liberty raised their heads, and showed themselves openly in the city itself. The members of the sacred college, no longer seeing any ground of hope, began to think of their own safety. All the necessary preparations were made for their departure to Naples. The carriages of the court were ready, when the general of the *Camaldules* arrived at the Vatican, and prostrated himself at the feet of the holy father. On passing through Casena, Napoleon had recognized him, and, knowing the confidence which Pius VI. had in this monk, he commissioned him to go and assure his holiness that his life was not in danger, that the French general would respect his person and office—that he might remain in Rome—that he would only have to change his cabinet and to send plenipotentiaries, with full powers, to Tolentino, to conclude and sign a definitive peace with the republic. The general of the *Camaldules* acquitted himself of his mission with success; the Pope took confidence, dismissed the ridiculous Busca, and called Doria to the head of affairs, who was well known for the judicious moderation of his opinions. He further countermanded his departure from Rome, and named plenipotentiaries to conclude and sign a definitive peace.

The instructions of the directory were opposed to all negotiations with Rome. The members were of opinion that the time was come to put an end to the temporal reign of the Pope, and to have no more trouble on that score; that it would be impossible to find any occasion on which the court of Rome should be more obviously in the wrong; and that it was nothing less than folly to think of a sincere peace with a set of theologians, who were so strenuously opposed to those principles on which the new republics were founded. Undoubtedly, the temporal power of the Pope appeared incompatible with the prosperity of Italy. Experience had proved, that

neither moderation nor good faith was to be expected from that court; but Napoleon was of opinion, that he could neither revolutionize Rome, nor unite its territory to the transpadane republic, without marching upon Naples and overthrowing its throne. In Naples, the liberal party was numerous enough to give considerable disquiet to the court, but too weak to offer effectual assistance to the French army. The court of Naples felt that a revolution in Rome would be the forerunner of its fall. In order, however, to undertake an expedition against Naples, an army of at least 25,000 men was necessary, and the employment of so great a force in that direction was not compatible with the great design of dictating the terms of a peace under the walls of Vienna.

The advanced guard of the French army had crossed the Apennines. It was within three days' march of Rome; and, on the 18th of February, the head-quarters were in Tolentino. Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Galeppi, the Duke of Braschi, and the Marquis Massini, the Pope's ministers plenipotentiary, arrived there on the 14th; Monsignor Galeppi conducted the conference. This prelate was endowed with great fertility of mind, and deeply versed in homiletic learning; but the court of Rome was in the wrong, and ought to be punished. This could only be done by the cession of the conquered provinces, or by contributions to an equal amount in value.

The three legations, the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona, and the districts of Macerata and Perugia, were conquered. The bases being thus settled, the conclusion of the treaty required only five days' discussion. Galeppi, who had said a great deal respecting the total ruin of the papal finances, found resources wherewith to make compensation for the conquered provinces, or at least to diminish the number of those which the Pope should cede. The treaty was signed in the convent occupied as the head-quarters of the French army.

The treaty was concluded on the conditions, and in the form following:

"General Bonaparte, commander-in-chief of the army of Italy, and Citizen Cacaault, agent of the French republic in Italy, plenipotentiaries furnished with full powers by the executive Directory, and his Eminence Cardinal Mattei, Monsignor Galeppi, the Duke of Braschi, and the Marquis Massini, plenipotentiaries of his Holiness, have agreed, and do agree, to the following articles:

"Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and a good understanding between the French republic and Pope Pius VI.

"2. The Pope revokes all adhesion, consent, and accession, whether open or secret, given by him to the coalition in arms against the French republic; every treaty of alliance, offensive or defensive, with all powers or states whatsoever. During the continuance of the present war, as well as in all subsequent wars, he engages not to furnish to any power in arms against the French republic, any succours of any kind or denomination whatsoever, whether in men, ships, munitions of war, provisions, or money.

"3. Within five days after the ratification of the present treaty, his Holiness binds himself to dismiss all levies recently raised, and to preserve only such regiments as existed previous to the armistice signed at Bologna.

"4. No ships of war, nor privateers, belonging to the powers at war with the French republic, shall be allowed to enter the harbours or roadsteads of the states of the church, and much less to remain in such harbours or roads.

"5. The French republic, as before the war, shall continue to enjoy all



those rights and privileges which France possessed in Rome—shall be treated, in all respects, as the most favoured nations, and especially with respect to its ambassador or minister, consuls, or vice-consuls.

“6. The Pope fully and clearly renounces all his rights or pretensions over or to the cities and territories of Avignon, the county of Venassin, and its dependencies; and transfers, cedes, and abandons the said rights to the French republic.

“7. The Pope equally renounces for ever, cedes, and transfers to the French republic, all his rights to the territories comprised under the names of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna; no injury shall be inflicted on the Catholic religion in the fore-mentioned legations.

“8. The town, citadel, and villages, forming the territory of the city of Ancona, shall remain in the hands of the French republic till the conclusion of a continental peace.

“9. The Pope binds himself and his successors, not to transfer, to any persons whatsoever, any claims or titles to the lordships attached to the territories ceded by this treaty to the French republic.

“10. His Holiness engages to cause to be paid and delivered at Foligno, to the paymaster of the French army, on the 15th of Ventose inst. (March 5th, 1797,) the sum of 15,000,000 of livres—ten millions in currency, and five millions in diamonds and other valuable effects—in addition to 16,000,000 which remain due, according to Article 9 of the armistice signed at Bologna, and ratified by his Holiness on the 27th of June.

“11. In order fully to discharge the remainder of the obligations contracted by the armistice signed at Bologna, his Holiness agrees to furnish 800 cavalry horses with their accoutrements, 800 draught horses, oxen, buffaloes, and other objects, which are the production of the states of the church.

“12. Independent of the sum mentioned in the foregoing articles, the Pope will pay to the French republic, in cash, diamonds, and other precious articles, the sums of 15,000,000 livres *tournais*\* of France, of which 10,000,000 shall be paid in the course of the month of April ensuing.

“13. Article 8 of the treaty of armistice signed at Bologna, and referring to manuscripts and works of art, shall be executed in full, and as quickly as possible.

“14. The French army will evacuate Umbria, Perugia, and Camerino, as soon as Article 10 of the present treaty shall be executed and fulfilled.

“15. The French army shall evacuate the province of Macerata, with the exception of Ancona, Fermo, and their respective territories, as soon as the first five millions of the sum mentioned in Article 12 of the present treaty, shall have been paid and delivered.

“16. The French army shall evacuate the territory of the city of Fano, and the duchy of Urbino, as soon as the second five millions of the sum mentioned in Article 12 of the present treaty shall have been paid and delivered, and Articles 3, 10, 11, and 12, fully executed.

“The last five millions, constituting a part of the sum stipulated by Article 12, shall be paid at latest in the course of the ensuing month of April.

“17. The French republic cedes to the Pope all its rights over the different religious foundations in the cities of Rome and Loretto; and the Pope cedes to the French republic all the allodial possessions belonging to the Holy

\* The “*livre tournais* de France,” is equal in value to the French franc, 10*d.* English.

See in the three provinces of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and especially the district of Mezzola and its dependencies; in case of sale, however, the Pope reserves one-third of the amount of the produce of such sale to be returned to his permanent funds.

"18. His Holiness, by his minister in Paris, shall cause the assassination committed on the person of Basseville, secretary of legation, to be publicly disavowed.

"In the course of the year, the sum of 300,000 livres shall be paid by his Holiness, to be divided amongst those who have suffered from this crime.

"19. His Holiness shall set at liberty all persons who may be detained in custody on account of their political opinions.

"20. The commander-in-chief will set at liberty, and enable to return to their homes, all prisoners of war taken from his Holiness, as soon as the ratification of this treaty shall have been received.

"21. Pending the negotiations for a commercial treaty between the French republic and the Pope, the commerce of the republic shall be placed on the same footing as that of the most favoured nations.

"22. Conformably to Article 6 of the treaty concluded at the Hague, on the 27th Floréal, year 3, the terms of the peace now concluded between the French republic and his Holiness, are declared to be common to the Batavian republic.

"23. The French post shall be re-established in Rome, on the same footing on which it previously stood.

"24. The school of arts, instituted in Rome for all Frenchmen, shall be re-established, and continue to be directed as before the war; the palace belonging to the republic, in which that school was placed, shall be restored without injury.

"25. All the articles, clauses, and conditions of the present treaty are to be of perpetual obligation upon his Holiness Pope Pius VI., and all his successors.

"26. The present treaty shall be ratified with the least possible delay.

"Done and signed at the head quarters at Tolentino, by the under-mentioned plenipotentiaries, on the 1st Ventose, year 5 of the French republic, one and indivisible (Feb. 19th, 1797.)

(Signed)

"BONAPARTE, CACAULT,  
"CARDINAL MATTEI, L. GALEPPI,  
"L. DUCA BRASCHI ONESTI, AND  
"CAMILLO MARCHESI MASSINI."

Napoleon insisted, for a long time, that the court of Rome should engage to suppress the inquisition. It was represented to him, that the inquisition was no longer what it had been; that, at present, it was rather a tribunal of police than of religious opinion, and that *autos-da-fé* no longer existed. He appreciated these reasons at their just value, and desisted from pressing this article, out of complaisance to the Pope, who was deeply affected, and opened up his views in his private correspondence. He satisfied himself with the cession of the legations of Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna, and the occupation of Ancona with a garrison: this was the consequence of the same principle which led him to respect the temporal existence of the Pope. If, as the patriots of the transpadane republic wished, he had increased the territory of this new republic by the addition of the duchy of

Urbino, and the provinces of Ferrara and Macerata, and had extended its boundaries to Otranto and the Apennines, it would then have come in contact with the kingdom of Naples. War with this court would, in that case, have become the infallible consequence, and this war would have taken place, whether France and the court of Naples desired it or not.

The importance which this court attached to the stipulations of this treaty was so great, that its minister, Prince Pignatelli, followed the French head quarters, which was a striking proof of their alarm. This prince was not deficient either in intelligence or activity; but he stopped at no means to keep himself well informed. Many times, but especially at Loretto, and during the negotiations at Tolentino, he was surprised listening at the doors, and exposed himself to the indignity of being driven away by the porters. The peace stopped the advance of the French troops.

After the signature of the treaty, the commander-in-chief entrusted General Victor with the superintendence of its execution, sent his aide-de-camp, Colonel Yanot to Rome, as the bearer of a respectful letter to the Pope, and set out for Mantua.

This letter and the Pope's reply, which were published, formed a great contrast with the language then commonly in use, and this peculiarity was remarked.

Mantua had now been for a month in the hands of the republic; the hospitals were still full of Austrians. Napoleon went to the ducal palace and sojourned there for several days. A very great number of beautiful pictures had been found in this city, which he caused to be sent to the museum in Paris. Titian's magnificent frescoes of the war of the Titians, the admiration of all *connoisseurs*, were in the palace of the T. The commission of artists submitted various plans for their removal and transference to Paris, but there would have been a great risk of losing and destroying these *chefs-d'œuvre*. Napoleon caused an engineering arsenal to be established, and ordered General Chasseloup, commanding the engineers, to direct his attention to the improvement of the fortifications; the weak side at that time was that of La Pradella and Pietolli. From this moment forward, all his efforts were directed to the establishment and consolidation of his new creations. Having given orders respecting Mantua, he proceeded to Milan the centre of the administration and of Italian politics. Public opinion in the meantime had made great progress.

## CHAPTER IV.

## LEOBEN.

THE news of the battles of Tagliamento and of Tarwis, of the combat of Gorizia, and of the entry of the French into Clagenfurt and Layback caused a general consternation in Vienna. The capital was threatened, and destitute of any means of effectual defence: the richest furniture was stowed away, and all the most important papers lodged in security. The Danube was crowded with boats engaged in conveying the valuables of the Viennese to Hungary, whither the young archdukes and archduchesses were also sent. Among the latter was the Archduchess Marie Louise, then about five years and a half old, who afterwards became empress of the French.

Discontent was general—"In less than a fortnight," said the Viennese, "the French will be under our walls, the ministry do not think of making peace, and we have no means of resisting this terrible army of Italy!"

The armies of the Rhine and the Moselle, of the Sambre and the Meuse, were to commence the campaign, and pass the Rhine on the same day on which the army of Italy should pass the Piave, and thus advance rapidly into Germany. Napoleon, in giving an account of the battle of Tagliamento, announced that he was about to cross the Julian Alps in a few days, and push forward into the very heart of Germany; that between the 1st and the 10th of April, he would be at Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia—that is to say, sixty leagues from Vienna; that it was, therefore, important to put the armies of the Rhine in motion, and inform them of their line of march. The government replied to him on the 23d of March, complimented him on the victory of Tagliamento, made excuses for the armies of the Rhine not having already opened the campaign, and assured him, that they should be put in motion without delay. Four days afterwards, however, on the 26th of March, the government wrote to him, that Moreau's army could not commence the campaign, because it had no boats to enable it to cross the Rhine, and that the army of Italy could not, therefore, calculate upon the co-operation of the armies of Germany, but must rely upon itself alone. This despatch, which arrived at Clagenfurt on the 31st of March, gave rise to many conjectures. Was the Directory afraid that these three armies, which constituted the whole force of the republic, if once united under the same general, would prove too powerful? Was it the checks which these armies had suffered in the preceding year, which rendered them timid? Or must this strange pusillanimity be attributed to want of resolution and courage on the part of the generals? It was impossible that the government should wish to destroy or sacrifice the army of Italy, as it had wished to do in June 1796, by ordering one-half of the troops to march against Naples. Napoleon, not being able to calculate on the co-operation of these two armies, could not flatter himself with being

able to enter Vienna, because he had not cavalry enough to descend into the valley of the Danube, although he might reach the summit of the Simmering without destruction. He thought it his best course, in the position in which he was placed, to conclude a peace; which was an object of universal desire in France.

On the 31st of March, twelve hours after having received the despatch of the Directory, he wrote to the Archduke Charles, as follows:—"Sir, brave soldiers make war and desire peace! Has not the present war now lasted six years? Have we not killed enough people and inflicted evils enough upon unfortunate humanity? She utters complaints on all sides. Europe, which had taken up arms against the French republic, has laid them down. Your nation alone remains, and yet blood is about to flow more copiously than ever. This sixth campaign is announced by sinister presages. Whatever may be the issue, we shall destroy, on both sides, thousands of men, and at last be obliged to come to an understanding, because everything has its limits, even the most hateful passions.

"The executive directory of the French republic has already signified to his majesty, the emperor, its desire to put an end to a war so ruinous to the people of both nations. The intervention of the court of London opposed the fulfilment of the wish. Is there no hope of coming to an understanding? Must we, for the interests and passions of a nation removed from the evils of war, continue to slaughter one another? You, sir, who, by your birth, stand so near the throne—you, who are the commander-in-chief, and exalted far above those low passions, by which governments and ministers are often animated, are you determined to deserve the title of a benefactor of humanity and to become the true deliverer of Germany?

"Do not suppose, sir, that I intend by this, to say that it is not possible to deliver the country by force of arms; but on the supposition that the chances of war should turn in your favour, Germany will not be the less ravaged. For myself, sir, if the overture which I now make to you saves the life of a single man, I shall be prouder of the civic crown which I shall thus have deserved, than of that melancholy glory which is the result of military success."

On the second of April, Prince Charles replied as follows: "Assuredly, General, whilst making war, and obeying the call of honour and duty, I desire peace as much as you, for the well-being of the people, and the interests of humanity. As, however, in the position in which I am placed, it does not fall within my sphere either to discuss or terminate the quarrels of belligerent nations, and as I am not entrusted with any powers by his majesty to treat, you will see that I cannot enter into any negotiations on that subject, and that I must wait for orders upon a point of such deep importance, and which is not completely within my power.

"Whatever may be the future chances of war or hopes of peace, I beg you to be assured, General, of my esteem and distinguished consideration."

In order to support this overture for negotiations, it was necessary to advance, and approach Vienna.

The advanced guard at this time occupied St. Veit, and the headquarters were in Clagenfurt. At break of day, on the 1st of April, Masséna advanced on Friesach; in front of the castle, he found the enemy's rear guard in charge of considerable magazines, which the archduke had caused to be there collected. He pushed rapidly forward, entered Friesach pell-mell with the enemy's troops, seized upon the whole of the magazines, and

continued the pursuit as far as Neumarkt. On approaching this town, he fell in with the archduke, with four divisions just arrived from the Rhine, those of the Prince of Orange, and two other generals, together with the reserve of grenadiers, and prepared to dispute the passage of the gorges of Neumarkt. The commander-in-chief immediately ordered Masséna to collect the whole of his division on the left of the high road; he placed Guieur's division on the heights on the right, and kept the division of Serurier in reserve. At three o'clock in the afternoon, the 2d regiment of light infantry belonging to Masséna's division, charged the enemy's first line, and covered itself with glory. This regiment was just come from the Rhine, and the soldiers, in allusion to the troops of the German princes, which were not reckoned good, called it the *contingent*. The soldiers of the 2d, piqued by this ridicule, challenged the old soldiers of Italy to advance as far and as fast as themselves; they performed prodigies of valour. Prince Charles was present in person, but to no purpose, he was driven from all his positions, and lost 3000 men.

The French troops entered Neumarkt at night mixed with the Austrians, took 1200 prisoners, six pieces of cannon, and five stand of colours. It was still four leagues to Scheifling, the point at which the third transverse road abuts. The Austrian general, not being able to delay the conqueror's march, had recourse to a stratagem, in order to gain twenty-four hours, and to give time to General Kerpen to form at Scheifling. He made a proposition for a suspension of arms, in order to enable him, as he said, to take into full consideration the letter written to him on the 31st of March. Berthier replied, that it was possible both to negotiate and fight, but that no armistice could be agreed to till the French were at Vienna, unless to treat for a definitive peace.

At day-break, the French advanced guard commenced their march upon the Muer; strong reconnoitring parties were sent forward as far as Murau, to meet the corps of General Kerpen. Napoleon himself marched thither, but that general had retired. General Sporck only, who commanded his rear-guard, was slightly wounded. The French head-quarters remained, on the 4th and 5th, at Scheifling, a castle situated on the banks of the Muer.

The road from Scheifling to Knittelfeld follows the bank of the Muer, and passes through some frightful gorges. At every step positions present themselves, at which the French army might have been stopped. It was of the highest importance to the archduke to gain a few days, in order that they might come to their senses in Vienna, and to enable the troops who were hastening from the Rhine to arrive and cover the great capital. The same reasons prescribed to the French army not to lose a moment in accelerating its march. On the 3d, the advanced guard fought a very warm engagement in the gorges of Unzmarkt, overthrew the enemy in spite of their superiority in numbers, drove them from all their positions at the point of the bayonet, and entered Knittelfeld. The loss of the Austrians was considerable—1500 prisoners and four pieces of cannon. Colonel Carrière, a distinguished officer in command of the artillery of the advanced guard, was killed, deeply regretted. He was an excellent officer in the field, and one of the frigates at Venice was named after him, as a mark of honour. She was one of those on board of which Napoleon returned from Egypt, and landed at Frejus. On the 6th of April, the head quarters were at Judenburg, the chief town of one of the circles of Carinthia.

After the affair of Unzmarkt, the army met with no more resistance, and

the advanced guard arrived at Léoben, on the 7th. Here, Lieut.-Gen. Bellegarde, chief of Prince Charles's staff, and General Meerfeld, presented themselves with a flag of truce, and after a conference with the commander-in-chief, placed in his hands the following note: "General, his Majesty the Emperor and King has nothing more at heart than to secure the repose of Europe, and to terminate a war which afflicts both nations. In consequence of the overture made in your letter to his Royal Highness Prince Charles, the Emperor has sent us to you, in order to come to an understanding on this most important subject. After the conversation which we have just had with you, and persuaded of the good will, as well as of the intention of the two powers to put an end to this disastrous war as speedily as possible, his imperial highness asks for a suspension of arms for ten days, in order to be able to arrive at the desired result without further loss of time, that all those delays and obstacles arising from a state of active hostilities may be removed, and everything may contribute to re-establish peace between the two nations."

The French General replied on the same day: "In the military positions of the two armies, a suspension of arms is decidedly contrary to the interests of the French; but should such a suspension lead to a peace so much desired, and so useful to the people, I consent without regret to the proposal. The French republic has often manifested to his majesty its desire of putting an end to this cruel struggle; it continues to hold the same sentiments, and, after the conference which I have had the honour to hold with you, I do not doubt that, in a few days, peace between the French republic and his majesty will be re-established."

The suspension of arms was agreed to, and a paper to that effect signed at seven o'clock in the evening. It was to continue for five days. The whole country, as far as the Simmering, was now in possession of the French army. Gratz, one of the largest cities in the Austrian monarchy, had surrendered with its citadel. Whilst at dinner, General Berthier asked the Austrian commissary generals, where they thought Bernadotte's division was? "At Laybach," they replied. "And Joubert's?" "Between Brixen and Mülbach." "No," answered he, "both are *en échelon*; the most distant is a day's march from this place." This answer surprised them very much. On the 9th, headquarters being at Léoben, the advance guard pushed forward to Brück, sending detachments as far as the Simmering. Adjutant-General Léclerc was dispatched to Paris, to convey the intelligence to the government of an agreement to a suspension of hostilities. This general was a distinguished officer, intrepid on the field of battle, and well versed in business.

From Clagenfurt, the commander-in-chief had, on the 30th of March, sent his aide-de-camp, Cavalette, at the head of a party of cavalry, as far as Lienz, to meet General Joubert. This general had not, however, arrived from the Tyrol, and the towns-people, seeing that the party consisted only of a handful of men, rose upon them; and the detachment owed its safety to the coolness and intrepidity of the aide-de-camp who commanded it. One dragoon only, lost his life. A few days afterwards, General Zagoncheck, with some squadrons of dragoons, took possession of Lienz, and opened a communication with the army of the Tyrol. The town was disarmed, and the inhabitants punished. On the 8th of April, Joubert arrived at Spital, near Villach, formed the left of the army, and immediately placed the prisoners in the rear.

General Bernadotte, after having organized Carniola, received orders to

cross the Save and the Muer, and to concentrate himself upon Léoben; he left General Friaud, with a column of 1500 men, to protect the evacuation of Fiume, and to keep Carniola in check. It was easy to foresee, that with such a small force, General Friaud might be repulsed; his orders, in that case, were to defend the Isonzo, and, finally, to throw himself into Palma Nova, to complete the garrison there. What had been foreseen, happened; a force of 6000 Croats attacked him on the 10th of April; though only one against four, his troops repulsed the enemy with considerable loss; but the General felt the necessity of evacuating Fiume; and the truce of Judenburg found him, on the 19th of April, at Matera, covering Trieste. These events, exaggerated like those of the Tyrol, were repeated in Venice, and were the principal cause of the commotion and taking up arms, which caused the ruin of that state. During the five days that the truce lasted, from the 7th to the 12th of April, the division of Masséna established itself at Brück, at the foot of the Simmering, having an advanced guard half-way up the hill, the head-quarters were at Léoben, at the bishop's palace; the division of Serrurier occupied the important city of Gratz, and was causing the castle to be repaired. These five days of repose were necessary and very useful.

The armistice terminated on the 13th; but at nine o'clock in the morning, the Comte de Meerfeld arrived with full power to negotiate the preliminaries for peace, conjointly with the Marquis de Gallo, the Neapolitan ambassador at Vienna, who was in high favour with the Empress, whose influence in affairs of state was very decided. An agreement was signed, prolonging the armistice till the 20th of April, and conferences were begun relative to the preliminaries of peace. On the 16th of April, after a long discussion, they had determined upon three plans which were dispatched by them to Vienna, and to which the French plenipotentiary had given his consent. On the 17th, the answer of the cabinet of Vienna having been brought by the Baron Vincent, aide-de-camp of the Emperor, the preliminary articles, public and private, were agreed upon; the secretaries of legation had rendered neutral a small country-house, about a league from Léoben, where the preliminaries were signed on the morning of the 18th. General Clarke, as we have seen, was provided with full power by the government, but he was then at Turin. Some time was necessary for his arrival; and as he was not at head-quarters on the 18th, Napoleon went a step further on this, as on several other occasions, and signed the preliminaries himself.

Clarke arrived at head-quarters a few days afterwards. The Austrian plenipotentiaries had thought to do something agreeable to the French, by putting in the first article, that the Emperor recognised the French republic. "Strike that out," said Napoleon; "the republic is like the sun, which shines of itself; it is only the blind who do not see it." In fact, this recognition was obnoxious, because, in case the French people should some day erect for itself a monarchy, the Emperor might say, that he had recognised the republic. It was stipulated by the preliminaries that the definitive peace should be treated of at a congress to assemble at Berne, and that the peace of the empire should be the object of another congress which should be held in a German city. The limits of the Rhine were guaranteed to France; the Oglio was to be the limit of the house of Austria in Italy, and of the Cisalpine republic, which was composed of Lombardy, Modena, the Bergomasque, and the Cremasque. The city of Venice was to receive legations from Ferrara and from Bologna; and was to receive the Romagna, as a compensation for the loss of its states on the Continent.



By this treaty, the Emperor was to retain Mantua, but the French republic was to obtain Venice. The French armies were allowed to communicate from Milan to Venice, along the right bank of the Po, to pass out at the Piave, and to render null the lines of the Mincio, of the Adige, and of Mantua. No opposition was offered to the two republics forming one, if they both desired it. Venice had existed for nine centuries, without possessing any territory in Italy, and had only been a maritime state; this was the period of its greatest power; besides, it is true that the arrangements were made out of hatred for the Venetians. It was just at the time when the despatches of the 3d and 6th of April had arrived from General Kilmaine. The French army were full of indignation at the description of the murders committed on their stragglers. An insurrectionary cockade had been set up at Venice, and the English minister wore it in triumph, whilst the lion of St. Mark floated in his gondola. This minister possessed very great influence.

On the 27th of April, the Marquis de Gallo presented to the general-in-chief, at Gratz, the preliminaries, ratified by the Emperor. If the exchange did not take place immediately, the reason was that it was necessary to wait for the ratification of the executive directory; but as there could be no doubt that they would then ratify the preliminaries, the army evacuated Styria, and part of Carniola and of Carinthia. Several overtures having been made by the plenipotentiaries of the Emperor, the aide-de-camp, Lemarrois, conveyed the answers to Vienna; he was received with distinction; it was the first time since the revolution that the tri-colour cockade had been seen in that capital. It was at one of these conferences at Gratz, that one of the plenipotentiaries, authorized by an autograph letter of the Emperor, offered Napoleon to obtain for him, at the peace, a sovereignty of 250,000 souls in Germany, for himself and his family, in order to secure him against republican ingratitude. The general smiled, and commissioned the plenipotentiary to thank the Emperor, in his name, for this proof of friendship towards him, and to say, that he wished for no greatness, no riches, which were not given to him by the French people; and he is said to have added—"And with this support, believe me, sir, my ambition will be satisfied."

The adjutant-general, Dessoles, was dispatched to Paris with the news of the opening of the negotiations. General Masséna conveyed to the directory the preliminary treaty; he received a formal audience, on the 9th of May. All the generals, at all distinguished during the campaign in Italy, had been dispatched to Paris with trophies of the success of the French arms; Masséna alone, who held the first place, by the share he had had in the campaign, had not yet been sent to Paris; it was only just, therefore, to associate his name with this great national festival, since it was the result of the intrepidity and valour of the French arms.

The position of the army of Italy was prosperous; the account of the 19th of April gave 38,500 infantry, 4,500 cavalry, and 120 cannons; on the whole, 43,000 men, united in the same field of battle, and ready to take up their position in a single march on the Simmering. It had experienced but very slight losses since the opening of the campaign. The fortresses of Palma-Nova, Clagenfurt, and Gratz, were victualled and garrisoned, and depôts of all kinds were formed in these places. The morals of the French army were at the highest point; at the battle of Neumarkt, only a third of the division of Masséna was engaged, and it was sufficient to overthrow the élite of the Austrian army, though very favourably posted. The

army of the archduke, on the contrary, was demoralized; he had scarcely any of the old Italian army remaining. The six divisions which had arrived from the Rhine, had been successively and considerably broken; they had been much diminished. Napoleon might then have pushed forward to Vienna, but this would have produced no decisive result; he could not have maintained his position, because the armies of the Rhine had not only not entered on the campaign, but had announced that they could not enter on it. The opinions of the directory were divided; there was a split even among the directors themselves; the government was powerless: there was no public spirit in France, and the finances were in a deplorable state. The army of the Rhine was without pay, and in the greatest poverty. One of the greatest obstacles to his passage of the Rhine, was the fact, that the treasury could not furnish Moreau with the 30 or 40,000 crowns necessary for the construction of the machinery of a bridge. The regiments formed in La Vendée for the recruiting of the Italian army, each about 4000 strong, by means of joining together several corps, arrived at Milan, from 900 to 1000 strong; three-quarters had deserted on the road. The governor had no means of bringing back the deserters, or of recruiting the army.

From the very first conferences, the Austrian plenipotentiaries had granted the cession of Belgium and of the lines of the Rhine; but they required a compensation for this; and when this was offered to them in Germany—in Bavaria, for example—they added immediately that it would be necessary, in that case, to guarantee to the republic of Venice its present constitution, and to consolidate the aristocracy of the golden book; not wishing to allow, under any pretext whatever, that the Italian republic should extend from the Alps and the Apennines, as far as the Isonzo and the Julian Alps. But this would have been to consolidate the most active and the most constant enemy of the republic—an enemy which, perceiving from the events which had just happened, the dangers to which it would be exposed, would have henceforth no other policy than to connect itself to, and to make common cause with Austria, which, in fact, would have willingly entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with the Venetian oligarchy, against the democratic Italian republic. This, then, would have been to increase the power of Austria, both by Bavaria and by the Venetian territory. In the instructions given by the directory to General Clarke, they had authorized him to sign much less advantageous conditions. Peace was the will of the people, the government, and the legislative body. Napoleon signed the preliminaries of it.

Hoche had just been promoted to the command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse; he was a young man, full of talent, valour, and ambition. He had under his orders a splendid army, which he acknowledged contained 80,000 men under arms; he felt within himself the strength to command it well; he stamped with impatience at every fresh account of the victories in Italy. He entreated the directory, by every courier, to permit him to enter Germany. His troops shared his ardour; even the inhabitants, informed by their correspondents of the rapid march of Napoleon towards Vienna, and of the retrograde movements of the Austrian armies on the Rhine, asked why the French armies of the Sambre, Meuse, and Rhine remained inactive, and lost such precious time?

On the 18th of April, Hoche crossed the Rhine by the bridge of Neu-wied, while Championnet, who had quitted Düsseldorf, arrived at Turkerath and Altenzirchen. Kray commanded the Austrian army. Hoche attacked him at Heddersdorf—took several thousand of his soldiers prisoners

—seized some of his cannon and standards and threw them into the Maine. He had just arrived before Frankfort, on the 22nd of April, when the staff of General Kray forwarded to him a despatch from General Berthier, announcing the signature of the treaty of Léoben. He immediately concluded an armistice, and removed his head-quarters to Friedberg, occupying the Nidda and Wetzlar. Moreau was at Paris; he solicited the machinery necessary for the construction of a bridge, for the purpose of crossing the Rhine at Strasburg; but as soon as Desaix, the commander, *pro tempore*, of the armies of the Rhine, learned that Hoche was engaged in battle with the enemy, he threw a bridge, on the 20th of April, at six o'clock in the morning, across the river, at a village several leagues below Strasburg.

On the 21st, at two o'clock in the morning, the army crossed the Rhine. Moreau, who had arrived in great haste from Paris, was at the head of the army at the moment when Sytaray, who had collected 20,000 men and twenty pieces of cannon, attacked it. The combat was warm: the Austrians were completely defeated; they left some prisoners, and twenty pieces of cannon in the hands of the conqueror. All the baggage and equipages of the Austrian chancery were taken; amongst them, the carriage of Klinglin, which contained the correspondence between Pichegru and the Prince of Condé; Moreau kept this discovery secret for four months, without giving any account of it to the government.

After this victory the army again ascended the Rhine, and took possession of Kehl. Its advanced guard was already beyond Offenburg, in the valley of the Kiutzig. Thither, on the 22nd, a courier of the Italian army brought the news of the signature of the preliminaries at Léoben. Moreau suspended hostilities, and concluded an armistice with Sytaray.

Hostilities did not commence on the Rhine until eight hours after the treaty of Léoben was signed, and Napoleon received intelligence of them a week after the signature of the treaty. Why had they not recommenced five days sooner, or, at least, why had directory written that the co-operation of the armies of the Rhine must not be reckoned on? But the affairs of the war were directed without vigour and without talent; the administration was corrupted, and led to no satisfactory result. By one of the arrangements of the constitution of the year 3, the treasury was independent of the government, a most false and disastrous idea, and the most absurd which could have been conceived by the metaphysics of our modern legislators! This alone was sufficient to compromise the existence of the republic.

## CHAPTER V.

## VENICE.

VENICE, founded in the 5th century, by some inhabitants of the districts of Friuli and Padua, who fled to the lagunes in order to shelter themselves from the incursions of the barbarians, originally occupied by the sites of Heraclea and Chiozza. The patriarch of Aquilea afterwards established himself, with his clergy, at Grado, on the occasion of the Arian schism. Grado became the capital. Padua at first gave laws and consuls to the Venetians. In 697, they first appointed a doge; Pepin, King of France, built a small fleet at Ravenna, and compelled the Venetians to retreat to Realto and the Sixty Islands which surround it, where they found themselves protected by the lagunes, from Pepin's resentment; this is the present site of Venice. In 830, the body of St. Mark the Evangelist was brought thither from Egypt, and he became the patron saint of the republic. From the year 960, the Venetians were masters of Istria and of the Adriatic; their possession of Dalmatia was still disputed by the Kings of Hungary. In 1250, they, in conjunction with the French, took Constantinople. They had possession of the Morea, and of Candia, up to the middle of the 17th century. Italy, a prey to revolutions, has frequently changed its masters, but Venice, always free and independent, has never acknowledged a foreign power; she has always found means to throw off the tyrannical yoke of the Peninsula.

Venice is the best situated commercial port in Italy. Merchandise from Constantinople and the Levant arrives there by the shortest route, across the Adriatic, and from thence is diffused over northern Italy, as far as Turin, by the Po, and over Germany, by being carried up the Adige as far as Bolzano, from whence roads lead to Ulm, Augsburg, Munich, and Nuremberg.

Venice is the sea-port of the Upper Danube, the Po, and the Adige: nature destined it to be the storehouse of the Levant, Italy, and southern Germany. Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, Venice carried on the commerce with India by Alexandria and the Red Sea, and even struggled to intercept the navigation of the Portuguese. It equipped a considerable fleet in the Red Sea, and established an arsenal, watering-places, and magazines, near Suez; the remains of these buildings are still to be seen at the fountains of Moses.

But the Portuguese defeated these fleets, constructed at so great an expense; and the state of anarchy in which Egypt then was, finally closed this route of Indian commerce.

The Lagunes are formed by the waters of the Piave, the Brenta, and the Livenza; they fall into the sea by three great passages, La Chioggia, Il Malamoco, and Il Lido.

After the abolition of the democracy in 1200, the sovereign power was

in the hands of an aristocracy consisting of some hundreds of families, inscribed in the Golden Book, which furnished to the great council as many as 1200 voters. The population of the states of the republic amounted to three millions, and was extended over the rich districts and fertile plains which surrounded Venice. The following were the Venetian territories : the districts of Bergamo, Brescia, Cremona, Vicenza, Padua, Polesina, Treviso, Bassano, Cadore, Belluno, and Friuli, on the peninsula of Italy ; Istria, Dalmatia, and the Gulf of Cattaro, on the shores of the Adriatic ; and, lastly the Ionian islands. Its territories were bounded on the north by the upper range of the Julian Alps, from the Adda to the Isonzo. This chain of mountains is everywhere impassable for carriages ; it forms the frontier on the side of Germany, and can only be crossed by three roads, those into the Tyrol, Carinthia, and Carniola. In 1796, this republic had greatly fallen to decay ; it was but the shadow of its former self. Three generations had succeeded each other without having been engaged in any war. The sight of a gun made these unworthy descendants of the Dandolo, Zenos, and Morosinis tremble.

During the war of the succession, and those of 1733 and 1740, they had endured with cowardly resignation, the insults and outrages of the Austrian, French, and Spanish armies.

The Venetian navy consisted of a dozen of sixty-four-gun vessels, as many frigates and a great number of small ships, which sufficed to awe the barbarians, command the Adriatic, and defend the Lagunes. The army consisted of 14,000 men, was composed of Italian regiments levied in the provinces, and of Sclavonians from Dalmatia ; they were brave, and very much devoted to the republic, and the Sclavonians had the advantage of being strangers to the language and manners of the Peninsula.

Those families alone whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book, had a share in the administration ; they exclusively composed the senate, the councils, the Council of Forty, and other assemblies : this displeased the nobility of the main land, among whom were included a great many rich, illustrious, and powerful families, who, deprived of all power, and subject to the reigning class of nobles, passed their lives without receiving distinction or honours, and nourished a deeply-rooted jealousy of the sovereign nobility. These families were partly descended from the ancient *condottieri*, *podestà*, or other personages who had played a distinguished part in the republics of their towns, and whose ancestors, after having long opposed the enterprises of Venice, had at last fallen victims ; thus, to the dislike with which the nature of the government inspired them, were added many carefully perpetuated historical subjects for resentment.

The people of the provinces were in general discontented ; most of them made common cause with their nobles. The Venetian nobles, however, who had estates and establishments in almost every province, had also their partisans. The priests were without credit and without respect in this republic, which had very early freed itself as much as possible from the temporal power of the Pope.

In the year 1792, the allied powers urged Venice to take part in the war ; it does not appear that any serious discussions on this subject took place in the senate ; the votes were unanimous in favour of neutrality ; the republic was so distant from the theatre of war, that it looked upon itself as a stranger to the affairs of France.

When the Count de Lille took refuge at Verona, the senate only granted him permission to remain there by consent of the committee of public

safety, who were better pleased that he should be at Verona, than at any other place.

When the French troops marched, in 1794, towards Oneille, Italy was thought to be menaced with an invasion, and several powers assembled at the congress of Milan; Venice refused to send ambassadors to it, not that she approved of the French principles, but because she feared to give herself up to the mercy of Austria, and was not willing to give up that cowardly and enervated policy which she had for several generations pursued.

But when Napoleon arrived at Milan, when Beaulieu fled terrified beyond the Mincio, and occupied Peschiera, where he placed his right wing, in the hope of defending this line, the uncertainty and alarm of the senate were very great. The great gulf which had till then defended Venice from the struggle between the aristocracy and the democracy was now crossed; the war of opinion and actual war arose in the bosom of the state; stormy discussions agitated the councils, in which three different opinions were maintained.

The young oligarchs demanded an armed neutrality; they wished strong garrisons to be placed in Peschiera, Brescia, Legnago, and Verona; that these places should be declared in a state of siege; that the army should be increased to 60,000 men, that the lagunes should be put in a posture of defence, and covered with armed chaloupes; that a squadron should be equipped for the purpose of defending the Adriatic; and that, in this formidable attitude, the republic should declare war against the first who should entrench on its territory. The partisans of this opinion went even further; they said: "If it come to the worst, there is less shame in perishing with arms in our hands. By defending our territory, we shall prevent French ideas from being propagated in the large towns of the provinces; we shall obtain the more regard from the two inimical parties, as being in a condition to exact it. If, on the contrary, we peaceably open our gates, the territories of the republic will become the seat of the war between these two powers, and from that moment, sovereignty will fall from the hands of the prince. His first duty is to protect his subjects: if their fields and lands become the prey of war, the unhappy people will lose all respect and esteem for the government which has abandoned them. The causes of discontent which already exist will be increased to a violent pitch; the republic will expire without exciting a single regret."

The partisans of the old policy declared that they ought not to take any decisive line of conduct; that they ought to beat about in order to gain time, and see how matters would go. They confessed that all these dangers did indeed exist; that they had reason to fear at once the ambition of Austria and the principles of France; but that these evils were happily transient; that with management and patience, the inconveniences which they feared might be avoided; that the French were of a conciliatory disposition, easily persuaded by caresses; that if they proceeded aright, they could gain over the minds of the chiefs, and obtain their good opinion; that in the present state of the public mind, an armed neutrality would lead to war, which was above all things to be avoided; that Providence had placed the capital in a position which sheltered it from any insult; and that they must oppose to every difficulty, patience, moderation and time.

Battaglia said: "The republic is truly in danger. On one side the French principles are subversive of our constitution; on the other, Austria makes attempts against our independence. Of these two inevitable evils, let us choose the least; the greatest, in my opinion, is Austrian slavery.

Let us increase the list of the Golden Book—let us inscribe in it the names of such of the provincial nobility as deserve that honour; by this means we shall conciliate our people, there will no longer be any opposition among ourselves. Let us garrison our strong places, levy our army, equip our fleet, hasten to meet the French general, and to offer him an offensive and defensive alliance. We shall, perhaps, be obliged to make some slight changes in our constitution, but we shall save our independence and our liberty. An armed neutrality has been proposed; two years ago, this plan would have been the best you could have pursued; it would have been just, because equal towards both the belligerent parties; it would have been possible, because there was then time to prepare for it. But now it is otherwise; you cannot forbid the French to do what you have permitted or tolerated from the Austrians; this would be to declare war against the French army, when it is victorious, when in a week it will be at Verona, and that without your even being secure of Austria; but to declare war two months hence against so active and enterprising an enemy—this, of all plans would be the worst—it would be precipitating ourselves into danger, instead of avoiding it.

“The second course of conduct which has been proposed to you—namely, that of patience and time, is as bad as the first; political circumstances are no longer what they were, times are greatly changed, the crisis in which we now stand bears no resemblance to any of those in which the prudence of our ancestors triumphed. French principles are in every mind, and are reproduced under every variety of form; they are a rushing torrent, whose course it would be in vain to attempt to arrest by patience, moderation, and cunning. The measure which I propose to you can alone save you; it is simple, noble and generous. We can offer to the French a contingent of 10,000 men, and retain what we require for the defence of our fortresses. They will soon have taken Mantua, and carried the war into Germany. After the first steps have been taken, all will be easy, because all the parties who divide the state will act together in the same spirit—our independence will be saved—we shall save the great foundations of our constitution. Austria has no influence over our people, and lastly, she has no fleet, whilst, at any moment, the fleet of Toulon may be signaled from the Lido.”

This opinion excited the passions, and struck every intelligent mind, but it gained few suffrages. Aristocratic prejudices got the upper hand of the interest of the country. This resolution would have been too noble for degenerate men, incapable of elevated ideas.

The proveditor, Mocenigo, received Napoleon at Brescia with great magnificence; he expressed the good feelings of the senate towards France. Splendid festivals established intimacies between the officers of the French army and the principal families of the place. Each noble endeavoured to become the particular friend of a French general. At Verona, the proveditor, Foscarelli, imitated this example, but the pride of his character was unfavourable to dissimulation; he but ill disguised his secret sentiments; he was one of the number of senators who were the most hostile to the new ideas; he had not dared to protest against the entrance of the French into Peschiera, because they succeeded the troops of Beaulieu; but when they demanded from him the keys of the arsenal, for the purpose of strengthening the ramparts, and set about manning the galleys, he complained of this violation of the neutrality of the republic. On Napoleon's arrival at Peschiera, Foscarelli endeavoured to dissuade him from march-

ing to Verona, and even threatened to order the gates to be closed, and the artillery to be brought into play. "It is too late," answered the general; "my troops have entered it—I am obliged to establish my defence on the Adige during the siege of Mantua; 1500 Sclavonians would not enable you to oppose the passage of the Austrian army; neutrality consists in having the same weight, and the same measure for every one; if you are not my enemies, you ought to grant to or tolerate from me, the same as you do from my enemies."

These various disputes being reported to the senate, it was decided to recall Foscarelli, and to replace him by Battaglia, on whom was bestowed the dignity of proveditor of all the provinces beyond the Adige, Verona included; Battaglia was an acute, well-informed man, of mild manners, and sincerely attached to his country, very favourably inclined to the France of former times, and preferring even republican France to Austria.

By degrees the theatre of war extended over the whole of the Venetian possessions, but it was always the Austrians who entered upon any new territory. Beaulieu occupied Peschiera and Verona; Wurmser entered Bassano, and crossed Vicenza and Padua; Alvinzi and Duke Charles occupied Friuli, Palma-Nova, and all the country as far as the eastern boundaries of the republic.

Great agitation was manifested in the provinces—discontent was propagated with rapidity; to the old hatred of the oligarchy was now joined the attraction of the new opinions. Italy was generally regarded as lost to the Austrians, and this would bring with it the fall of the aristocracy.

Napoleon constantly endeavoured to moderate the agitation which was yet more excited by the general spirit of the army. When he returned to Tolentino, entirely occupied with his project of marching to Vienna, he saw himself constrained to pay attention to this state of things, which embarrassed him. The irritation had gone on increasing. Brescia and Bergamo were in a state of insurrection. The Fenarolis, Martinengos, Lecchis and Alessandris were at the head of the insurgents; they belonged to the first and richest families. The municipalities of these two towns exercised great authority; they had the control of the finances, disposed of the revenues, and had the power of appointing to offices. If the lion of St. Mark was still to be seen in them, it was rather in deference to the general-in-chief, than as an act of submission to the sovereignty.

Continual and violent declamations against the Venetian nobles—sometimes verbal, sometimes poured forth through the channel of the press, were heard on all sides. The injustice of their government was demonstrated with bitterness, and by all possible means: "What right has Venice," said they, "to rule in our cities? Are we less brave, less enlightened, less rich, less noble?" The pride of the senators was deeply offended at seeing subjects who had for centuries been submissive to their government, forget the immense distance which separated them from their masters, and compare themselves with them. Everything gave warning of a violent shock. Battaglia, in his despatches to the senate, concealed as much as possible the outrages of the Brescians, and softened down to the latter the indignation and passion of the senate. Always seeking to conciliate, he ceased not, in his frequent intercourse with the general-in-chief, to interest him in the republic.

It would have been dangerous thus to leave, in the rear of the army, three millions of people given up to disorder and anarchy. Napoleon did



not conceal from himself that he had no more influence over the friends of France than over the senate itself. He could suppress their rebellious movements, but he could not prevent them from speaking and writing, from irritating the prince by a mass of details of administration which were strange to him. To have disarmed the patriots of Brescia and Bergamo, declared for the senate, proscribed the innovators, and filled the dungeons of Venice with them, would have been to alienate from him for ever the popular party, without gaining the affection of the aristocracy; and if this cowardly policy could have found place in his projects, its final and infallible result would have been, as in the case of Louis XII., the rising of the whole population against the French party. To persuade the senate to attach itself to France, and to modify its constitution in order to satisfy the wishes of the people of the provinces, was the best and most suitable plan. This was Napoleon's constant aim; after each fresh victory which he gained, he renewed this proposal, but always in vain. A third project suggested itself—namely, to march upon Venice, occupy that capital, effect by force the political changes which circumstances rendered indispensable, and entrust the government to the partisans of France; but Venice could not be approached as long as Prince Charles kept his position on the Piave; it would, therefore, be necessary to commence by defeating the Austrian army, and expelling it from Italy; and should this end be obtained, would it then be well to lose the fruit of the victory, and delay the passage of the Alps, for the purpose of bringing back the war to Venice? which proceeding would give the archduke time to think of himself, reinforce his troops, and create fresh obstacles. It was under the walls of Vienna that Napoleon looked forward to the signing of a peace, which should crown so many victories. Venice was, besides, very strong; she was defended by her lagunes, by armed vessels, and by 10,000 Sclavonians; she was mistress of the Adriatic, and could by this channel receive fresh troops; and finally, she had within her the moral strength of all the ruling families, who would feel strongly called upon to struggle for their political existence. Who could calculate how long the French army would be stopped by this enterprise? And should the struggle be at all prolonged, what effect might not an active resistance have on the rest of Italy?

This new war could not fail to meet great opposition at Paris; the minister was very active; the legislative body was in opposition to the directory; the directory itself was divided. Should it be consulted on the subject of the war with Venice, it would not reply, or would evade the question; should Napoleon, as he had hitherto done, act without authority, he would be reproached, except in case of immediate success, with having violated every principle; in his character of general-in-chief, he only had the right to repulse force by force. To undertake a fresh war against an armed power, without orders from his government, would be to render himself guilty of usurping the rights of sovereignty, and he was already but too deeply engaged in a struggle with republican jealousy.

The episode of Venice might become the principal affair; Napoleon, therefore, decided to take, with regard to the Venetians, simply military precautions; he was secure of Brescia, Bergamo, and the whole right shore of the Adige. He placed troops in the castles of Verona, St. Felix, and St. Piero, and in the Old Palace; this made him master of the stone bridges. The troops which had been employed in the expedition against the Pope, were now on their return to the Adige; they would form a re-

serve large enough to awe the senate. Arrangements were made that all the convalescent and wounded who should leave the hospitals, were to be organized into marching battalions, and added to the reserve; but this, in fact, weakened by so much the acting army.

Napoleon resolved, however, to make one fresh effort. He desired an interview with Pesaro, who at that time directed the affairs of the republic. Pesaro described to him the critical state of the country, the bad disposition of the people, the just complaints of the senate; he said, that these difficult circumstances required the senate to take strong measures, and to raise extraordinary armaments, which, however, ought not to give any umbrage to the French; that the senate was obliged to issue arrests at Venice, and in the provinces; that it would be unjust to consider as rigorous measures against the partisans of France, that which was only a just punishment inflicted on turbulent subjects who were endeavouring to overthrow the laws of their country.

Napoleon granted the critical situation of Venice, but, without losing time in discussing its causes, came immediately to the point: "You desire," said he, "to arrest the proceedings of those whom you call your enemies, but whom I call my friends. You entrust the administration to men distinguished by their hatred to France—you raise fresh troops. What remains for you to do, in order to produce a declaration of war? And yet your ruin would in that case be entire and immediate; it would be in vain for you to rely on the assistance of the archduke; within a week I should drive his armies from Italy. There is one way remaining by which you may deliver your republic from its present difficult situation; I offer you an alliance with France; I offer to secure to Venice her provinces, and even her authority in Brescia; but I demand in return that she shall declare war against Austria, and furnish to my army a contingent of 10,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and twenty-four cannon. I think it would be well done, to enrol in the Golden Book the principal families of the provinces; I do not, however, make this a *sine quâ non*. Return to Venice; let the senate deliberate on these proposals, and come back to sign a treaty which alone can save your country." Pesaro agreed to the wisdom of this project, and set out for Venice, promising to return within a fortnight.

On the 11th of March, the French army was put in motion for the purpose of crossing the Piave. Immediately on the arrival of this intelligence at Venice, orders were issued that fourteen of the principal inhabitants of Bergamo should be arrested and brought before the Council of Ten. The chiefs of the patriotic party, informed in time by a Venetian commissary who was devoted to their cause, intercepted the courier, arrested the proveditor himself, raised the standard of revolt, and proclaimed the freedom of Bergamo. The deputies which they sent to the headquarters of the French general, found him on the battle-field of Tagliamento. This event thwarted Napoleon's projects, but it was irremediable. The Bergamese had already entered into a confederacy with Milan, the capital of Lombardy, and with Bologna, the capital of the transpadane republic. The same revolution took place a few days afterwards at Brescia; the two thousand Sclavonians garrisoned there, were disarmed; the proveditor Battaglia was respected, but sent back to Verona. The Venetian General, Fioravante, marched against the insurgents, occupied Salò, and threatened Brescia; Lahoz, a Milanese, went to meet him, defeated his troops, and expelled him from Salò.

Pesaro returned, as he had promised, to the head-quarters, then at Gorizia. The archduke had been defeated at Tagliamento; Palma-Nova had opened its gates; the French standard floated over Tarvis beyond the Isonzo, and on the summit of the Julian Alps. "Have I kept my word?" said Napoleon to him: "The Venetian territories are covered with my troops; the Austrians flee before me. In a few days I shall be in Germany. What is the decision of your republic? I have offered her the alliance of France; does she accept it?"

"Venice," answered Pesaro, rejoices at your triumphs; she knows that she can only exist by the aid of France; but, faithful to her ancient policy, she is determined to remain neuter. Under Louis XII. and Francis I. her forces were of some weight in the field of battle; but now, even were the entire population in arms, of what benefit would our assistance be to you?"

Napoleon made a last effort; he failed; and said to Pesaro, on parting, "Since your republic is then determined to remain neuter, so let it be—I consent; but let it cease raising armaments. I leave sufficient troops in Italy to support my authority there.

"I am now on my way to Vienna. What I would have pardoned to Venice when I was in Italy, will become an unpardonable crime when I am in Germany. Should my soldiers be assassinated, my convoys harassed, or my communications interrupted on the Venetian territories, your republic will cease to exist; it will have pronounced its own sentence."

General Kerpen had imitated the movement of General Joubert, which had been put into operation on the 20th of March; he had abandoned the Tyrol, and had passed, by Salzburg and Rottenmann, into the valley of the Muer, where he hoped to rejoin the archduke; but having heard, at Scheifling, of the rapidity of the French army's march, he re-crossed the mountains, and did not effect his junction till some time after, in the plain of Vienna. General Laudon, left by him to guard the Tyrol, with only 2000 regular troops, succeeded in re-organizing 10,000 Tyrolean militia, who, discouraged by so many defeats, had dispersed. This reinforcement gave him greatly the advantage in numbers over the small guard which had been ordered by Joubert to cover the road to Trent.

General Serviez had about 1200 men; he evacuated the two shores of the Tarvis at the approach of the enemy, and retreated to Monte Caldo. Laudon occupied Trent. Being now master of the whole of the Tyrol, he inundated Italy with proclamations; he spread to Venice, to Rome, to Turin, and to Naples, the news of the defeat of the French. "The Tyrol had been the tomb of Joubert's troops; Napoleon had been defeated at Tagliamento; the imperial troops had gained brilliant victories on the Rhine." He came down from Trent into Italy with 60,000 men, for the purpose of entirely cutting off the retreat of the wrecks of the army, which the archduke was pursuing; and, finally, summoned Venice and all Italy to arms, and to revolt against France.

At this news, the Venetian oligarchy no longer kept measures. The French minister attempted in vain to show the senate on what an abyss it stood; he denied the pretended disasters of Joubert in the Tyrol, as well as those, quite as false, of the Sambre, Meuse and Rhine; he proved that hostilities had not yet been commenced; he went so far as to communicate the plan of the campaign, from which it resulted that the abandonment of the Tyrol by Joubert was an arranged movement; that he was at that moment marching through Carinthia towards the Pasterthal; and that, far from having lost his end, he had attained it. Pesaro gave no credit to

these communications ; he too earnestly desired the disasters of the French. The court of Vienna, on its part, omitted nothing which might serve to rouse the passions of the enemies of France. It was an essential part of its plans to organize insurrections in the rear of the army.

The *corps-de-reserve*, which had been left at Palma-Nova, the garrison of Osapo, and the prudence of the proveditor Mocenigo, kept Friuli tranquil ; perhaps, too, the inhabitants of this province, who were nearer the theatre of action, were better informed respecting the state of affairs.

The rising *en masse* of the Veronese had long since been arranged ; more than thirty thousand peasants had received arms, and only awaited the signal for massacre ; three thousand troops, composed partly of Venetians, and partly of Slavonians, had been sent to Verona to form a garrison there. Emile, the proveditor, who was devoted to the senate, conferred with Laudon ; he informed him of the weakness of the French garrison, and, as soon as he thought himself secure of the assistance of the Austrian troops, gave the signal for revolt.

On the 17th of April, the second day of the Easter festival, after vespers, the tocsin sounded ; the insurrection burst forth ; a general massacre of the French commenced ; the people, in their fury, even went so far as to murder four hundred sick people in the hospitals. General Balland shut himself up in the castle with the garrison. The Veronese authorities, alarmed by the artillery of the forts, which the General directed against the town, decided to demand a parley ; but the fury of the populace opposed this measure ; a reinforcement of two thousand Slavonians, sent from Vicenza by the proveditor Foscari, and the approach of the troops of the Austrian General Neiperg, added still more to the madness of the people, who avenged the mischief done in the town by the bombardment, by massacring the garrison of La Chuisa, who had been obliged to capitulate before the rising of the mountaineers.

General Kilmaine, commander-in-chief of Lombardy, made arrangements for assisting General Balland, on the first intelligence which he received of the insurrection at Verona. On the 21st, the first ranks of his army appeared under Verona. The Generals Chabraud and Chevalier fought several skirmishes, and succeeded in investing the town on the 22d. On the 23rd the signing of the preliminaries of peace with Austria became known to the insurgents, and almost at the same moment they heard of the arrival of the division commanded by Victor, which was hastening from Treviso. The alarm spread ; their dejection was now equal to their former fury ; they demanded a capitulation ; they accepted on their knees the conditions which Balland exacted ; they gave hostages, and order was again established.

The French owed them a heavy debt of vengeance ; the blood of their comrades, ignominiously murdered, still flowed in the streets ; no such vengeance was, however, taken ; three inhabitants only were given up to justice ; the people were all disarmed, and the peasants sent back to their villages.

The oligarchy of Venice, not less blind, allowed the crew of a French corvette, which, pursued by an Austrian frigate, had taken refuge under the batteries of the Lido, to be massacred before their eyes. The French minister protested against this violation of the right of nations, and demanded that justice should be exercised against the assassins. The senate laughed at his representations and his threats, and issued a decree, by

which it granted rewards to such of its satellites as had taken part in the massacre of Captain Laugier and his crew.

As soon as Napoleon was informed of the disorders and murders which were being committed in the rear of the army, he sent the aide-de-camp Junot to Venice, charging him to deliver to the senate the following letter, dated from Judenburg, the 9th of April :

“ Throughout all the provinces the subjects of the illustrious republic are in arms : their rallying cry is—*Death to the French !* The number of French soldiers who have already fallen victims to their rage amounts to some hundreds. It is in vain for you to affect to disavow the tumults which you yourselves have raised. Do you think that, because I am at a distance, in the heart of Germany, I shall not have power to enforce respect towards the soldiers of the first nation in the world ? Do you think that the French legions will leave unpunished the assassins stained with the blood of their comrades ? There is not a man amongst them who, when charged with this vengeance, will not feel his courage and his means tripled. Do you fancy yourselves still in the age of Charles VIII. ? Since then, opinions are changed indeed in Italy ! ”

Junot had orders to read this letter to the senate, and to express all the indignation of the general-in-chief, but terror had already seized on Venice. The illusion was dissipated ; they now knew that the armies on the Rhine had not commenced hostilities ; that Joubert was at Villach with his body of troops ; that Victor was close to Verona ; that the French were already directing their march to the lagunes ; finally, that Napoleon, victorious in every combat, had carried terror to Vienna itself ; that he had just granted a truce to the archduke, and that the emperor had sent ambassadors to him to demand peace.

The French minister, L'Allemand, presented Junot to the senate ; he fulfilled his mission with all the frankness and roughness of a soldier ; the senate was humbled, and endeavoured to make excuses. The friends of liberty raised their heads, and foresaw the moment of their triumph. A deputation was sent to the general-in-chief, then at Gratz, and was commissioned to offer him any reparation which he might desire ; the members of this deputation had private instructions to corrupt, by bribes, all such persons as might have influence with the general ; but all was in vain.

The senate at the same time dispatched courier after courier to Paris, and put considerable sums at the disposal of the Venetian minister, in the hope of gaining over the leaders of the directory, and causing such orders to be dispatched to the general-in-chief as should save the aristocracy. This intrigue succeeded in Paris : the distribution of ten thousand bills of exchange gained for the Venetian minister the orders which he solicited ; but these orders were not clothed with all the legal forms. Despatches intercepted at Milan, gave Napoleon the clue by which to unravel this intrigue ; the list of the bills distributed in Paris was in his hands ; he annulled them all by his own authority.

On the 3rd of May, he issued from Palma-Nova, his declaration of war against the Venetian republic, founding this declaration on the principle of repulsing force by force. This manifesto was couched in the following terms :

“ While the French army is engaged in the defiles of Styria, and has left far behind it Italy and its principal warlike establishments, where but a few battalions remain, the following is the conduct of the Venetian government.

"It profits by the Holy Week to arm 40,000 peasants—adds to these, ten regiments of Sclavonians, divides them into bodies, and posts them at various points, for the purpose of intercepting the communications of the French army.

"Extraordinary commissaries, guns, ammunition of all kinds and cannon, are sent from Venice itself in order to complete the organization of the different corps. All persons in the provinces who are favourably disposed towards us, are arrested; all those who are known to nourish a furious hatred against the French, and more especially the fourteen conspirators, whom the proveditor Priuli arrested three months ago, as being convicted of plotting a massacre of the French, are loaded with rewards, and enjoy the whole confidence of the government.

"In all market-places, coffee-houses, and other places of public resort, the French are insulted, called Jacobins, regicides, atheists; they are finally expelled and forbidden to re-enter the town.

"The inhabitants of Padua, Vicenza, and Verona, are ordered to take up arms, and to second the various bodies of troops—to commence, in short, these new Sicilian vespers. 'It is our business,' says the Venetian officers, 'to verify the proverb, that *Italy is the tomb of the French*.'—The priests in the pulpit, preach the crusade; and priests, in the Venetian states, say nothing but what the government pleases. Pamphlets, perfidious proclamations, anonymous letters, are printed in various towns, and begin to excite the people; and in a state where the liberty of the press is not allowed, in a government as much feared as it is secretly abhorred, the printers print nothing, the authors compose nothing, but what suits the senate.

"At first every thing seems to favour the treacherous project of the government; French blood flows on every side; convoys, couriers, everything appertaining to the army is intercepted on all the roads.

"At Padua, a commander of a battalion and two other Frenchmen are assassinated; at Castiglione di Mori, unarmed soldiers are murdered; and on the high roads between Mantua and Legnago, Cassano and Verona, more than two hundred French are killed.

"Two battalions, intending to join the army, meet a Venetian division at Chiari, which endeavours to oppose their passage; an obstinate combat ensues, and our brave soldiers cut a passage over the dead bodies of their enemies.

"At Valeggia, there is another combat; at Malegnana, they are obliged to fight once more; the French are everywhere few in number, but they are accustomed not to reckon the number of their enemies.

"On the second day of Easter, at the sound of the tocsin, all the French are assassinated in Verona; neither the sick in the hospitals, nor those just recovering, and taking the air in the streets, are respected; they are thrown into the Adige, after being pierced with a thousand stiletto wounds; more than four hundred soldiers are also massacred. During a whole week the Venetian army besieges the three castles of Verona; the cannons which the Venetians place as a battery are taken from them at the bayonet point; the town is set on fire; and the *corps-d'-observation* which arrives in the middle of these doings, completely routs these cowards, and takes 3000 prisoners—among them several generals.

"The French consul's house in Zante is burnt down. In Dalmatia, a Venetian war-ship takes an Austrian convoy under its protection, and fires several times upon the sloop *Le Brun*. The *Liberator of Italy*, a vessel be-

longing to the French republic, and only carrying three or four small pieces of cannon, is sunk in the port of Venice, by order of the senate.

"The young and interesting Lieutenant Laugier, commander of this vessel, as soon as he sees himself fired upon from the fort and from the admiral's galley, being only at the distance of a pistol shot from each, orders his crew to go down into the hold. He himself mounts the deck alone, amidst a shower of grape-shot, and endeavours, by speaking, to disarm the fury of the assassins; but in vain—he falls! His crew throw themselves into the water, and endeavour to escape by swimming; they are pursued by six chaloupes, manned by troops in the pay of Venice, who strike down with hatchets the sailors who are endeavouring to find safety in the open sea. A boatswain, wounded, bleeding and exhausted, has the good fortune to gain the shore, and to cling to a piece of wood close to the castle; but the commandant himself cuts off his hand with a hatchet.

"Considering the above grievances, authorized by cap. xii., art. 328, of the constitution of the republic, and impelled by the urgency of circumstances, the general-in-chief requires the French minister, now in Venice, to quit the said city.

"He orders the various agents of the French republic in Lombardy, and in the Venetian provinces, to leave the said provinces within twenty-four hours.

"He further orders the various generals to treat as enemies the troops of the republic of Venice; to throw down, in all the towns of the provinces, the Lion of St. Mark; each general will receive to-morrow particular instructions for his ulterior military operations."

On reading this manifesto, the arms fell from the hands of the oligarchs, they no longer thought of defending themselves: the great council of the aristocracy assembled, and gave up the sovereignty to the people; a municipality was the depository of it. Thus did these families, so proud and so long held in regard, and to whom an alliance had been offered in such good faith, fall without offering any resistance. In vain did they, in their anguish, solicit the aid of the court of Vienna; in vain did they entreat it to include them in the truce and in the negotiations for peace. That court was deaf to their prayers; it had its own views.

On the 16th of May, Baragnay d'Hilliers entered Venice; he had been called upon by the inhabitants, who were menaced by the Sclavonians. He took possession of the forts and batteries, and planted the tri-color in the square of St. Mark. The aristocracy was entirely and for ever overthrown; the democratic constitution of 1200 was proclaimed. Dandolo, a man of a quick, warm character, enthusiastic in the cause of liberty, a person of integrity, and a distinguished lawyer, placed himself at the head of the affairs of the city.

The Lion of St. Mark and the Corinthian horses were taken to Paris. The Venetian fleet consisted of twelve ships of sixty-four guns, and as many frigates and sloops. They were manned and sent to Toulon.

Corfu was one of the most important strong places of the republic; General Gentili, who had taken Corsica, approached it with four battalions and a few companies of artillery, on board a squadron formed of Venetian vessels. He took possession of this place, the true key of the Adriatic, as also of the other Ionian Islands, Zante, Cerigo, Cephalonia, St. Maura, (the ancient Ithaca), &c. &c.

Pesaro was overwhelmed with reproaches, and took refuge at Vienna; Battaglia sincerely regretted the fall of his country; he had long disapproved

of the proceedings of the senate, and had but too well foreseen this catastrophe; he died some time afterwards, sincerely regretted by the good and honourable. Had his advice been followed, Venice would have been saved. The Doge Manini, at the moment when he was swearing allegiance to Austria, fell dead into the arms of Morosini, who had become commissary of the Emperor.

On the receipt of the declaration of war against Venice, all the provinces were in arms against the capital. Each separate town proclaimed its independence, and constituted a government for itself. Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, Bassano, Udine, formed themselves into separate republics. It was this system which had been the origin of the cispadane and transpadane republics. They adopted the principles of the French revolution, abolished convents, but respected the religion and property of the secular priests; they constituted national domains, and suppressed feudal privileges. Chosen men from the nobility and proprietors of land formed themselves into companies of hussars and riflemen, under the title of a guard of honour. The inferior classes formed battalions of a national guard. The colours of these new republics were those of Italy. Notwithstanding Napoleon's extreme vigilance in endeavouring to prevent outrages and destruction, more took place at this period than at any other during the course of the war. The country was divided into two very violent factions; all the passions of the people were roused to a high pitch; at the time of the surrender of Verona, the *mont-de-piété*, of that town, which possessed from seven to eight millions of francs, was despoiled. Bouquer, the war commissioner, and Landrieux, a colonel of hussars, were accused of this robbery, the character of which was rendered still more shocking by the other crimes, necessary to its concealment, which preceded and followed it. All that was found in the houses of the accused persons was restored to the town, but the loss was nevertheless considerable.

General Bernadotte carried to Paris the standards which had been taken from the Venetian troops, and also the remains of those taken at Rivoli and in Germany from Prince Charles. He presented these trophies to the directory a few days before the 18th of Fructidor.

The frequent presentations of standards were, at this period, very useful to the government; these manifestations of the disposition of the army confounded the malcontents and made them tremble.



## CHAPTER VI.

## NAPOLEON DURING 1797.

MONTABELLO is a castle situated some leagues from Milan, upon a hill which commands the whole plain of Lombardy. The French head-quarters were there during the months of May and June. The assemblage of the principal ladies of Milan, who came there daily to pay their respects to Josephine; the presence of the ministers of Austria, of the Pope, of the King of the Two Sicilies, and of the republics of Genoa and Venice; those of the Duke of Parma, of the Swiss cantons, and of several princes of Germany; the numerous authorities of the cisalpine republic, and the deputies of cities; the great number of couriers from Paris, from Rome, from Naples, Vienna, Florence, Turin, Venice, Genoa, who came and went at all hours,—in a word, the whole manner of life in this castle, caused the Italians to speak of it as the court of Montebello; and, in fact, it was a brilliant court. The negotiations of peace with the Emperor—the politics of Germany, the fate of the King of Sardinia, of Switzerland, of Venice and Genoa, were settled there. The court of Montebello made several excursions to Lake Maggiore, to the Borromean Isles, to the Lake of Como; and passed several days in the different country-houses round these lakes. Every town—every village, wished to distinguish itself in showing esteem and respect for the liberator of Italy. The corps diplomatique could not but be surprised at all they saw.

General Serrurier conveyed to the directory the last colours taken from the archduke Charles: "This officer" (we quote from Napoleon's letter) "has displayed in the two last campaigns, as much talent as civism; his division gained the victory of Mondovi, and contributed materially to that of Castiglione, and to the taking of Mantua. It also distinguished itself at the passage of the Tagliamento, at the passage of the Isonzo, and particularly at the taking of Gradisca. General Serrurier is severe to himself; he is so, sometimes, towards others; a firm friend to discipline, order, and the virtues most necessary to the maintenance of society; he disdains all intrigue. These qualities have made him several enemies among men always ready to accuse of incivism those who require them to submit to the laws.

"I consider him very fit to command the troops of the cisalpine republic. I beg you, therefore, to send him to his post as soon as possible."

Serrurier was well received at Paris; the frankness and openness of his character gave general satisfaction. During his residence in France, he visited his native department of L'Aisne; he had always been moderate respecting the principles of the revolution, but when he returned from France, he was very warm in favour of the republic, so indignant was he at the bad feeling he had had occasion to remark.

Just as the French army was entering Venice, Count d'Entraigues escaped from that town. He was stopped at the Brenta by the troops of Berna-

dotte's division, and sent to head-quarters at Milan. The Count d'Entraigues was from Nivernois. As one of the deputies from the nobility to the constituent assembly, he was an ardent patriot in '88 and '89; but shortly after the beginning of the general assembly, being a nephew of M. de St. Priest, he changed sides, emigrated, and was one of the principal agents of royalty in other countries, and unceasing in his intrigues. He had been at Venice for two years, nominally attached to the English embassy, but in fact, as minister of the counter-revolution, and putting himself at the head of all the plots for injuring or rising against the French army. He was suspected of having had a share in the massacre at Verona. Generals Berthier and Clarke searched his papers, made a list of all the contents of his secretaire, and sent this list to Paris. The French government sent an answer, ordering d'Entraigues to be brought before a military tribunal, and judged according to the laws of the republic; but, in the meantime, he had interested Napoleon, who had seen him several times. Not ignorant of the dangers of his position, he took pains to please him who alone had power over his fate; he spoke to him without reserve, discovered to him several intrigues then in progress, and compromised his party much more than he was called on to do. This plan succeeded; he was allowed to reside in the town on his parole, and shortly afterwards made his escape into Switzerland. So little attention had been paid to him, that it was only some six or seven days after his departure from Milan, that it was discovered he had broken his parole. Not long afterwards, a sort of pamphlet by him was spread all over Germany and Italy, calumniating his benefactor. He described the horrible dungeon in which he had been immured, the torments which he had suffered, the boldness which he had displayed, and the risks he had run to obtain his liberty. Every one at Milan, where he had been seen in every company, on the public promenade and elsewhere, was indignant at this conduct; several members of the corps diplomatique shared the general indignation, and even published declarations on the subject.

The republic of Genoa, during the three wars respecting the succession of Parma, of Spain, and of Austria, had taken an active part in the quarrel; its little armies had marched to the field with those of the crowns of France and Spain. In 1747, the people had driven out of Genoa the Austrian garrison commanded by the Marquis of Botta, and since that time the town had sustained a long and obstinate siege from the army of Maria Theresa. In the eighteenth century, Genoa had carried on a bloody war against Corsica. National antipathy gave rise to interminable skirmishes between the Piedmontese and the Genoese. This continual recurrence of military events had contributed to keep alive among the citizens of this republic, weak as it was in respect to population and extent, an energy which gave it quite a different standing from that of Venice. Thus the Genoese aristocracy had successfully resisted the storm; it had preserved itself free and independent; it had allowed itself to be dictated to neither by the coalition, nor by France, nor by the popular party; it had preserved, in all its purity, the constitution which Andreas Doria had given it in the sixteenth century.

But the proclamation of the independence of the cispadane and transpadane republics, the abdication of the aristocracy of Venice, the establishment of a popular form of government in the whole of the Venetian states, and the enthusiasm inspired by the victories of the French, gave such an increase of weight to the popular party, that some change in the constitution became unavoidable. France did not believe itself justified in placing any confidence in the aristocracy; but it was considered advisable that the

revolution should take place without any open interference on its part, and merely by means of the advance and the force of public opinion. Faypoult, the French minister at Genoa, was an enlightened man, moderate in his politics, and rather weak in character; this was an advantage in the then state of things, since he rather restrained than increased the enthusiasm of the revolutionary party.

Those who had observed the course of events, had calculated that matters would come to a crisis about the end of August; they did not believe that the aristocracy could prolong its resistance beyond that term. The revolutionary spirits of the club Morandi, impatient at the slow progress of events, and perhaps too, urged on by secret agents from Paris, drew up a petition in which they demanded the abdication of the aristocracy, and the proclamation of independence.

A deputation presented it to the Doge, who did not show himself averse to give satisfaction to the petitioners; he even named a junta of nine persons, amongst whom four were to be plebeians, to propose to him the necessary changes in the constitution.

The three state-inquisitors or supreme censors, chiefs of the oligarchy and enemies of France, saw this state of things with grief. Convinced that the aristocracy had but a very little longer time to exist, if they allowed things to go on as they were, and did not take some means of preventing them, they sought for assistance in fanaticism to gain over to their side the inferior corporations. If they could be enabled to gain the coal-porters and the colliers, they would thus acquire assistance sufficient to keep all classes of the citizens in awe. They made use of the confessional, the pulpit, sermons in the squares and streets, miracles, the exposition of the holy sacrament, even the prayers during forty hours, in order to obtain from God, that he would remove from the republic the storm which threatened it; but instead of avoiding the storm, they attracted it by this imprudent conduct. On the other hand, the Morandi Club agitated; they declaimed, printed, excited the people in a thousand ways against the nobles and the priests, and made many proselytes. They soon considered the moment favourable, and took up arms on the 22nd of May; at 10 o'clock in the morning, they seized the principal gates, particularly those of St. Thomas, of the arsenal, and of the port. The inquisitors, terrified at this, gave the signal agreed on to the coal-porters and colliers, who, conducted by their syndics, rushed with cries of "Viva Maria," to the magazine of arms, and declared in favour of the aristocracy. Thus, in a few hours, 10,000 men were organized and provided with arms, ready to defend the prince. The minister of France, terrified at their vociferations against the Jacobites and the French, proceeded to the palace and endeavoured to conciliate the hostile parties. At the sight of these preparations on the part of the oligarchy, and of this great number of defenders, the patriots felt their weakness; they had reckoned that the mass of the citizens would rise in their favour, and that this would give them the advantage over their adversaries; but the citizens, terrified at the fury of the coal-porters, remained shut up in their houses. The patriots, thus deceived in their hopes, could not see any means of safety except in adopting the French cockade, which had very nearly produced fatal effects to several French families resident in Genoa.

Every one ran to arms: the patriots were defeated on all sides, and driven from their positions. During the night between the 23rd and the 24th they retained possession of St. Thomas's gate; they lost it, however,

early on the 24th. The triumphant party compelled everybody to wear the Genoese cockade; they permitted the pillage of the houses inhabited by French families; and several Frenchmen were even committed to prison.

The minister Faypoult would certainly have been insulted but for a guard of honour that the doge sent to his hotel, consisting of 200 men. Ménard, the commissary of the navy, a prudent man, who had taken no part in the disturbances, was dragged by the hair to the fort of La Lanterne; the house of the consul Lachaise was pillaged; every thing French was obliged to be prepared for insults, and even sometimes for wounds.

The citizens were indignant, but dared not make any resistance for fear of the conquerors. From the 23rd to the 29th, the minister Faypoult presented several notes on the subject, without receiving any satisfaction. Just at this time Admiral Brueys, with two men-of-war, and two frigates, presented himself at the port on his return from Corsica. The doge opposed his entrance under the pretext that his presence would irritate the populace, and that they would then commit all sorts of excesses against the French. Faypoult was weak enough to submit to this measure; he sent orders to Brueys, therefore, to sail for Toulon.

When the moderate party in the senate observed upon the imprudence of this conduct, the oligarchs answered, that as the French were engaged in negotiations with Austria, they would not dare to march a body of men against Genoa; that the opinions which prevailed at Paris were not democratic ones; that it was known that even Napoleon disapproved of the principles of the club Morandi; and that he would think twice before exposing himself to the possibility of blame from his government, and to the hostility of Clichy's party, which was the most powerful in the legislature.

All these fallacious hopes were soon dispelled. As soon as Napoleon was informed that French blood had been shed, he dispatched his aide-de-camp, Lavalette, to Genoa; he required from the doge that all the French who had been arrested should be immediately placed at the disposal of the French minister; that the coal-porters and colliers should be disarmed, and the inquisitors arrested; declaring, at the same time, that the heads of the patricians should pay for any French lives, as well as that the property of the republic should make reparation for any damage done to theirs. He desired the minister Faypoult to quit Genoa, and to retire to Tortona, with all the French residents who chose to follow him, in case these demands should not be complied with in twenty-four hours. Lavalette arrived at Genoa on the 29th of May, at four o'clock in the afternoon; at six, he was presented to the senate, who, after having heard his demands, and seen the letter to the doge, promised to give him an answer the same evening. In fact, the French were immediately set at liberty, and conducted to the hotel of the ambassador in the midst of an immense concourse of people, who testified their sympathy for them. The middle classes and the populace, encouraged by this proceeding of Napoleon's, which convinced them of his protection, roused themselves, and demanded with loud cries, that the cut-throats of the oligarchy should be disarmed. The same evening 4000 muskets were replaced in the arsenal. The discussion in the senate was warm; the aristocratic party were in the minority. A division of French troops had been sent to Tortona. Genoa, if besieged by sea and land, would have been promptly reduced to humiliation; it is even probable, that the mere sight of the French troops would

have been sufficient to give to the citizens, and to the mass of the "tiers état" power sufficient to shake off the yoke of the aristocracy.

In the meantime, the answer of the aristocracy was not satisfactory, being only a sort of compromise. Faypoult determined to leave Genoa. Lavalette was to remain there to protect such French residents as should not leave with the minister. Upon the French minister's demanding his passports, the doge assembled the senate, which alone had the power of granting them. The senate was therefore obliged a second time to take into consideration the position in which the republic was about to be placed. After some discussion, the resolution of giving way to the demands of the general-in-chief was adopted: it was decreed, 1stly, that a deputation, consisting of MM. Cambiaso, (doge,) Serra, and Carbonari, should be immediately dispatched to Montebello; 2ndly, that the inquisitors should be placed in a state of arrest; 3rdly, that the coal-porters and colliers, who had only acted according to the orders of the prince, and who in reality had no interest whatever in the affair, should become quiet as soon as submission was really determined on.

On the 6th of June, the deputies of the senate signed a convention at Montebello, which put an end to the constitution of Doria, and established at Genoa the democratical form of government. This convention was conceived in the following terms:

"The French republic and the republic of Genoa, wishing to confirm and consolidate the union and harmony of feeling which have always existed between them, and believing that the happiness of the Genoese people requires that the sovereign power should be restored to them: the two states have agreed upon the following articles.

"Art. 1. The government of the republic of Genoa recognises the principle, that the sovereign power resides in the united body of all the citizens of the Genoese territory.

"2. The legislative power shall be confided to two representative councils, composed, the one of 300, the other of 150 members. The executive power shall be delegated to a senate of twelve, presided over by a doge. Both doge and senators shall be chosen by the two councils.

"3. Each commune shall have its municipality, and each district its administration.

"4. The mode of election of all the authorities, the divisions into districts, the portion of authority to be confided to each corporation, the organization of the judicial authorities, and of the military force, shall be determined by a legislative commission, which shall be required to frame a constitution, and all the organic laws of the government: taking care at the same time to do nothing contrary to the Catholic religion; to guarantee the consolidated debt; to preserve the free port of the city of Genoa, and the bank of St. George; and to take measures for providing, as far as is possible, for the support of the poor nobles at present in existence. This commission shall complete its task in one month, reckoning from the day of its appointment.

"5. The people, being thus re-established in their rights, every species of privilege or of particular organization, tending to destroy the unity of the state, is, *ipso facto*, annulled.

"6. The provisional government shall be confided to a commission, consisting of twenty-two members, with the present doge at their head; and this commission shall date from the 14th of the present month of June, being the 26th of Prairial of the year 5 of the French republic.

"7. Those citizens who shall be called upon to compose the provisional government of the republic of Genoa, shall not be permitted to refuse this office, without being considered as indifferent to the welfare of their country, and condemned to pay a fine of 2000 crowns.

"8. When the provisional government shall be formed, it shall determine the necessary rules respecting the form of its deliberations. It shall name, in the course of the first week of its appointment, the legislative commission, empowered to frame a constitution.

"9. The provisional government shall provide for the proper indemnification of all the French residents who shall have suffered loss during the days of the 3rd and 4th of Prairial, (May 22 and 23.)

"10. The French republic, anxious to give a proof of the interest which it takes in the happiness of the people of Genoa, and desirous of seeing them united and free from factions, grants an amnesty to all the Genoese of whom she might have reason to complain, whether on account of the events of the 3rd and 4th of Prairial, or on account of the several events which have taken place in the various imperial feuds.

"The provisional government shall also endeavour, most anxiously, to put an end to all factions, to unite all the citizens, and to cause them to see the necessity of rallying around the public liberty, granting further, for this purpose, a general amnesty.

"11. The French republic will grant to the republic of Genoa its protection, and even the assistance of its arms, in order to facilitate, if necessary, the execution of the above-named articles, and to maintain the integrity of the territory of the Genoese republic."

The people triumphed with that vivacity which is the characteristic of a spirit of party and of all southern nations; they even committed some excesses; they burned the Golden Book, and broke the statute of Doria. This outrage, offered to the memory of so great a man, offended Napoleon—he demanded of the provisional government that the statue should be restored.

In the meantime, the exclusives had got the upper hand; the constitution, therefore, was also of the same spirit; the priests were rendered disaffected, and the nobles exasperated; they were both excluded from all offices of state. This constitution was to be submitted to the assembly of the people on the 14th of September; it was printed and posted up in all the communes. Several of the country communes declared that they would not accept it; the priests and nobles endeavoured everywhere to rouse the peasants. At last, the insurrection broke out in the valleys of the Polcevera and of the Besagno; the insurgents took possession of the three bastions of L'Eperon, La Tenaille, and La Lanterne, which latter commands the port. General Duphot, who had been sent to Genoa, to organize the troops of the republic, which amounted to six thousand men, was called upon by the provisional government to fight in their defence. He drove out the insurgents and recovered the two forts. On the 7th, tranquillity was again established in the valleys; the peasants were disarmed.

Napoleon was displeased at these accounts. He was then entirely occupied with the negotiations with Austria, and had not been able to pay any very particular attention to the affairs of Genoa; but he advised them not to displease the nobles, and to satisfy the priests. He retarded the publication of the constitution; he made all the changes which the priests and the nobles required; and thus, purged of the spirit of demagogy, with

which it had been tinged, it was put into execution, with the consent of all ranks. He loved Genoa; he wished to have gone there himself, in order to unite all parties, but circumstances succeeding each other with unexampled rapidity, prevented this design.

After the treaty of Campo Formio, on the point of quitting Italy, on the 11th of November, 1797, he wrote the following letter to the Genoese government:

"I will respond, citizens, to the confidence you have reposed in me. You feel obliged to diminish the expenses of your administration, in order not to overtax your people. It is not enough to act in no respect contrary to religion; you must endeavour moreover to give no subject of inquietude to even fearful consciences, and no tool to evil-intentioned persons.

*"To exclude all the nobles from any public office would be an act of injustice in the highest degree; you would be doing then what they did before. The free port is an apple of discord which has been thrown in the midst of you. . . . The town of Genoa must hold the freedom of its port from the will of the legislative body. Why is the Ligurian people so changed? Its first impulses of fraternity have been succeeded by fear and terror. The priests had first rallied round the tree of liberty; they first told you that the morality of the gospel is democratic; but men, paid by your enemies, and the immediate assistants of tyranny in all revolutions, have taken advantage of the faults, perhaps even the crimes of some priests, to write against religion; and the priests have retired. . . . You have proscribed en masse, and the number of your enemies has increased. . . . When in any state, but particularly in a small state, one becomes accustomed to condemn without hearing, to applaud a discourse because it is impassioned, when exaggeration and madness are called virtue, moderation and equity designated as crimes, that state is near its ruin. Believe me that wherever my duty and the service of my country may call me, I shall consider that one of the most happy moments of my life, in which I hear that the people of Genoa are united among themselves and live happily."*

A motion of Sieyes, having for its object the banishment of all the nobles from France, with an equivalent compensation in manufactured goods for their losses, was just at this time under discussion in the Council of Five Hundred, in Paris; so that this advice given by Napoleon to the republic of Genoa, appears to have been, in fact, intended for the French republic. At any rate, the latter profited by it; for this extreme and terrible measure, which spread alarm and disorder everywhere, was abandoned, and never more introduced.

No French battalion had passed Tortona. The revolution of Genoa was effected solely by the influence of the "tiers état;" and had it not been for the proceedings of the inquisitors and the club Morandi, it would have been effected without any disorders, without trouble, and without any even indirect interference of France.

The King of Sardinia was placed in a false position; the following treaty, negotiated at Bologna by Napoleon, and signed at Turin by Clarke, existed, yet did not exist.

"The executive Directory of the French republic, and his majesty the King of Sardinia, wishing by all means in their power, and by a more intimate connexion of their respective interests, to contribute to bring about, as quickly as possible, that peace which they both desire, and which must assure the repose and the tranquillity of Italy, have determined upon concluding a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive; and have charged

with full powers to that effect—to wit, the Directory of the French republic, General Clarke; and his majesty the King of Sardinia, the Chevalier D. Clément Damian de Priocca, Knight Grand Cross of the orders of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, principal Secretary of State of his majesty in the Home Department: who, after having exchanged their respective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

“Art. 1. There shall exist an offensive alliance between the French republic and his majesty the King of Sardinia, until a general peace.

“After that time, the alliance shall be simply a defensive one, and shall be established upon a basis conformable to the reciprocal interests of the two powers.

“2. As the present alliance has no other object than that of hastening the conclusion of peace, and of assuring the tranquillity of Italy, it shall only be binding during the present war against the Emperor of Germany, being the only one of the continental powers who continues to oppose such salutary intentions. His majesty the King of Sardinia will remain neuter in respect to England and the other powers still at war with the French republic.

“3. The French republic, and his majesty the King of Sardinia, guarantee to one another, as far as lies in their power, all their present possessions in Europe, during all the time that the present alliance shall continue in force. The two powers will unite their forces against the common enemy from without, and will lend no assistance, direct or indirect, to an enemy within.

“4. The contingent of troops which his Sardinian majesty shall furnish in consequence of the present alliance, shall be 8000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 40 pieces of cannon. In case the two powers shall think it necessary to increase this contingent, this increase shall be agreed upon by commissioners, with full powers on the part of the executive directory, and of his majesty the King of Sardinia.

“5. The contingent of troops and of artillery shall be ready and assembled at Novara—to wit, 500 cavalry, 4000 infantry, and 12 pieces of cannon, on the 30th Germinal of the present year, (April 19, O. S.,) the remainder fourteen days later.

“This contingent shall be kept at the expense of his majesty the King of Sardinia, and shall receive orders from the general-in-chief of the French army in Italy.

“A particular convention drawn up in concert with the general, shall determine the mode in which the contingent shall serve.

“6. The troops composing it, shall share, in proportion to the number actually under arms, in the contributions imposed on the conquered countries, reckoning from the day on which the contingent shall have joined the armies of the republic.

“7. The French republic promises to grant to his majesty the King of Sardinia, at the general or continental peace, all the advantages that circumstances permit it to procure for him.

“8. Neither of the contracting powers shall conclude a separate peace with the common enemy, and no truce shall be concluded by the French republic with the armies at present in Italy, without including in it his Sardinian majesty.

“9. All contributions imposed in the states of his majesty the King of Sardinia, which have not been acquitted or compensated for, shall cease immediately after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.



"10. The various equipments which shall have been furnished in the states of his Sardinian majesty to the French troops, as also to the prisoners of war, sent back into France, as well as those which have been the consequence of separate conventions on this subject, in so far as they have not been acquitted or compensated for by the French republic in consequence of the said conventions, shall be repaid in kind to the troops forming the contingent of his Sardinian majesty; and in case the equipments to be restored shall exceed the wants of the contingent, the remainder shall be discharged in cash.

"11. The two contracting powers shall immediately name commissioners to negotiate in their names a commercial treaty conformable to Art. 7, of the treaty of peace concluded at Paris between the French republic, and his majesty the King of Sardinia; in the meantime, the posts and all commercial relations shall be re-established without delay, as they were previous to the war.

"12. The ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged at Paris with the least possible delay.

"Done and signed at Turin, the 16th Germinal, year 5, of the French republic, one and indivisible, (April 5, 1797, O. S.)

(Signed,)

M. CLARKE,  
CLEMENT DAMIAN."

The directory did not avow its intentions openly, but it was evident that it did not intend to ratify the treaty. On the other hand, Napoleon persisted in considering this ratification indispensable. He attached importance, as was right, to a division of veteran Piedmontese soldiers, whose value he well knew. Considering himself as personally engaged to the court of Sardinia, he employed all his efforts to secure the interior tranquillity of the states of the king. Meantime, the Piedmontese malcontents became every day more numerous; they ran to arms and were defeated. This position was extremely delicate; it excited in the highest degree the dissatisfaction of the Jacobins in France and Italy; and when the royalist party had triumphed at Turin, the arrests and vexations which they allowed themselves to commit were a continual source of complaint at headquarters.

At the end of September, the directory, when signing the ultimatum for the negotiations of Campo Formio, gave Napoleon to understand that they persisted in refusing to ratify the treaty with Sardinia. The minister of foreign affairs, when communicating to him the resolution of the directory, advised him to cause the Sardinian soldiers to be corrupted by some of the Italian recruiters, which would enable him, he said, to obtain the assistance of the 10,000 Piedmontese troops, without any obligation to the court of Turin. But the officer's list of the troops was not to be corrupted; besides which, an operation of this kind could not be completed without losing too much time, for it was necessary to commence the campaign immediately.

This conduct on the part of the directory was one of the causes which decided Napoleon to sign the peace of Campo-Formio, without paying any attention to the ultimatum of the 29th of September, which, in his opinion, could not have been inserted in the protocol, without causing a rupture. In the meantime, the directory finally comprehended the importance of reinforcing the Italian army by the 10,000 men of the Piedmontese contingent; they decided upon ratifying the treaty of Turin, and sent it, on the 21st of

October to the legislative body ; but it was too late ; the peace of Campo-Fornio had been concluded with Austria on the 17th.

Thus, after the campaigns of Napoleon in Italy, the King of Sardinia preserved his throne, weakened, it is true, by the loss of Savoy and Nice, having lost some of his fortresses, a few of which had been demolished, and some garrisoned by the French, but having acquired the immense advantage of becoming the ally of the French republic, which guaranteed to him the integrity of his states. This prince, however, did not deceive himself as to his position ; he knew that he owed the preservation of his throne to Napoleon, and was well aware how insincere was the apparent alliance of the directory ; he had been very near his downfall, surrounded as he had been by the French, the Ligurian, and the Cisalpine democracies ; he had still to contend against the opinions of his people. The Piedmontese called loudly for a revolution, and the court began to consider Sardinia as a haven of refuge.

The court of Rome had at first faithfully executed the stipulations of the treaty of Tolentino ; but in a short time it allowed itself to be influenced by Cardinal Busca and by Albani. It began again to levy troops, and had the imprudence openly to brave France, by sending for General Provera to command them. It even refused to recognise the Cisalpine republic. The victorious position of the republic, and the threats of its ambassador, promptly terminated these vain demonstrations of independence. Provera only remained a few days at Rome, and then set out for Austria. The Cisalpine republic, glad of the opportunity of taking possession of some of the provinces belonging to the papal dominions, declared war against the Vatican. At the sight of the storm which threatened to burst over them, these weak and imprudent old men humbled themselves, and gave to the Cisalpine directory all the satisfaction they demanded.

If in this conduct we find no trace of that ancient policy which rendered the Vatican so illustrious during the last centuries, we must remember that its government was worn out, and that the temporal power of the popes was entirely gone ; it ended as the sovereignty of the ecclesiastical electors of the empire also ended.

The court of Naples was directed by the Queen, a woman of remarkable talents, but with ideas as much disordered as were the passions which agitated her heart. The treaty of Paris of the 10th of October, 1796, had made no change in the dispositions of this cabinet, which did not cease making preparations, and giving trouble during the whole of the year 1797 ; and yet no treaty could be more favourable. It was conceived in the following terms :

“The French republic and his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, equally animated with the desire of causing the advantages of peace to succeed the necessary evils of war, have named the following persons, to wit, for the executive directory, Citizen Charles Delacroix, minister of foreign affairs, and for his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, Prince Belmonte Pignatelli, gentleman of the chamber, and minister plenipotentiary at the court of his Catholic Majesty, to treat in their name of the clauses and conditions proper to re-establish a good intelligence and friendship between these two powers ; which persons, after exchanging their full powers, have agreed upon the following articles :

“Art. 1. There shall be peace, friendship, and a good understanding between the French republic and his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies. In consequence, all hostilities shall definitely cease, reckoning from the day on which the ratifications of the present treaty shall be exchanged.

"In the meantime, and until that period, the conditions agreed upon at the armistice of the 17th Prairial, year 4, (June 4, 1796,) shall continue fully and entirely in force.

"2. Every prior agreement, engagement or convention, on the part of either of the two contracting parties, which may be contrary to the present treaty, is hereby annulled, and is to be regarded as non-existent; consequently, during the present war, neither of the contracting powers shall furnish to any enemy of the other, any assistance in troops, vessels, arms or munitions of war, provisions, or money, under any title or denomination whatsoever.

"3. His majesty the King of the Two Sicilies will observe the strictest neutrality in respect to all the belligerent powers; he will, therefore, engage to refuse admittance into his ports to all vessels armed for war belonging to the said powers, exceeding four in number, according to the rules of the above-mentioned neutrality. All furnishing of ammunition, or of merchandise known under the name of contraband, shall be refused to them.

"4. Every security and protection against their enemies, shall be afforded to all merchant vessels of the French republic, in whatever number, in all ports and roadsteads of his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, and to all vessels of war belonging to the republic, not exceeding the number specified in the preceding article.

"5. The French republic and his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies engages to free from sequestration all effects, revenues, or goods, seized, confiscated or retained from citizens or subjects of either power, in consequence of the present war; and to admit them respectively to the exercise of any rights or privileges to which they may have legal claim.

"6. All prisoners made on either side, including sailors and mariners, shall be restored within a month, reckoning from the date of the exchange of the ratification of the present treaty, after paying any debts contracted during their captivity; the sick and wounded shall remain in the hospitals until their recovery, when they shall be immediately sent back.

"7. In order to give a proof of his friendship for the French republic, and of his desire to keep up a good understanding between the two powers, his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies consents to cause to be set at liberty every French citizen who may have been arrested within his dominions, on account of his political opinions in reference to the French revolution; all goods and chattels, which may have been sequestered or confiscated for the same reason, shall be restored to their owners.

"8. For the same reason which dictated the preceding article, his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies engages to cause all suitable search for, and to deliver up, if possible, to the rigour of the law, those persons who stole the papers belonging to the last minister of the republic at Naples in 1793.

"9. The ambassadors or ministers of the contracting powers shall enjoy, in the respective states, the same prerogatives as they enjoyed before the war, with the exception of those which depended on the alliance of the ruling houses.

"10. Every French citizen and every member of the household of an ambassador or minister, consul, or other agent, accredited and recognized by the French republic, shall enjoy, in the states of his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, the same liberty of worship as is enjoyed by the individuals of those not Catholic nations most favoured in this respect.

"11. A commercial treaty shall be negotiated and concluded as soon as possible, between the two powers, founded upon the basis of mutual utility,

and such as to secure to the French nation advantages equal to those which the nations most favoured in this respect enjoy in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Until the conclusion of this treaty, the commercial and consular relations shall be reciprocally established, such as they were before the war.

"12. Conformably to Art. 6, of the treaty concluded at the Hague the 27th of Floréal, year 3 of the republic (May 16, 1795,) the same peace, friendship and good intelligence, agreed upon in the present treaty between the French republic and his majesty the King of the Two Sicilies, shall be considered to exist between his majesty and the Batavian republic.

"13. The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications exchanged within forty days from the day of signature.

"Done at Paris, the 19th of Vendemiaire, year 5 of the French republic, one and indivisible, corresponding to October 10, 1796, O. S.

(Signed)

CHARLES DELACROIX,

PRINCE DE BELMONTE PIGNATELLI."

Whilst Napoleon was on his march to threaten Rome, the Prince of Belmonte Pignatelli, the Neapolitan minister, who followed the head-quarters, showed him, in confidence, a letter from the Queen, in which she announced to him that she was about to march 30,000 men to cover Rome. "I thank you for this confidence," said the General, "and I will return it with another;" he rang for his secretary, sent for the Neapolitan portfolio, and took from it a despatch, which he had written to the directory in the month of November, 1796, before the taking of Mantua, and read; "The embarrassment which the approach of Alvinzi gives me, would not prevent me from sending 6000 Lombards and Poles to punish the court of Rome; but as it is to be foreseen that the King of Naples might march 30,000 men to the defence of the Holy See, I shall not march upon Rome till Mantua is taken, and the reinforcements you are sending me are arrived: in order that if the court of Naples should violate the treaty of Paris, I may be able to dispose of 25,000 men, with which I can take possession of their capital and oblige them to retire to Sicily." An extraordinary courier, dispatched in the night by Prince Pignatelli, was, no doubt, commissioned to inform the queen how his insinuation had been received.

Since the treaty of Paris, the Neapolitan legations were generally more hostile and more arrogant towards the French, than during the time of war; and the Neapolitan ambassadors even asserted openly that the peace would not be of long duration. This absurd conduct did not prevent the cabinet of Naples from entertaining ambitious views; during the conferences of Montebello, of Udine, and of Passeriano, the envoy of the Queen of Naples endeavoured to obtain the islands of Corfu, Zante, Cephalonia, Santa-Maura, the Marches of Macerata, of Ferrara, of Ancona, and the duchy of Urbino; he even went so far as to express a desire of enriching himself, at the expense of the Pope and the republic of Venice; and these acquisitions the queen expected to obtain from the protection of France: and it was especially by the mediation of Napoleon, that she expected to obtain her wishes. The throne of Naples survived the peace of Campo-Formio; it would have maintained itself tranquil and happy in the midst of the storms which agitated Europe and Italy, if it had been directed by a sounder policy.

It had been found necessary to yield to the wishes of the Lombards, and to form them into a democratic state, under the name of the Transpadane

republic. This republic included all the left bank of the Po, from the Mincio to the Ticino. The Cispadane republic extended along the right bank of the Po, from the duchy of Parma, exclusive, to the Adriatic.

The constitution of the Cispadane republic had been decided upon in a congress of the representatives of the nation, and then submitted to the acceptance of the people; voted by an immense majority, it had been put in execution at the end of April. The nobles and the priests had been able to get themselves elected to all the offices; the citizens accused them of not being well-intentioned to the new order of things: the discontent was general. Napoleon perceived the necessity of giving a definite organization to these two states.

Immediately after the refusal of the court of Vienna to ratify the convention signed at Montebello, with the Marquis of Gallo, and which contained the basis of a definite peace, Napoleon created the Cispadane and Transpadane republics; which united under the same government 4,000,000 of inhabitants, and composed a force capable of influencing ulterior events. Notwithstanding, the authorities of the Cispadane obstinately refused a union so contrary to all their prejudices. The administrations of Reggio, Modena, Bologna, and Ferrara, submitted with difficulty to the necessity of combining under the same government. The spirit of locality everywhere opposed a resistance to the union of the two nations on the opposite banks of the Po; and the probability is, that this plan of union would have been wrecked upon the obstinacy of the people, if they had not been made to believe that this was only a preliminary to the union of all the inhabitants of the peninsula under one government. The desire which all the Italians entertain of forming a single great nation, overcame the petty jealousies of the local administrations. Two particular circumstances assisted this general cause. Romagna, which the Pope had ceded by the treaty of Tolentino, had proclaimed itself independent under the title of the Emilian republic; it had not chosen to unite with the Cispadane, on account of its antipathy to Bologna, but eagerly embraced the idea of joining the Cisalpine; and by numerous petitions it solicited the formation of this republic. At the same time, Venice and the states of the Continent, uneasy at the mystery of the preliminaries, voted in the popular assembly for the formation of the Italian republic. These two circumstances smoothed down all the difficulties. The spirit of locality gave way before public spirit, private interest before general welfare; the union was decreed by common consent.

The new republic took the name of the Cisalpine republic; Milan was its capital. This was a fresh subject of dissatisfaction at Paris, where it was wished that it should have been called the Transalpine republic; but the wishes of the Italians tending towards Rome, and to the union of the whole peninsula in one state, the denomination of Cisalpine was one which flattered their wishes, and which they decided on adopting, as they did not dare to call themselves the Italian republic.

By the treaty of Campo-Formio, the Cisalpine republic was increased by that part of the Venetian states situated on the right bank of the Adige, which, in addition to the Valteline, made for it a population of 3,600,000 souls. These provinces, the richest and most beautiful in Europe, composed six departments. They extended from the mountains of Switzerland to the Tuscan Apennines, and from the Ticino to the Adriatic.

Napoleon had wished to give the Cisalpine republic a constitution differing in some respects from that of France. He had requested some statesman, such as Sieyès, to be sent to him at Milan; but this idea did not

please the directory; they required that the Cisalpine republic should receive the constitution which France had adopted in 1795. The first Cisalpine directory was composed of Serbelloni, Alessandri, Paradisi, Moscati, and Contarini, chiefs of the French party in Italy. Serbelloni was one of the greatest landed proprietors of Lombardy. The inauguration took place in the palace of Milan, on the 30th of June. The independence of the Cisalpine republic had been proclaimed on the 29th, in the following terms:

"The Cisalpine republic has been for a number of years under the government of the house of Austria. The French republic has succeeded them by right of conquest; but it renounces all power over the Cisalpine republic from this day, and proclaims it free and independent. Acknowledged as such by France and by the Emperor of Austria, it will soon be so by all the powers of Europe. The executive directory of the French republic, not content with having employed its influence, and the victories of the French arms, to assure the existence of the Cisalpine republic, extends its care still further; and convinced that if liberty is the first of blessings, so a revolution which succeeds to it must be the greatest curse; it gives to the Cisalpine people its own constitution, which is the result of the knowledge of the most civilized nation of the world. The Cisalpine people will, therefore, pass from a military to a constitutional government. In order that this change may be effected without trouble or bad feeling, the executive directory has judged fit to name, for this time only, the members of the government and the legislative council; so that the people will only have to name the successors to the vacant places after the lapse of a year, according to the constitution. For a great number of years, no republic has existed in Italy. The sacred fire of liberty has been smothered, and the most beautiful part of Europe has groaned under the yoke of foreign lords. It will be the duty of the Cisalpine republic to convince the world by its wisdom, its prudence, and the good organization of its troops, that modern Italy has not degenerated, and that it is still worthy of liberty.

"Bonaparte, general-in-chief, in the name of the French republic, and in consequence of the preceding proclamation, hereby names the following as members of the directory of the Cisalpine republic—viz., the citizens Serbelloni, Alessandri, Moscati, Paradisi. The fifth shall be named in as short a time as possible. These four members shall be installed to-morrow, at Milan."

A general federation of the national guards and of the authorities of the new republic took place in the Lazaretto of Milan. On the 14th of July, 30,000 national guards and deputies of the departments took the oath of fraternity. They swore also to employ all their efforts for the recognition of liberty and of their country. The Cisalpine directory named its ministers, the administrative authorities, constituted its military commands, and governed the republic like an independent state. The keys of Milan and of all the strong places were given up by the French officers to the Cisalpine officers. The army quitted the states of the republic, and encamped in the territory of Venice. From this period dates the first formation of the army of Italy, which was afterwards numerous and acquired so much glory.

From this moment the manners of the Italians quite changed; some years afterwards, they were no longer the same nation. The cassock, which had been the general dress for young people, was replaced by the uniform; instead of passing their lives at the feet of women, the young Italians frequented the riding-schools, the fencing-rooms, and the gymnastic exercises;

the children even ceased to play at religious services; they had regiments of tin soldiers, and imitated, in their play, the events of the war.

In plays or in the pieces performed in the streets, there was always an Italian who was represented as very cowardly, and a sort of bully captain, sometimes a Frenchman, but more often a German, very foolish, very brave, but very brutal, who generally ended by administering some gentle correction with a stick to the Italian, amidst great applause from the spectators. Now the people would no longer suffer such allusion; authors were obliged, in order to satisfy the public, to represent the Italians on the stage as brave, putting strangers to flight, in order to uphold their honour and their rights. The national feeling was roused and its spirit formed. Italy had songs at once patriotic and warlike; even the women repulsed with disdain those men, who, in order to please them, affected effeminate manners.

The Valteline is composed of three valleys. The Valteline, properly so called, the Bormio, and the Chiavenna; its population is about 160,000 souls; the inhabitants profess the Roman-catholic religion, and speak Italian. Geographically speaking, it belongs to Italy; it lies along the shore of the Adda, to its embouchure into the Lake of Como, and is separated from Germany by the high Alps. It is eighteen leagues long and six wide; Chiavenna, its capital, is situated two leagues from the Lake of Como, and fourteen leagues from Coire, from which Bormio is seventeen leagues. It formed part, anciently, of the Milanese territory, and was given by them to the church at Coire, in 1404. In 1512, the Grisons were invested with the sovereignty of the Valteline by Sforza, by means of the capitularies, for whom the dukes of Milan were expected to guarantee. The Valteline was thus subject to the three Grisons, the inhabitants of which mostly speak German, confess the Protestant religion, and are separated from it by the high chain of the Alps.

There is no situation more dreadful than that of one nation subject to another. It was thus that the lower Valais was subject to the higher Valais, and that the Pays de Vaud was subject to Berne. The unfortunate inhabitants of the Valteline had long complained of the vexations which they experienced, and of the humiliating yoke to which they were obliged to submit. The Grisons, poor and ignorant, came among them, who were the richer and more civilized, to enrich themselves. The poorest peasant of the Grison league considered the same distance to exist between himself and the richest inhabitant of the Valteline, as between a sovereign and his subject. Surely, if any situation can justify a revolution, and seem to make a change necessary, it is that in which the Valteline then was.

In the course of May, 1797, the inhabitants of the three valleys revolted, ran to arms, drove out the representative of sovereignty, and mounted the Italian tricolor flag; they then proceeded to name a temporary governor, and addressed a manifesto to all the powers, setting forth their wrongs, and expressing their resolution to reconquer those rights of which no people can be justly deprived. They sent as deputies to Montebello, Giudiconni, Planta, and Paribelli, men of worth and character, to demand the execution of the capitulations, which the Grisons had violated in every particular.

Napoleon had a dislike to interfere in any questions which might have reference to Switzerland, and which, in this point of view, were of general importance. However, having caused the documents relating to the affair, to be shown to him, which were preserved in the archives of Milan, he perceived that the Milanese government was called upon to give a guarantee;

and as the Grison league also solicited his protection, to cause their subjects to re-enter into their allegiance; he accepted the office of mediator, and ordered the two parties to present themselves before his tribunal, in the course of the following month of July, to defend their respective rights. During this delay, the Grison league implored the assistance of the Helvetic body.

Barthélemy, the French minister at Berne, solicited warmly in their favour. At length, after many proceedings on both sides, Napoleon, before giving a final decision, advised the two parties to have recourse to an amicable arrangement, and proposed to them, as a means of conciliation, that the Valteline should make a fourth in the Grison league, equal in everything to the three others. This advice deeply wounded the pride of the Grison peasants. *They could not understand how a peasant who drank the waters of the Adda, could be the equal of one who drank the waters of the Rhine.* They were indignant at such an unreasonable proposal as that of *equalling catholic peasants, speaking Italian, rich and enlightened, with protestant peasants, speaking German, poor and ignorant.* The ring-leaders did not share these prejudices, but they were led astray by their interests. The Valteline was for them a very important source of revenue and of riches, which they could not resolve upon giving up. They intrigued at Paris, at Vienna, at Berne. Everywhere they received promises; they were advised to gain time; they were blamed for having invited and accepted any mediation. They declined making any arrangement, and did not even send any deputies at the time appointed for discussing, before their mediator, the question regarding the treaties, in opposition to the deputies of the Valteline.

Napoleon condemned the Grison league by default; and as an arbitrator chosen by the two parties, and the representative of the Milanese government which had guaranteed the capitulations of the Valtelins, he pronounced his judgment in these terms, on the 19th Vendémiaire, year 6, (October 10th, 1797):

"The inhabitants of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, revolted against the laws of the Grisons, and declared themselves independent during last Prairial. The government of the Grison republic, after having employed other means to reduce its subjects to obedience, had recourse to the mediation of the French republic in the person of General Bonaparte, and sent to him as their deputy, Gaudanzio Planta.

"The inhabitants of the Valteline having also demanded the same mediation, the general-in-chief received the respective deputations at Montebello, on the 4th of Mestidor (June 22d); and, after a long conference, accepted, in the name of the French republic, the office of mediator. He then wrote to the Grisons, and to the Valtelins, to send deputies to him as soon as possible.

"The inhabitants of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio sent punctually the required deputies.

"Several months have elapsed, and the Grison government has not yet dispatched any, notwithstanding the repeated requests of Citizen Comoyras, president of the republic at Coire.

"On the 6th of last Fructidor (August 23,) the general-in-chief, seeing the anarchy in which the Valteline was plunged, caused a letter to be written to the Grison government, desiring them to send deputies before the 24th of Fructidor (September 10.)



"It is now the 19th of Vendemiaire (October 10,) and the deputies from the Grisons have not made their appearance.

"Not only have they not appeared, but there is no doubt that, in contempt of the mediation accepted by the French republic, the Grison league has prejudged the question, and that the refusal to send deputies is the result of powerful intrigues.

"Consequently, the general-in-chief, in the name of the French republic :

"Considering—1st. That the good faith, the upright conduct, and the confidence of the inhabitants of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, in respect to the French republic, obliges the latter to reciprocate these qualities, and to assist them.

"2d. That the French republic, in consequence of the request made by the Grisons, is become arbitrator and mediator between these two nations.

"3d. That there is no doubt that the Grisons have violated the capitulations which they were bound to observe in respect to the inhabitants of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio ; and that, consequently, the latter have re-entered into the rights which nature has given all nations.

"4th. That one people cannot be subject to another, without violating the principles of public and natural law.

"5th. That the wishes of the inhabitants of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio tend very decidedly to the Cisalpine republic.

"6th. That the conformity of religion and of language, the nature of the locality, of communication, and of commerce, equally authorize this union of the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio, with the Cisalpine republic, from which it was formerly separated.

"7th. That since the decree of the communes composing the Grison league, the proposal of organizing the Valteline, as a fourth component part of the Grison league, has been rejected ; that, consequently, the Valteline has no other refuge against the tyranny of the Grisons, than by a union with the Cisalpine republic ;

"Decrees, by virtue of the authority with which the French republic is invested, by means of the request which the Grisons and the Valteline made for its mediation, that the Valteline, Chiavenna, and Bormio are at liberty to unite themselves to the Cisalpine republic."

The question was thus decided. Bursts of joy and of enthusiasm animated the unfortunate inhabitants of the Valteline ; rage and humiliated pride produced the contrary effects among the Grisons.

Immediately after this decree, the Valteline and the Cisalpine republics began to negotiate their union. The Grisons then perceived their fault. They wrote to Napoleon, that their deputies were setting out to defend their rights before him, thus pretending to be ignorant of what had taken place. He answered them, that it was too late ; that his decision had been given on the 10th of October, and that the Valteline was already united to the Cisalpine republic ; that the question, therefore, was set at rest for ever.

The justice which had thus been done to this little nation, produced a favourable effect upon every generous mind.

The principles upon which the judgment of Napoleon was founded, spread abroad throughout all Europe, and gave a mortal blow to the usurpation of the Swiss cantons, who had nations for their subjects. The aristocracy of Berne should have been enlightened by this example, and

should have felt that the moment was come to make some sacrifices to the increasing light of the age, to the influence of France, and its justice. But prejudice and pride never listen to the voice of reason, of nature, or of religion. An oligarchy only yields to force. It was not till many years afterwards that the inhabitants of the higher Valais consented to regard those of the lower Valais as their equals, and that the peasants of the Pays de Vaud and of Aargau forced the oligarchs of Berne to acknowledge their rights and their independence.

## CHAPTER VII.

## PEACE OF CAMPO-FORMIO.

THE exchange of the ratifications of the preliminaries of Léoben took place at Montebello, on the 26th of May, between Napoleon and the Marquis de Gallo. A question of etiquette arose for the first time; the Emperors of Germany were not in the habit of giving the alternative to the Kings of France, and the cabinet of Vienna was fearful that the republic would refuse to recognise this custom, and that, in imitation of its example, the other powers of Europe would cease to allow the Emperor to assume that kind of supremacy, which had always been conceded to the holy Roman empire since the days of Charlemagne. It was in the first moments of his joyful intoxication, at the acquiescence of the plenipotentiary of France in this ancient usage, that the representative of Austria renounced the idea of a congress at Berne, consented to a separate negotiation, and agreed not to open the congress of Rastadt, with a view to the settlement of a peace for the empire, till the following July. In a few days, the contracting parties came to an understanding on the terms of a definitive treaty, on the following basis:—1st, the Rhine to be the boundary of France; 2dly, Venice and the river Adige to constitute the boundaries of the Austrian dominions in Italy; 3dly, Mantua and the Adige to be the limits of the Cisalpine republic. The Marquis de Gallo declared, that by the next courier he had no doubt of receiving powers *ad hoc* to sign a treaty founded on these bases. On the 6th of May, Napoleon and General Clarke had received the necessary authority from France. The conditions were more favourable to France than the directory had dared to hope; and the peace, therefore, might be considered as concluded.

At the time of the revolution, Clarke had been a captain in the Orleans regiment of dragoons, and from 1789 he followed the party of Orleans. In 1795, he was called to the aid of the Committee of Public Safety, and appointed to conduct the topographical department. Being specially protected by Carnot, he was selected by the Directory, in 1796, to make overtures of peace to the Emperor, and for this purpose went to Milan. The real object of the journey was not to open a negotiation, but to be present at head-quarters as the secret agent of the Directory, and to exercise a species of *surveillance* over the General, whose victories began to give some degree of umbrage. Clarke sent notes to Paris with his observations upon the leading persons in the army, which excited murmurs, and exposed him to disagreeable consequences. Napoleon, convinced that government stood in need of instruction, preferred confiding this secret mission to a known man, to entrusting it to subaltern agents, who are prone to collect in the wine-shops and antechambers the greatest absurdities; he therefore protected Clarke, and employed him in various negotiations with the King of Sardinia and the princes of Italy. After the 18th Fructidor, he defended

him with warmth, not only because he had found means of gaining his esteem, but also because he thought it becoming his dignity to defend a man with whom he had been long in habits of daily intercourse, and of whom he had no ostensible reason to complain. Clarke had not a military mind; he was a man of business,—a careful and honourable worker, and a great enemy to all knavery. He was descended from an Irish family, which had accompanied the Stuarts in their misfortunes. Proud of his descent, he rendered himself ridiculous under the empire by means of genealogical researches, which formed the strongest contrast with the opinions which he had professed, the career he had run, and the circumstances of the age in which he lived; this was an absurdity. But this failing did not prevent the Emperor Napoleon from entrusting him with the portfolio of the war department, as he considered him a good administrator, who ought to be attached to his interests in consequence of the favours which had been heaped upon him. Under the empire he rendered very important services, by the integrity of his administration; and for the sake of his memory it must ever be a subject of regret, that at the close of his career he formed part of a ministry which must for ever bear the bitter reproach of France, for having made her pass under the *Caudine forks*, by disbanding the army which had been the glory of the nation for twenty-five years, and, to the astonishment of her enemies, delivering into their hands places which were still impregnable.

If, in 1814 and 1815, the royal confidence had not been placed in men whose souls were humbled by the force of circumstances, or who, being renegades to their country, saw neither safety nor glory for the throne of their master, except under the yoke of the Holy Alliance—had the Duke of Richelieu, whose ambition it was to deliver the country from the presence of foreign bayonets—had Chateaubriand, who had just rendered such eminent services at Ghent, been entrusted with the direction of public affairs, France would still have come forth powerful and terrible from these two great national crises. Chateaubriand had received the holy fire from nature; his works attest it, his style is not that of Racine, but that of a prophet; there was no man in the world, except himself, who could have ventured to say with impunity in the tribune of the Chamber of Peers, that *if Bonaparte's grey riding-coat and his three-cocked hat were placed upon a stick on the coast of Brest, it would cause all Europe to rush to arms*. Should he ever come to the helm of affairs, it is quite possible that Chateaubriand may fail, as so many other great men have done; but it is certain that every thing which is grand and national ought to harmonize with his genius, and that he would repel with indignation all inducements to perform those infamous arts by which the administrations of those times disgraced themselves. Count Meerfeld, the new Austrian plenipotentiary, arrived at Montebello on the 19th of June. The cabinet disavowed the Marquis de Gallo, and persisted in not treating for a peace except at the congress of Berne, and in conjunction with its allies. Austria had evidently changed her system. Had she become a party to a new coalition? Did she place her confidence in Russian armies? Was it one of the effects of Pichegru's conspiracy? Were hopes now entertained that the civil war, which then desolated the west of France, would spread over the whole country, and the power fall into the hands of the conspirators?

The Austrian plenipotentiaries admitted that they had no answer to make, when Bonaparte observed to them that England and Russia would never

consent to the Emperor's indemnifying himself at the expense of the ancient state of Venice; and that, to refuse to negotiate, except in concert with these powers, was in effect the same as to proclaim their intention of once more having recourse to the chances of war. The minister Thugut sent new instructions; he gave up the congress of Berne, and adhered to the principle of a separate negotiation.

The negotiations were opened at Udine on the 1st of July, at which General Clarke alone was present on the part of France. Napoleon announced that he would not join in the deliberations till he had seen from the minutes of the conferences that the Austrian ministers were really desirous of concluding a peace, and empowered to bring it to a conclusion. A few days afterwards, he left Montebello and proceeded to Milan, where he remained during the months of July and August. Austria was watching with anxiety the issue of the crisis which was agitating France, and these two months were passed in useless conferences. The 18th of Fructidor, however, destroyed all their hopes, and Count Cobentzel proceeded in all haste to Udine, armed with full powers from the Emperor, whose entire confidence he possessed. The Marquis de Gallo, Count Meerfeld, and Baron Engelmann, took part in the negotiation, but really only figured there for mere form.

Napoleon went to Passeriano, and Clarke having been recalled, he found himself sole plenipotentiary for France. On the 16th of September, negotiations were commenced with Count Cobentzel. The conferences were alternately held at Udine and Passeriano. The four Austrian plenipotentiaries occupied the one side of a rectangular table, at the ends of which were seated the secretaries of legation, whilst the other side was occupied by the French plenipotentiary alone. When the conference was held at Passeriano, the whole party dined with Napoleon, and when at Udine they dined at the quarters of Count Cobentzel. Passeriano is a charming country-house, on the banks of the Tagliamento, four leagues from Udine, and three from the ruins of Aquileia. After the first conference, Count Cobentzel disavowed all that his colleagues had been saying for four months past; he put forward extravagant pretensions, and it was found necessary to recommence that system of assumption and bullying which had been exercised since the month of May. The course to be pursued with such a negotiator was obvious; it was necessary to retire as far from any just middle course on the one side, as he continually did on the other.

Count Cobentzel was a native of Brussels; extremely agreeable in society, and of the most refined manners, but obstinate and intractable in matters of business. His reasoning was deficient in justness and precision; he was conscious of the deficiency, and attempted to supply the want by pomposity of expressions and imperious gesticulations.

The Marquis de Gallo, minister of Naples at Vienna, enjoyed at the same time the favour of the Queen of Naples and that of the Empress. He was insinuating and supple in his manner, but honourable in disposition.

Count Meerfeld, colonel of a Hulan regiment, had attracted notice, and succeeded in gaining the confidence of Baron Thugut, the Austrian minister. Engelmann was a man of office and detail, of upright mind and good intentions.

After the arrival of Count Cobentzel, the progress of the negotiation was such as to leave no reason to doubt that Austria was sincere in her desires for a peace; that she had contracted no new engagements with England

or Russia. The Austrian negotiators having arrived at the conviction, that a peace was not to be concluded except by the adoption of the bases which had been laid down in the preliminaries of Montebello, it would have been immediately concluded had not the directory changed its policy. The 18th of Fructidor blinded its members as to their real power, and they thought they could demand new sacrifices from the nation with impunity. They caused it to be insinuated to Napoleon, that it would be well to break off the negotiations and to re-commence hostilities, at the same time that the official correspondence was always dictated in the spirit of the instructions of the 6th of May. It was evident they desired war, but wished to throw the responsibility of the rupture upon the shoulders of the negotiator. When it was seen that this move was completely unsuccessful, and they believed their power to be consolidated, they sent their *ultimatum* in a despatch, dated the 29th of September.

Napoleon received the despatch on the 6th of October, at Passeriano. France was now unwilling to cede to the Emperor either the territory of Venice or the frontier of the Adige; this was equivalent to a declaration of war.

Napoleon, however, had fixed ideas of his own upon the degree of obedience which he owed to his government, in reference to the proper discharge of his military duties. He did not consider himself bound to execute the orders of the government, except merely in as far as he thought them reasonable, and their success probable. He would have regarded himself as guilty of a crime, if he had consented to execute a mischievous plan, and, in such a case, would have offered his resignation, which was, in fact, the course which he pursued in 1796, when the directory was desirous of sending a part of his army into the kingdom of Naples.

His ideas were not so completely fixed respecting the degree of obedience which he was bound to render as a plenipotentiary. Could he send in his resignation in the very midst of a negotiation, or compromise the issue of it, by executing orders with which he could not agree, and which were, in fact, equivalent to a declaration of war? But his principal character at Passeriano was that of a commander-in-chief. It appeared to him absurd to declare war in his character of a plenipotentiary, when he would, at the same time, feel himself constrained, as a general, to desert his office, in order not to commence hostilities, entered upon against his judgment.

The minister for foreign affairs delivered him from his anxiety. In one of his despatches, he informed him that the directory, in determining upon its *ultimatum*, had been of opinion that the general-in-chief was in a condition to compel its acceptance by force of arms. He reflected long and deeply on this communication, and the result was, a conviction that he held in his hands the fate of France; that peace or war was dependent on the course which he chose to pursue. He decided upon adhering to the instructions of the 6th of May, and signing the peace upon the bases agreed to at Montebello, which had been approved of by the government before the 18th Fructidor.

The motives by which he was determined, were—1stly. That the general plan of the campaign was faulty. 2ndly. That, not having received the *ultimatum* till the 6th of October, the war could not be re-commenced till the 15th of November, and that it would then be very difficult for the French armies to penetrate into Germany, whilst the season would be favourable for collecting a great number of Austrian troops in the plains of

Italy. 3rdly. That the command of the army was entrusted to Augereau, whose political aspirations had been greatly exalted by the events of Fructidor, and his staff chiefly composed of Seïds of the propaganda, intoxicated with the principles of 1793, which was an insurmountable obstacle to that agreement which must necessarily exist between two armies engaged in the pursuit of the same object.

Napoleon had expressed a wish that the command of the army on the Rhine should be given to Desaix, on the defection of Moreau. 4thly. Because he had requested a re-inforcement of 12,000 infantry, and 4000 cavalry, which had been refused; he had only in his army 50,000 troops of the line, and was, meantime, twenty days' march nearer Vienna than the army of the Rhine, having to contend against three-fourths of the whole Austrian forces, which covered Vienna on the side of Italy, whilst a mere corps of observation was opposed to the armies of the Rhine and Moselle, the Sambre and Meuse. 5thly. Because the directory, in its madness, in the despatch of the 29th of September, had announced its intention of refusing to ratify the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, which had been concluded with the King of Sardinia, on the 5th of April preceding. By the terms of this treaty, the king had engaged to furnish a contingent to the army of Italy, consisting of 8000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and forty pieces of cannon. This refusal of the directory caused a general consternation in Turin; the court could no longer fail to see the design of the French government; it had nothing more to care for. It would be necessary, therefore, to weaken the army of Italy to the amount of 10,000 men, in order to reinforce the garrisons of Piedmont and Lombardy.

On the 21st of October, the directory caused it to be made known, that in compliance with the wishes of the commander-in-chief in Italy, they had resolved to reinforce the army in that country by 6000 men drawn from the army of the Rhine; to modify the plan of the campaign according to his desire; and finally, to ratify the treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, with the King of Sardinia; and that they had communicated their intentions to the legislative body on the same day—the 21st of October.

The treaty of Campo-Formio had, however, been signed three days before this despatch was written, and it did not reach Passeriano till twelve days after the signature of the peace. Had the directory adopted this resolution on the 29th of September, the day on which it decided on the terms of the *ultimatum*, Bonaparte would, perhaps, have decided on going to war, with a view of delivering the whole of Italy as far as the Isonzo, of which he was more desirous than any other person.

It was the interest of Napoleon to conclude a peace. The republicans, on their part, manifested extreme jealousy—"So much glory," they said, "is incompatible with liberty." Had he recommenced hostilities, and the French armies gained possession of Vienna, the directory, persevering and zealous in the spirit which had actuated its members since the 18th of Fructidor, would have made the greatest efforts to revolutionize the empire, and this would indubitably have led to a new war with Prussia, Russia, and the Germanic confederation. The republic, however, was ill-governed; the administration was corrupt, and inspired neither confidence nor consideration. If he broke off the negotiations, the responsibility of the consequences would rest upon him; if, on the contrary he gave peace to his country, he would add to the glory of a conqueror and pacificator, that of being the founder of two great republics; for Belgium, the departments on

the Rhine, Savoy, and the county of Nice, could not legitimately be incorporated with France, except by means of a treaty of peace with the Emperor, which was equally necessary for the consolidation of the Cisalpine republic. Covered with laurels, and with the olive branch in his hand, he would then retire with safety into private life, with a glory equal to that of the most renowned heroes of antiquity; the first act of the drama of his public life would be thus terminated; circumstances and the interests of the country would decide his subsequent career; glory, the love and esteem of the French people were the means of arriving at every thing. France wished for peace.

The struggle of kings against the republic was a struggle of principles; it was the Ghibellines against the Guelphs—it was the oligarchs who reigned in London, Vienna, and Petersburg, struggling against the republicans of Paris. The French plenipotentiary conceived the idea of changing this condition of things, which always left France alone against the others combined—of throwing an apple of discord among the allies; of changing the state of the question, and creating new passions and new interests. The republic of Venice was completely aristocratical, and the courts of St. James and Petersburg took a lively interest in its fate; and the house of Austria, by seizing on Venice and its territory, would excite their highest dissatisfaction and jealousy.

The senate of Venice had behaved badly to France, but very well to Austria. What opinion would the nations entertain of the morality of the cabinet of Vienna, when they saw it appropriate to itself the states of the Austrian allies—above all, the most ancient state of modern Europe, which maintained principles strongly opposed to those of the French democrats; and that under the pretext of convenience alone?

What a lesson would this be for Bavaria, and the other powers of the second order; the Emperor would be obliged to deliver up to France the fortress of Mayence, which he only held as a deposit; he would appropriate to himself the spoils of the German princes, of whom he was the legal and constituted protector, and whose armies were fighting in his ranks. All this would exhibit to the view of Europe a bitter satire on absolute governments and European oligarchies—would make their old age obvious to all, and announce that the time of their decadence and dissolution had arrived.

Austria would be satisfied, for if she ceded Belgium and Lombardy, she received an equivalent, if not in revenue and population, at least in reference to geographical and commercial position. Venice was bounded by Styria, Carinthia, and Hungary. The league of the European oligarchy would be divided; France would avail herself of the opportunity to join issue hand to hand with England, in Ireland, Canada, and the Indies.

The different parties into which the Venetians were divided became immediately extinct; aristocrats and democrats united against the sceptre of a foreign nation. No fears could be entertained that a people of such mild manners would adopt any affection for a German government; that a great commercial city and naval power would sincerely attach herself to a monarchy foreign to the sea and destitute of colonies; and if ever the moment should arrive for calling the Italian nation into life, this circumstance would prove no obstacle. The years the Venetians would have passed under the yoke of the Austrian government would lead them to receive a national government with enthusiasm, whatsoever it might be, a little more or a little less aristocratic, whether the capital was fixed at Venice or not.



The Venetians, Lombards, and Piedmontese, the Genoese, with the people of Parma, Bologna, and Bergamo; the Ferrarese, Tuscans, Romans, and Neapolitans, all required to be reduced to their first elements before they could be converted into one Italian state. It was necessary, so to speak, to recast them. In fact, fifteen years afterwards, in 1812, the Austrian power in Italy, the throne of Sardinia, those of the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Tuscany: that of Naples itself, the oligarchies of Genoa and Venice, had all disappeared. The temporal power of the Pope, which in all past time had been the cause of the division of Italy, was no longer likely to be an obstacle. The grand duchy of Berg had still remained vacant, and was waiting for the court of King Joachim. "I require," Napoleon had said, in 1805, at the council of Lyons, "*twenty years to create the Italian nation.*" Fifteen years had sufficed; all was ready, and he only waited for the birth of a second son to conduct him to Rome, crown him King of the Italians, confer the regency on Prince Eugene, and proclaim the independence of the Peninsula from the Alps to the Ionian sea, from the Mediterranean to the Adriatic.

The court of Vienna, worn out with the bloody struggle which she had sustained for several years, no longer attached any importance to Belgium, which it was impossible for her to defend; she considered herself fortunate, after so many disasters, in obtaining indemnities for losses which were beyond recovery, and in contracting an alliance with France, which would guarantee to her advantages in the arrangement of German affairs. Although, however, a perfect understanding was arrived at respecting the *principles*, the contracting parties were far from being agreed on the *mode* in which the execution was to be effected. Count Cobentzel said, "He would have the Adda for a frontier, or nothing." He supported his pretensions on statistical calculations. "You wish," said he, "to re-establish the system of 1756; for that purpose it is necessary to give us an advantageous peace, which may be decided on, irrespective of the events of the war; both powers have had their glorious days: our armies ought mutually to esteem each other; and a disadvantageous peace for one of the powers, would prove nothing better than a truce. In consenting to this principle, how is it you refuse to grant us a complete and absolute indemnity? What are the bases of power? Population and revenue. What losses does the Emperor my master sustain? Belgium and Lombardy, the two most populous and richest provinces in the world—Belgium, which is of double value to you, because it ensures you the possession of Holland, and will enable you to close all the ports against England, from the Baltic to the straits of Gibraltar. We consent, moreover, to concede to the republic Mayence, the four departments of the Rhine, Savoy, and the county of Nice. What do we ask of you in return for such extensive concession? Four millions of Italians—bad soldiers, but inhabiting, it is true, a very fertile country; we have then a right to look for the valley of the Adda as our frontier."

The French plenipotentiary replied, "It is an advantage to Austria to be relieved of Belgium, which was a burthensome possession; England alone could have an interest in her retaining possession of it. If you calculate what that province has cost you, you will be convinced that it has always been an object of expense to your treasury. But in no case can it any longer be of any particular value to us, because the new principles which have changed the state of France have been already adopted there. To desire to obtain in the very frontiers of Styria, Carinthia, and Hungary, an indemnity equal in revenue and population to a distant and detached province,

is an exaggerated pretension; besides, by passing the Adige you will weaken yourselves, and neither you nor the Cisalpine republic will have a frontier."

These reasonings probably produced a conviction in the minds of the Austrian plenipotentiaries—however that may be, they reduced their pretensions to the line of the Mincio. "But," said Count Cobentzel, "that is our *ultimatum*, for were my master, the Emperor, to consent to give you up the keys of Mayence, the strongest place in the universe, without exchanging them for the keys of Mantua, it would entail dishonour and disgrace." All the official means of protocols, notes and replies, having been exhausted without any satisfactory results, recourse was had to confidential conferences; at last, however, nothing further could be gained or conceded on either side, and the armies were put in motion.

The French troops, which were cantoned in the districts of Verona, Padua, and Treviso, passed the Piave, and established themselves on the right bank of the Isonzo. The Austrian army was encamped upon the Drave and in Carniola. On their way from Udine to Passeriano, the Austrian ambassadors were obliged to traverse the French camp. They were received with the highest military honours, and the conferences were accompanied by the continual rolling of drums. Count Cobentzel, however, remained immovable. The carriages were ready, and he announced his departure.

On the 16th of October, the conferences were held at Udine, at the quarters of Count Cobentzel. Napoleon recapitulated, in form of a manifesto to be entered on the minutes, the course of conduct pursued by the French government since the signing of the preliminaries of Léoben, and at the same time renewed his ultimatum.

The Austrian ambassador made a long reply, in order to prove that the indemnities offered by France were not equivalent to the fourth of what he had lost; that the Austrian power would be considerably weakened, whilst the French power would be increased to such a degree, as seriously to threaten the independence of Europe; that with the possession of Mantua and the Adige as a frontier, France would in reality unite the whole of Italy to the territory of the Gauls; that the Emperor was irrevocably resolved to hazard all the chances of a war, and to take refuge even in his capital, rather than consent to such a disadvantageous peace; that Russia offered him assistance, that her armies were ready to march to his aid, and then it would be seen what Russian troops were; that it was very evident Napoleon had sunk his character of a plenipotentiary in that of a general, and did not, therefore, wish for peace. He added that he would take his departure during the night, and that all the blood which might be shed in this new struggle would fall on the head of the representative of France. Then the latter, with great coolness, but deeply offended by this outbreak, rose from his seat, and took from a cupboard a small porcelain tray, which Count Cobentzel liked, as having been a present from the Empress Catherine; "Well!" said Napoleon, "the truce is broken and war declared! But remember, that before the end of autumn, I will break your monarchy to pieces, as I now dash this porcelain into fragments." As he said these words, he dashed the porcelain upon the ground and its fragments were strewed over the floor. He saluted the congress and departed. The Austrian plenipotentiaries stood speechless. A few moments after, they heard that whilst he was getting into his carriage, he had dispatched an officer to Prince Charles, to give him notice that the truce was broken, and that hos-

tilities would re-commence in twenty-four hours. Count Cobentzel, alarmed at the prospect, sent the Marquis de Gallo to Passeriano, carrying with him a signed declaration, that he consented to adopt the ultimatum of France. On the next day, the 17th of October, the peace was signed, at five o'clock in the evening. It was on this occasion, that, the secretary who framed the treaty, having inserted, as the first article, "The Emperor of Germany recognises the French republic," Napoleon said, "Put out that article; the French republic is like the sun; he who cannot see it must be blind. The French people are masters at home; they have created a republic—to-morrow, perhaps, it may become an aristocracy, and the day after, a monarchy. This is its imprescriptible right, and the form of its government is a question of home, and not of foreign affairs." The treaty was dated at Campo-Formio, a small village between Passeriano and Udine, which had been declared neutral by the secretaries of legation for that purpose. It was thought advisable to go there, although there was no house fit to serve as a lodging for the plenipotentiaries.

By this treaty, the Emperor recognised to the republic its natural boundaries, the Alps, the Mediterranean, the Pyrenees, and the ocean—consented to the formation of the Cisalpine republic by the amalgamation of Lombardy, the duchies of Reggio, Modena, and Mirandola—the three legations (Bologna, Ferrara, and Romagna,) the Valteline, the Venetian states on the right bank of the Adige (those of Bergamo, Cremona, and Polesina,) and ceded the Breisgau, which removed the hereditary states to a distance from the French frontiers. It was agreed that the fortifications of Mayence should be put into possession of the troops of the republic, after a military convention to be agreed upon at Rastadt, where the French plenipotentiary and Count Cobentzel were to meet. All the princes deprived of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine, were to receive indemnities on the right bank, by the secularization of the ecclesiastical states. The peace of Europe was to be settled at Rastadt. The cabinet of the Luxembourg and that of Vienna were to co-operate. The Prussian territory, on the left bank was reserved; and it was agreed, that it should be ceded to the republic by the treaty of Rastadt, but with an equivalent in Germany for Austria. Corfu, Zante, Cephalonias, Santa Maura, and Cerigo, were ceded to France, which, on its part, consented to the Emperor's taking possession of the Venetian states situated on the left bank of the Adige, which would add more than two millions of people to the population of the empire. By one of the articles, the property possessed by the Archduke Charles, as heir to the Archduchess Christina, in Belgium, was assured to him; it was in consequence of this article, that the Emperor Napoleon, at a later period, purchased for a million of francs the chateau of Laeken, near Brussels, which before the revolution constituted a part of the property of the Archduchess; the other domains belonging to the Archduke in the Netherlands, were obtained by the Duke of Saxe-Teschen. This stipulation was a testimony of esteem which the French plenipotentiary gave to the general against whom he had just been fighting, and with whom he had kept up relations honourable to both.

During the conferences at Passeriano, General Desaix came from the army of the Rhine, to inspect the battle-fields which had been rendered illustrious and memorable by the army of Italy. Napoleon received him at his head-quarters, and thinking to astonish him, made him acquainted with the light which the portfolio of Entraigues had thrown upon the conduct of Pichegru. "I knew long ago," said Desaix, smiling, "that

Pichegru was a traitor; Moreau found proofs of it in the papers of Klinglin, as well as the details of the corruption, and of the reasons by which his military manœuvres were regulated. Moreau, Regnier, and myself only were in the secret. I wished Moreau immediately to give an account of it to the government, but he refused. Pichegru," added he, "is perhaps the only example of a general who purposely allowed himself to be defeated." He alluded to the manœuvre by which Pichegru removed the principal part of his forces to Rassein on the upper Rhine, in order to cripple the operations before Mayence. Desaix visited all the battle-fields, where he was received with the greatest distinction. It was from this period that his intimate friendship with Napoleon dates; he loved glory for itself, and France above everything. He was a man of a simple, active, and prepossessing character, and of extensive information; no man was more thoroughly acquainted than he with the theatre of war on the upper Rhine, Suabia, Bavaria. His death caused tears to flow from the eyes of the conqueror of Marengo.

About this time, General Hoche, the commander of the army of the Sambre and Meuse, died suddenly at Mayence. Many persons have supposed that he was poisoned, but the supposition has no foundation whatever. This young general distinguished himself at the lines of Weissenburg in 1794, gave abundant proofs of his abilities in La Vendée in 1795 and 1796, and had the glory of pacifying, for a time, that disturbed province. Influenced by a noble patriotism, an ardent disposition, and remarkable bravery, and an active, restless ambition, he did not know how to wait for the course of events, but always exposed himself by premature enterprises. By marching his troops to Paris at the crisis of the 18th Fructidor, he violated the constitution, and was very near falling a victim to his temerity. He attempted an expedition to Ireland; no one was more capable of promoting its success. On every occasion, he testified his attachment to Napoleon. His death, and the disgrace of Moreau, left both the armies of the Rhine, and the Sambre and the Meuse, without commanders. The government united these two armies into one, and gave the command of the whole to Augereau.

Napoleon successively sent the principal generals to Paris with stands of colours, which at once served as a means of making the government acquainted with their persons, and of attaching them to their cause by suitable rewards. He commissioned General Berthier to be the bearer of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and wishing at the same time to give a proof of his respect for science, he associated with him, in the commission, Monge, who was a member of the commission of the arts and sciences in Italy, and who belonged to the old Academy of Sciences. The commander-in-chief took great pleasure in the very interesting conversation of this great geometriician and naturalist of the first order, who was a very zealous patriot, but always pure-minded, sincere, and truthful. Loving France and its people as if they were his own children, he regarded democracy and equality as the results of a geometrical demonstration; he was of an ardent mind, but, whatever his enemies may have said, an honest man; on the invasion of the Prussians in 1792, he offered to give his two daughters in marriage to the first two volunteers who should lose a limb in the defence of the territory of France, which offer on his part was sincere. He followed Napoleon to Egypt, and science is indebted to him for his excellent work on descriptive geometry.

The treaty of Campo-Formio took the directory by surprise; it was far

from expecting such a result, and gave indications of its dissatisfaction. It is confidently said, that its members thought for a moment of not ratifying it, but public opinion was too clearly pronounced, and the advantages secured to France by the peace were too obvious to admit of such a course.

Immediately after the signature of the peace, Napoleon returned to Milan to put a finishing hand to the organization of the Cisalpine republic, and to complete the administrative measures of his army. He was then to proceed to Rastadt, in order to terminate the great work of a general continental peace, and he took leave of the Italian people in these words :

"Citizens,—Reckoning from the first of Brumaire, your constitution will be in full activity ; your directory, your legislative body, your court of cassation, and other subordinate administrative departments will be fully organized.

"You are the first example in history of a people who have become free without factions, without revolutions, without internal commotions.

"We have given you liberty ; study to preserve it. After France, you are the most populous and the richest of all republics ; your position calls upon you to play a distinguished part in the affairs of Europe.

"In order to be worthy of your destiny, pass nothing but wise and moderate laws.

"Cause them to be executed with energy and power.

"Favour the propagation of knowledge, and respect religion.

"Do not fill your ranks with outcasts of society, but with citizens who cherish the principles of the republic, and are intimately attached to its prosperity.

"You require to be deeply penetrated with a feeling of your power, and of the dignity which surrounds a free man.

"Divided amongst yourselves, and subject for ages to tyranny, you could not have regained your liberty ; but, should you be left to yourselves for a few years, no power on earth will be strong enough to deprive you of its possession.

"Till that time, the great nation will protect you from the attacks of your neighbours. Its political system will be united to yours.

"Had the Roman people made the same use of power as the French people have done, the Roman Eagle would still have been on the Capitol, and eighteen centuries of tyranny and bondage would not have dishonoured the human race.

"In order to consolidate your liberty, and with the sole view of promoting your happiness, I have accomplished a work, which only ambition and the love of power have hitherto prompted men to perform.

"I have made appointments to a great number of places, and been exposed to the danger of over-looking men of integrity, and of nominating intriguers ; but there were still greater inconveniences in leaving you to make these nominations, before you were organized.

"I am about to depart in a few days. Only the orders of my government, and the imminent danger of the Cisalpine republic, will recall me to the midst of you.

"To whatever part, however, the service of my country may call me, I shall always take a lively interest in the prosperity and glory of your republic.

(Signed)

BONAPARTE.

"Head-Quarters, Milan, the 22nd of Brumaire,  
year 6, (Nov. 12th, 1797.)"

Napoleon set out for Turin where he alighted at the house of M. Ginguéné, the French minister, on the 17th of November. The King of Sardinia wished to see him, and to give him some public evidence of his gratitude. The circumstances; however, were already such, that he did not think it right to accept these friendly demonstrations of the court. He continued his route to Rastadt, and crossed Mount Cenis; at Geneva, he was received as he would have been at a French town, and with all that enthusiasm peculiar to the Genevese. On his entry into the Pays de Vaud, three groups of young and pretty girls came, at the head of the inhabitants, to compliment him. One of these groups was dressed in white, the second in blue, and the third in red. These young maidens presented him with a crown, on which was inscribed the famous sentence, in which the liberty of the Valteline had been proclaimed; a maxim so dear to the people of the Pays de Vaud; "*One people ought not to be subject to another people.*" He passed through several Swiss towns—among others, Berne—and crossed the Rhine at Basle, on his way to Rastadt.

The order of the day on his departure from Milan, contained the following address—"Soldiers! to-morrow I set out for Rastadt. Separated from the army, I shall sigh for the moment when I shall again be in the midst of it, ready to brave new dangers. Whatever post the government may assign to the soldiers of Italy, they will always prove themselves worthy supporters of liberty, and of the glory of the French name. Soldiers! in discoursing of the princes whom you have conquered, the people whom you have enfranchised, and the battles which you have fought in two campaigns, say to yourselves—*In two campaigns we will do more still!*"

On his arrival at Rastadt, Bonaparte found the state-apartments of the palace prepared for him. Treilhard and Bonnet, whom the directory had appointed as his fellow-commissioners in these negotiations with the Germanic body, had preceded him some days. At this congress, the aged Count Metternich represented the Emperor as the head of the German confederated states, and Count Cobentzel represented him as head of the house of Austria; there were, therefore, two legations, opposed to each other both in their interests and their instructions. Count Lehrbach was the representative of the circle of Austria in the Diet. Count Metternich supported the character of pomp and parade—Cobentzel conducted the business. After having exchanged the ratifications of the peace of Campo-Formio, the plenipotentiaries, in execution of the treaty, signed the convention for the surrender of Mayence. The Austrian troops were to march out of Mayence, and to leave behind merely the troops of the elector, whilst, at the same moment, the French were to invest and take possession of the fortress. 2ndly, the French were to abandon Venice and Palma-Nova, leaving behind Venetian troops only, and the Austrians were to seize upon these cities, as well as the whole country. Albin, the minister of Mayence, uttered the most violent complaints, and all the German princes gave way to the loudest reproaches. "Mayence," said they, "does not belong to Austria." They accused the Emperor of having betrayed Germany for the promotion of his interests in Italy. Count Lehrbach, as deputy from the circle of Austria, was deputed to reply to all these complaints and protestations; he acquitted himself with all that power, arrogance, and irony, which were natural to his character.

Sweden sent a representative to Rastadt in her character of mediatrix, and as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia. Since the treaty of Teschen, Russia had arrogated to herself the same pretensions,

but she was at this moment at war with France. Since the treaty of Westphalia, the condition of the states of Europe had undergone many changes; Sweden at that time exercised a great influence upon Germany; she was at the head of the Protestant party, and was resplendent with all the glory of the victories of the great Gustavus. Russia was not then European, and Prussia had scarcely an existence. These two powers had made a rapid advance: whilst Sweden was falling into decay, and was now sunk into a power of the third order. Its pretensions, therefore, were altogether unreasonable; and besides, this court had been foolish enough to appoint, on this occasion, Baron Fersen, as its representative at the congress of Rastadt. The favour which this Swedish baron had formerly enjoyed at the court of Versailles, his intrigues in the constituent assembly, and the hatred which he never failed to testify towards France, rendered him the most unsuitable person on whom their choice could have fallen; his selection might, in fact, be regarded as an insult to the republic. When, as a matter of etiquette, he was introduced into the apartments of the French plenipotentiary, he caused himself to be announced as ambassador of Sweden, and mediator at the congress. Napoleon told him he could not recognise any mediator, and that, besides, his former opinions disqualified him from exercising such an office between the republic and the emperor of Germany; and that he would not receive him again. Baron Fersen was so completely disconcerted, and the manner of his reception made such a noise, that he left Rastadt the next day.

Immediately after the surrender of Mayence to the French troops, Napoleon united in conference with Treilhard and Bonnier, and after having shown them that the instructions of the directory were insufficient, he declared his intention of not remaining any longer at the congress, and that he was about to set out. The business was more complicated at Rastadt than at Campo-Formio; and it was necessary to cut it short, in order to bring it to a conclusion.

The directory did not know what course to adopt; they appointed new plenipotentiaries, who were to join Treilhard and Bonnier. Bonaparte, already dissatisfied with the foreign policy of France, determined to have nothing more to do with a negotiation which would necessarily turn out badly. Moreover, the internal condition of the country was presaging the approaching triumph of the demagogues; and besides, the same reasons which led him to decline any public reception at the court of Sardinia, determined him to withdraw from the testimonies of admiration heaped upon him by the German princes. He thought it best to bring to a close the first act of his political life, by the peace of Campo-Formio, and to retire into private life at Paris, as long as circumstances would allow. During his short sojourn at Rastadt, he caused the French plenipotentiaries to be treated with all that attention and respect due to the representatives of a great nation from the representatives of foreign powers, and from that crowd of petty German sovereigns who were present at the congress. Before his coming, the French plenipotentiaries had been treated with some neglect; the allowances which had been assigned to them were altogether insufficient. He persuaded the government to place very considerable sums at the disposal of the negotiators, in order that they might appear in a manner consistent with their rank, and this step contributed to the manifestation of the consideration due to the republic.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## NAPOLEON IN PARIS AFTER THE CAMPAIGN OF ITALY.

NAPOLEON departed from Rastadt, traversed France incognito, arrived in Paris without stopping, and alighted at his small house in the Rue Chantier, Chaussée d'Antin. The municipal body, the administration of the department, and all the public bodies, emulated each other in presenting him with tokens of the national gratitude. A committee of the *Conseil des Anciens* submitted a proposal to bestow upon him the estate of Chambord, and a magnificent *hotel* in Paris. The directory—it is not easy to say why—took alarm at this proposition: its confidential friends caused it to be withdrawn. By a decision of the municipality of Paris, more independent than the councils, the name of the Rue de la Victoire was given to the Rue Chanteraine.

During the two years in which Bonaparte had been in command in Italy, he had filled the world with the splendour of his victories, and now the coalition of the great powers was broken up. The Emperor and the princes of the empire had recognised the republic. The whole of Italy was subject to her laws. Two new republics had been created there on the French system. England alone remained under arms, but even she had manifested a wish for peace, and if the treaty had not been signed, it was wholly owing to the folly of the directory after the day of Fructidor.

In addition to these great results, obtained in reference to the foreign affairs of the republic, there were joined all the advantages which she had gained in her internal administration and her military power. In no period of the history of the country had the French soldier more strongly entertained the feeling of his superiority over all the soldiers of Europe. It was owing to the influence of the victories of Italy, that the armies of the Rhine, and the Sambre and Meuse had been able to carry back the French colours to the banks of the Lech, where Turenne had been the first to raise our standards. At the commencement of 1796, the Emperor had 180,000 men on the Rhine, and wished to carry the war into France. The armies of the Sambre and Meuse, and of the Rhine, had no sufficient forces to offer resistance; their numerical inferiority was notorious; and if the valour of so many brave men was a guarantee for an honourable defence, the hope of conquest could never have entered into their contemplation. The days of Montenotte, Lodi, &c., carried alarm to Vienna; they obliged the Aulic council to recall successively Marshal Wurmser, the Archduke Charles, and more than 60,000 men from the German armies, which restored the equilibrium on that side, and enabled Moreau and Jourdan to take the offensive.

More than 120,000,000 of francs in the form of extraordinary contributions, had been raised in Italy; 60,000,000 had been employed in paying, providing for, and re-organizing the army of Italy, whilst the other



60,000,000, sent to the treasury of Paris, had been applied to the improvement of the internal condition of the country, and to the service of the army on the Rhine. But at that time, the whole system of the minister of finance was so vicious, the administration so corrupt, and the treasury so badly governed, that the armies derived very little advantage from this vast wealth. Independently of this important succour of 60,000,000, the treasury was indebted to the victories of Napoleon for 70,000,000 of annual saving, a sum to which the support of the armies of the Alps and of Italy amounted in 1796.

Considerable supplies in hemp and timber, and vessels of various kinds, seized by conquest at Genoa, Leghorn, and Venice, served to form a very necessary relief to the naval yards at Toulon. The national museum was enriched with *chefs-d'œuvre* of the arts, which had embellished Rome, Parma and Florence, and which were estimated at more than 200,000,000.

The commerce of Lyons, Provence, and Dauphiné, began to revive from the moment in which the free passage of the Alps was opened to it. The squadrons of Toulon rode triumphant in the Mediterranean, the Adriatic, and the Levant. A new era of happiness and prosperity dawned upon France, and it was to the conqueror of Italy that the country was pleased to owe these advantages.

After the arrival of Napoleon, the chiefs of all parties presented themselves at his house, he refused to receive them. The public was extremely curious to see him; the streets and squares through which it was thought he might pass, were thronged with people; but he showed himself nowhere. The *Institut* having named him a member in the department of *Mechanique*, he adopted the costume of the members of the body. As a general rule, he received at home only a few *savans*—such as Monge, Barthollet, Borda, Laplace, Prony, and Lagrange; and some generals—as Berthier, Desaix, Lefebvre, Caffarelli, Dufalge, Kleber, and a very small number of deputies.

He was received in a public audience by the directory, which had caused a great platform to be erected for the purpose at the Luxembourg; the pretended object was the formal acceptance of the peace of Campo-Formio. He avoided speaking of Fructidor, of the affairs in which the nation was at the moment engaged, and of the expedition to England. His address was simple, but at the same time contained numerous remarks calculated to suggest various reflections. The following observations fell from him in various parts of his speech: “The French people, in order to secure their liberty, have had kings to combat; and in order to obtain a constitution founded upon reason, they have had the prejudices of eighteen centuries to subdue. Religion, feudality, and despotism, have successively governed Europe for twenty centuries; but from the peace which you have just concluded will date the era of representative governments; you are now to organize the great nation, whose vast territory is circumscribed by those boundaries alone which nature herself has prescribed.

“I place in your hands the peace of Campo-Formio, ratified by the Emperor. This peace secures the liberty, prosperity and glory of the republic. When the happiness of the French people shall be founded upon the best organic laws, the whole of Europe will become free.”

During this ceremony, General Joubert and Brigadier General Andreossi carried the flag which the legislative body had given to the army of Italy, and which was covered with inscriptions in letters of gold. Some of these were as follows:—“The army of Italy has made 150,000 prisoners, ta-

ken 170 stand of colours, 550 pieces of heavy artillery, 600 field-pieces, five *équipages de pont*, nine ships of 64 guns, twelve frigates of 32 guns, twelve sloops, and eighteen galleys. Armistice with the Kings of Sardinia and Naples, with the Pope, with the Dukes of Parma and Modena. Preliminaries of Léoben. Convention of Montebello with the republic of Genoa. Treaties of Tolentino and Campo-Formio. Given liberty to the states of Bologna, Ferrara, Modena, Massa-Carrara, Romagna, Lombardy, Brescia, Bergamo, Mantua, Cremona—part of the Veronese, of Chiavenna, Bormio, and the Valteline; to the people of Genoa, to the imperial fiefs, to the departments of Corcyra, the *Ægean Sea*, and Ithica. Sent to Paris the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Michael Angelo, Guercino, Titian, Paul Veronese, Albano, the Caracci, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, and others. It has been victorious in eighteen pitched battles, and in sixty-seven partial engagements; 1. Montebello; 2. Millesimo; 3. Mondovi; 4. Lodi; 5. Borghetto; 6. Lonato; 7. Castiglione; 8. Roveredo; 9. Bassano; 10. St. George; 11. Fontonaviva; 12. Caldiera; 13. Arcola; 14. Rivoli; 15. La Favorite; 16. Tagliamento; 17. Tarwis; 18. Neumarkt."

The directory, the legislative body, and the minister of foreign affairs, gave splendid *fêtes* to Napoleon. He appeared at them all, but remained only for a very short time. That of Talleyrand was characterized by the highest degree of good taste. A celebrated lady, determined to break a lance with the conqueror of Italy, addressed him in the midst of a large circle, and asked him, who, in his opinion, was the greatest woman in the world, dead or alive? He smilingly replied, "She who has borne the most children." The public crowded to the sittings of the *Institut* to see him, and there he was always to be found seated between Laplace and Lagrange—the latter of whom was sincerely attached to him. When he went to the theatre he sat in a private box, and rejected decisively the application of the managers of the opera, who were desirous of giving him a grand representation. Marshal Saxe, Lowendhal, and Dumouriez, had all been present at such representations on their respective returns from Fontenay, Bergen-op-zoom, and Champagne. When, on his return from Egypt, on the 18th Brumaire, Napoleon appeared at the Tuileries, he was still unknown to the inhabitants of Paris, who exhibited the most eager desire to gratify their curiosity.

The directory treated him with the greatest distinction; when they thought it their duty to consult him, they sent one of the ministers to invite him to be present at the council. When there, he sat between two of the directors, and gave his opinion upon questions of importance.

The troops, as they re-entered France, extolled him to the skies in their songs, and proclaimed aloud that it was necessary to drive away the lawyers, and make him a king. The directors affected the greatest frankness, and went so far as to show him the secret reports of the police, but they were unable completely to conceal the annoyance and chagrin which they felt at so much popularity. Napoleon fully appreciated the delicacy and embarrassment of such a situation. The administration was badly conducted, and many hopes were turned towards the conqueror of Italy. The directory wished him to return to Rastadt, but he refused, on the pretext that his mission in Italy had been concluded with the peace of Campo-Formio, and that it was no longer suitable to his views to wield both the pen and the sword. Shortly after, he consented to accept the command of the army of England, in order to impose upon Europe, and to cover the design and preparations of the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing the army destined for the invasion of England, were cantoned in Normandy, Picardy, and Belgium. Their new general was to inspect all the points, but he wished to traverse the departments *incognito*. These mysterious movements caused still greater uneasiness in London, and effectually masked the preparations going on in the South. It was on this occasion, on his visit to Antwerp, that he conceived the design of those great maritime establishments, which he caused to be put into execution under the empire. It was also on one of these journeys that he perceived all the advantages which St. Quentin would derive from the canal which was afterwards opened under the consulate, and settled his ideas as to the superiority of Boulogne for attempting an enterprise against England simply with pinnaces.

The principles which were henceforward to guide the policy of the republic had been laid down by Napoleon at Campo-Formio, without any regard to the instructions of the directory; the latter, in fact, had remained wholly ignorant of them; besides, the members could not govern their passions; every new incident influenced them. Switzerland furnished the first example of this. France had had constant reason to complain of the canton of Berne and of the Swiss aristocracy. All the foreign agents, whose business it was to agitate France, found a *point d'appui* in Berne. The question was now discussed, whether it would not be wise to take advantage of the great influence which the republic had just acquired in Europe, to destroy the preponderance of that aristocracy. Napoleon strongly approved of this feeling of indignation on the part of the directory, and thought with it, that the moment was now arrived to secure the political influence of France in Switzerland, but he did not think it necessary for that reason to revolutionize the country. It was necessary to conform to the spirit of the treaty of Campo-Formio, and to arrive at the accomplishment of the object designed, with as few changes as possible. His wish was, that the French ambassador should present a note to the Helvetic diet, and that its contents should be supported by two camps, one in Savoy, and a second in Franche-Comté; that in the note it should be declared, that France and Italy thought it necessary for their policy and safety, as well as for the dignity of the three nations, that the Pays de Vaud, Argau, and the Italian bailiwicks, should become free cantons, in all respects independent, and equal to the others; that they had reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families in Berne, Soleure, and Fribourg, but that they would be disposed to forget all grounds of complaint, provided that the peasants of these cantons and of the Italian bailiwicks were restored to their political rights.

All these changes might have been effected without difficulty or having recourse to arms; but Rowbell, through the influence of Swiss demagogues, caused a different system to be adopted, and without regard to morals, religion, or the localities of the cantons, the directory determined to impose upon the whole of Switzerland a uniform constitution, similar to that of France. The small cantons were irritated at the loss of their liberty, and the whole country rose at the prospect of a change which destroyed all existing interests, and kindled universal resentment. It became necessary for the French troops to interfere and to conquer—blood flowed, and Europe took alarm.

On the other hand, the court of Rome, influenced by that spirit of infatuation by which it was characterized, and embittered rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, persisted in its system of aversion to France.

This cabinet of weak old men without wisdom, excited a great fermentation in opinion around them. It quarrelled with the Cisalpine republic, and was guilty of the great imprudence of appointing the Austrian General Provera to the command of its troops; this general played his part in promoting the general excitement, and a tumult broke out. Young Duphot, a general of the greatest promise, who happened to be at Rome as a traveller, was massacred at the gate of the French ambassador, whilst endeavouring to allay the spirit of disorder. The ambassador retired to Florence. Napoleon, when consulted, replied by his usual adage: "*That it was not for events to govern policy, but for policy to regulate events*"; that, however wrong the court of Rome might be, the course of conduct to be pursued towards it was still a very grave question; that it was necessary to correct, but not to destroy it; that, by overturning the Holy See and revolutionizing Rome, a war with Naples would be the necessary result, which ought to be avoided; that the French ambassador ought to be ordered to return to Rome, to demand the punishment of the ringleaders, and to receive a nuncio from the Pope, who would express the regret of his Holiness; to drive away Provera, to raise the most moderate prelates to the head of the government, and to force the Holy See to conclude a concordat with the Cisalpine republic, that by these combined measures, Rome would be tranquilized, and unable to cause further uneasiness; that the concordat with the Cisalpine republic would moreover have the effect of preparing the minds of the people of France for a similar measure. Laréveillère, surrounded by his theophilanthropists, was decidedly of opinion that measures should be adopted against the Pope.

"The time had now arrived," said he, "to make this idol disappear. The words *Roman republic* would be sufficient to fill with transport the ardent imaginations of the revolution. The general of Italy had been too circumspect in his time, and if any disputes or quarrels now arose with the Pope, it was entirely his fault. But, perhaps, he had his particular views; in fact, his conduct towards the Pope, and his generous compassion for exiled priests, had given him in France many partisans, who were not friends of the revolution."

As to the fears expressed on the probability of such measures leading to a war with Naples, he treated that part of the question with great subtlety. According to him, France had a numerous party in Naples, and ought to entertain no fear of a power of the third rank. Berthier received orders to march with an army upon Rome, and to re-establish the Roman republic; which was done. The names of consuls and senate, and other offices and orders of ancient Rome, again greeted the ear. Fourteen cardinals assembled in the church of St. Peter, to chant a *Te Deum*, on the re-establishment of the Roman republic, and the overthrow of the throne of St. Peter. The people, intoxicated with independence, carried with them in their enthusiasm the greatest part of the clergy.

The hand which had hitherto guided and restrained the officers and administrators of the army of Italy, was no longer there, and in Rome they allowed themselves to fall into the most unpardonable excesses. The furniture of the Vatican was wasted and destroyed, the best works of art and rarities of every description were seized upon, and a general feeling of dissatisfaction was raised among the inhabitants. The soldiers themselves protested loudly against the conduct of some of their generals, whom they accused of exciting the disorder. This state of things was attended with the greatest danger, and there was the greatest possible difficulty in restor-

ing order. It is said, with good reason, that the Romans were stimulated by the intrigues of Neapolitan, English, and Austrian-agents.

Bernadotte had been appointed ambassador to the court of Vienna. This appointment was bad; for the disposition of this General was too excitable and warm; his head was not sufficiently calm; besides, a General could not be a very acceptable ambassador to a nation which had been constantly beaten. A civilian ought to have been sent, but the directory had not such a man at their disposal; men of this class were either too obscure, or had been alienated by the government. However this may be, Bernadotte suffered himself to be governed by his temper, and committed grave faults. One day, without any one being able to divine the reason of his conduct, he caused the national tri-colour to be hoisted on the top of his hotel; he had been insidiously urged to this step by agents who wished to compromise Austria. In fact, the populace broke out into disorders, tore down the tri-colour, and insulted Bernadotte.

The directory, in its rage, called upon Napoleon to support them by his influence upon public opinion. They made him acquainted with a message to be sent to the councils, in order to lead to a declaration against Austria, and with a decree, by virtue of which the command of the army destined for Germany was to be conferred upon him. This general, however, did not concur in the opinion of the government. "If you wish," said he, "to make war, you must prepare for it, quite independently of this incident respecting Bernadotte; you must not engage your troops in Switzerland, in the South of Italy, or on the coasts of the ocean.

"It will be necessary not to proclaim the intention of reducing the army to 100,000 men, which is not yet executed, it is true, but which is known, and operates as a discouragement to the troops. These measures indicate that you have reckoned upon the continuance of peace. Bernadotte has been essentially wrong, and by declaring war, you will play the game of England. It requires but a very small knowledge of the cabinet of Vienna, and its policy, to be certain, that if it had really wished for war, it would not have insulted you,—on the contrary, it would have caressed you, and lulled your suspicions, whilst the troops were being prepared for action; you would only have discovered its real intentions by the first fire of its artillery. Be assured, that Austria will give you satisfaction. To suffer a nation thus to be at the mercy of such casual events, is not to have, or to pursue, any great system of policy." The power of truth calmed down the indignation of the government, and the Emperor gave ample satisfaction. The conferences of Seltz took place, but the incident delayed the expedition to Egypt for fifteen days.

In the meantime, Napoleon began to fear, that in the midst of the storms which the vacillating course pursued by the government, and the nature of things, was every day accumulating, an enterprise to the East had become contrary to the true interests of the country. "Europe," said he, to the directory, "is anything but tranquil; the congress of Rastadt is not terminated—you are obliged to keep your troops in the interior to secure the elections, and some are necessary to keep down the spirit of insubordination in the departments of the West. Would it not be better to countermand the expedition, and to wait for more favourable circumstances?"

The directory took alarm, and fearing that Napoleon would place himself at the head of the government, it became the more ardent in urging on the expedition. It was not aware of all the consequences of those changes which had taken place in the political system within six months. According to it,

the events in Switzerland, far from weakening France, gave it excellent military positions, and the Helvetic troops as auxiliaries. Affairs with Rome were settled, for the Pontiff had already withdrawn to Florence, and the Roman republic was proclaimed; the case of Bernadotte could not be attended with any further consequences, for the Emperor had offered to make reparation—the moment, therefore, was more favourable than ever for making attacks upon England in Ireland, and Egypt.

Napoleon then offered to leave Desaix and Kleber behind; their talents might become useful to France. The directory refused them; it did not appreciate their merits. "The republic," said the directors, "is not dependent on these two generals, but could find a crowd of officers to cause the country to triumph, if it were in danger—soldiers are much more wanted than generals."

The government was on the very edge of a precipice, which it did not perceive. Its affairs were badly conducted—it abused the victory of Fructidor. It was not its good fortune to be able to rally around the cause of the country those who really did not belong to the faction of foreigners, but had merely been drawn away in its suite. It was thus deprived of the services of a very great number of individuals, who out of resentment threw themselves into the arms of the opposite party, although both their interests and their opinions naturally led them to attach themselves to that form of government. The directory found itself constrained to employ men without character; and hence a great degree of public dissatisfaction, and the necessity for maintaining large bodies of troops in the interior, with a view to secure the elections, and to keep down the spirit of revolt in La Vendée. It was easy to foresee that the new elections would lead to great agitation. The directory had no longer any system of administration, except in matters of foreign policy. It went on, from day to day, led by the individual dispositions of the directors, or by the various nature of a government consisting of five persons. It neither foresaw nor anticipated anything, and had no perception of the difficulties which seriously obstructed its course. When they were asked, "How will you make the approaching elections?" "We will provide for that by a law!" replied Laréveillère. The result showed what the nature of the law was of which he was thinking. When it was said to them, "Why do you not recall all the friends of the republic, who have only been led astray in Fructidor? Why do you not recall Carnot, Portalis, Marcaire, &c., in order to form a *fascis* against foreigners and emigrants, of all those, who possess enlightened and liberal ideas?" They made no answer—they could not conceive the nature of their solicitude—they thought themselves popular, and believed their government to rest upon a solid foundation.

A party composed of influential deputies in the two councils, the Fructidorian, who sought for a protector, and the most observant and enlightened generals, long and eagerly pressed Napoleon to make a movement, and to put himself at the head of the republic; but he refused. His time was not yet come. He did not yet think himself sufficiently popular to be able to stand alone. With respect to the art of governing, and to what was necessary for a great nation, he entertained ideas very different from those of the men of the revolution and of the assemblies, and he was afraid of compromising his character. He resolved to set out for Egypt, but with the determination of re-appearing, as soon as circumstances should arise to render his presence desirable or necessary, as he foresaw would certainly happen. In order to secure him the mastery of France, it was necessary that

the directory should suffer reverses in his absence, and that his return should restore victory and success to our colours.

The government proposed to celebrate the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI., and it was a subject of earnest consideration among the directors and the ministers, whether Napoleon ought to be present at this ceremony or not. It was feared, on the one hand, that it might injure his popularity if he did not go, and on the other, that if he went, people would forget the directory, and fix their attention wholly on him. It was, however, determined that, notwithstanding this, his presence was required by policy. One of the ministers was commissioned to arrange the affair. Napoleon, who was desirous of avoiding all participation in celebrations of this kind, observed that—"He filled no public office; that personally he had nothing to do at this proposed *fête*, which, from its very nature, could be pleasing to very few; that it was one of the most impolitic things to do, for the event which it commemorated was a catastrophe and a national misfortune; that he could very well understand why the anniversary of the 14th of July should be commemorated, because on it the people had won their liberty and their rights, but that they might have been gained without polluting themselves by the execution of a prince declared inviolable and irresponsible by the constitution itself; that he would not pretend to say, whether that event was useful or injurious, but he maintained that it was an unfortunate incident; that national *fêtes* were celebrated for victories, whilst men wept for the victims who lay dead upon the field of battle; that the celebration of the execution of a man, could never be the act of a government, but of a faction or a club; that he could not conceive how the directory, which had caused the clubs of Jacobins and of anarchists to be shut, and which was now in treaty with so many princes, did not perceive that such a ceremony made more enemies than friends to the republic; and that, instead of conciliating, it alienated—instead of softening, embittered—instead of strengthening, shook and weakened; and, finally, that it was altogether unworthy of the government of a great nation." The negotiator on this occasion employed all his means of persuasion. He attempted to prove that "this *fête* was just because it was politic; that it was politic, because all countries and republics had celebrated, as a triumph, the fall and overthrow of absolute power and the murder of tyrants; that Athens had always celebrated the death of Pisistratus, and Rome the fall of the Decemvirs; and that, moreover, it was in accordance with the law of the land, and that every man owed it submission and obedience; and, finally, that the influence of the General of Italy upon public opinion was such that he ought to appear at this ceremony; and if he did not appear, his absence would be injurious to the interests of the republic."

After several interviews and conferences, a *mezzotermine* was hit upon. The *Institut*, as a body, was to be present at the *fête*; it was agreed that Napoleon, as a member of the *Institut*, should appear amongst its *savans*, and follow the class to which he belonged, thus discharging a corporate duty, which he did not consider as a voluntary act. The affair thus arranged was very agreeable to the directory. When, however, the members of the *Institut* entered the church of St. Sulpice, some one who recognized Bonaparte pointed him out, and from that moment the whole public attention was fixed upon him. The thing which the directory feared really took place. Its members were completely eclipsed. At the close of the ceremony, the multitude allowed the directory to retire unattended, waited for him who had been so anxious to conceal himself amongst a crowd, and

made the air re-echo with the cries of—" *Vive le Général de l'armée d'Italie !*" so that these events merely served to increase the displeasure of the government.

About this time, another circumstance occurred which imposed upon Napoleon the disagreeable necessity of blaming, in no measured terms, the conduct of the directory. Two young persons, who frequented the Café Garchi, and dressed their hair after a particular fashion, were, under the pretext of a political movement, insulted, attacked, and assassinated. This murder was committed according to the orders of Sotin, the minister of police, and executed by his agents. The circumstances were now of such a nature as to compel Napoleon, although living in as retired a manner as possible, to direct his particular attention, for the sake of his own safety, to measures of this description. He loudly expressed his indignation. The directory took alarm, and commissioned one of their ministers to go and explain to him the motives of their conduct. They instructed him to say—"That such events were common at critical periods; that revolutionary times were not regulated by the ordinary methods of proceeding; that it was in this case necessary to place restrictions upon high society, and to repress the boldness of the *salons*; that this was one of that kind of crimes with which the ordinary tribunals could not deal; that they could not, undoubtedly, approve of the *lanterne* of the constituent assembly, but that without it the revolution never would have made progress; and, finally, that it was one of those evils which it was necessary to tolerate in order to avoid greater."

Napoleon replied—"That such language might have been just endurable before Fructidor, when parties were drawn against each other, and the directory had been rather in the position of defending itself than that of carrying on the administration; that then, perhaps, such acts might have been defensible on the plea of necessity; but that at present, the directory found itself invested with full powers—no opposition was offered to the due course of law—the citizens, if not attached, were at least submissive, and such an action had, therefore, become an atrocious crime, a real outrage upon civilization; that wherever the words *law* and *liberty* were named, all citizens became responsible for one another; that here, with this employment of cut-throats, every man must feel himself struck with terror, and be ready to ask, where is this to stop?"

These reasons were too cogent to need development to a man of intelligence like the minister, but he had a mission, and did his best to justify an administration, whose favour and confidence he was anxious to continue to enjoy.



## CHAPTER IX.

## CONDUCT OF NAPOLEON AS CONSUL.

"As Consul, my first thought after the battle of Marengo, was to open negotiations with England, and had Fox lived, there can be no doubt that a permanent peace would have been made between England and France, because Fox knew the true interests of his country. It would have been easy to have inspired the two nations with the most friendly dispositions towards one another. The French have always esteemed the English and their national qualities; wherever esteem exists, there is only a step to friendship; and had suitable measures been adopted for the purpose, nothing would have been easier, than to have brought about this in the case of England and France. I have done England great mischief, and would have done her more had the war continued; but I have never ceased to esteem the English people, and would have made almost any sacrifices to be at peace with them, except such as would have involved or tarnished French honour. On the throne, I expressed a high opinion of the English nation—of its liberty, policy, independence, greatness, and generosity. A martyr to the crimes of its ministers, my esteem for the people still remains.

"In 1800, as First Consul, I wrote as follows to the King of England:

"Is the war, which has now desolated the four quarters of the world for eight years, to be eternal? Are there no means of bringing about an understanding? How is it that the two bravest, most powerful, and enlightened nations of Europe can sacrifice to ideas of vain glory, any longer than their safety and independence require, the advantages of commerce, internal prosperity, and social peace? How is it, that they do not feel that peace is the first of necessities, as it is of glories?"

"This honourable and conciliatory advance was repulsed; six months, however, had scarcely elapsed, when Lord Minto, the English ambassador at Vienna, sent a note, in which he expressed a desire, on the part of the cabinet of St. James, to enter, conjointly with Austria, into negotiations for peace with France. There was, however, great reason to believe that this overture was not sincere, and that England only wished to take part in the negotiations, with a view to embarrass and prolong their course, and to find a pretext for re-attaching Russia to the coalition. In truth, had England wished for peace, there was nothing to prevent her from treating directly, and from authorizing Austria to conclude *directly* for herself.

"On presenting herself at Lunéville, and making common cause with the court of Vienna, was England ready to sacrifice a portion of her conquests beyond sea, in order to purchase back the countries conquered by France in Germany and Italy? The egotism of the insular politics was too well known to allow any one to deceive himself by such illusions; peace with Austria could be easily concluded, because there was a precedent in the re-

cent treaty of Campo-Formio; peace with England, on the contrary, was surrounded by difficulties. The last arrangement was that of the treaty of 1783; since that time everything had been completely changed. To admit, therefore, a negotiator from England at Lunéville, was to place the shuttle and yarn in her hands, to enable her to weave a new coalition. The cabinet of the Tuileries, however, in order to be better convinced of the truth of its conjectures, proposed at once to open the negotiations of Lunéville with the ministers of Austria and England, on condition, that during the continuance of the negotiations, hostilities should continue by sea and land; which was strictly according to the usage in such cases. The treaties of Westphalia, Utrecht, Aix-la-Chapelle, &c., had been concluded in this manner. The superiority of the French armies was too well established to enable England, by her intrigues, to retard the progress of the negotiations. Every new victory would have merely served as a stimulus to the allies to bring them to a conclusion; the proposition, therefore, was rejected. It was then proposed to admit the plenipotentiaries to Lunéville, and to continue the armistice by land, provided that it was also extended to sea, that both the allied powers should be on the same footing. Was it, in fact, right that Austria should demand the prolongation of the armistice in order to negotiate, and that England should be admitted to the congress without any cessation of hostilities? Had the English minister been sincere in his declarations, he would have found very little inconvenience in making some slight sacrifices as a compensation to France for the injury which she suffered by the prolongation of the armistice by land; and, finally, if this second proposition was rejected, it might then be proposed to treat separately, but at the same time, with Austria and England; with Austria by prolonging the armistice, and with England during the continuance of hostilities.

"The English minister showed great astonishment, and exclaimed against the strange proposition of a naval armistice! It was something new in the history of the two nations; but, at last, he admitted the principle. Count Otto, who was in London, as a commissioner to treat for the exchange of prisoners, carried on the negotiations with Lord Grenville. He soon perceived, however, that England, whilst conceding the principle, wished to refuse its consequences, and so to fetter the conditions of the armistice as to offer no advantage whatever to France. The three German cities which were invested, received supplies, and England consented to the adoption of the same course with respect to Belleisle, Malta, and Alexandria. The two last, however, were in no want of provisions, but could, on the contrary, furnish some to England. The only advantage which France could derive from a naval armistice, was, that it would enable her to renew her commercial intercourse with all the ports in her colonies. England refused to concede this in the case of Malta and Egypt. France finally proposed as her *ultimatum*, that instead of raising the blockade of Alexandria, six frigates, armed *en flûte*, should enter the harbour as cartel-ships; this would afford the means of sending an additional force of 4000 men to the army of Egypt, a very small advantage indeed compared with those obtained by Austria by the prolongation of the armistice, which enabled her to employ her vast English subsidies in raising new troops and strengthening her means of resistance.

"The negotiations for a naval armistice were broken off. The fortresses of Ulm, Philippsburg, and Ingolstadt, were surrendered by the Emperor to France, as the price of the prolongation of the truce for six weeks.

"A few months afterwards, the peace of Lunéville saved the house of

Austria, and re-established a calm upon the Continent. And finally, shortly afterwards, the minister signed the preliminaries of London, by which the English oligarchy, baffled and confounded, acknowledged the democratic French republic, not only increased by the Belgian provinces, but by Piedmont, Genoa, and the whole of Italy.

"Fox came to France. His journey was a series of acts of homage rendered by all classes of the people. Fox was the model of a statesman, and his school, sooner or later, ought to rule the world.

"The void produced by the French revolution in the organic system of ancient Europe, was by no means filled in the eyes of the oligarchy, who felt, more strongly than ever, the dangers which threatened their political domination. The centre of action and *point d'appui* of all these plots against the new order of things in France, was in London; the exhaustion of the people had imposed upon the oligarchy the peace of Amiens; but a two years' truce was too long a tax upon the hateful and irreconcilable passions by which their hearts were filled; all the organs of the aristocracy, therefore, were set to work to re-open the bloody arena, on which two great nations, made to be friends, were about to be condemned to a death-struggle for twelve years more.

"On the 20th of May, 1803, a proclamation, issued by the government, announced to France the rupture of the peace of Amiens:

"We are forced to make war to repel an unjust aggression; we will do so with glory.

"If the King of England is resolved to keep Great Britain in a state of war, till France shall recognise his right of executing or violating treaties at his pleasure, as well as the privilege of outraging the French government in official and private publications, without allowing us to complain, we must mourn for the fate of humanity.

"We assuredly wish to leave to our descendants the French name honoured, and without a stain.

"Whatever may be the circumstances, we shall, on all occasions, leave it to England to take the initiative in all proceedings of violence against the peace and independence of nations; and she shall receive from us an example of that moderation, which alone can afford any real security for social order and the happiness of nations."

"On his part, the English minister made the King of England say, 'that he was about to place himself at the head of his people; that France had serious designs against the constitution, the religion, and the independence of the English nation; but that, through the measures which he was about to take, this same France would reap nothing from its project but defeat, confusion, and misfortune.'

"Is this indeed,' cried the First Consul, 'the language of the King of England, the chief of a nation which is mistress of the seas, and sovereign of India? Do those who adopt such language, forget that Harold, the perjured, also put himself at the head of his people? Are they ignorant that the *prestiges* of birth, the attributes of sovereign power, and the royal purple, are very fragile bucklers in those moments when death, traversing the ranks of the combatants, awaits the glance of the prince, and an unexpected movement, in order to choose the party which is to furnish his victims? In the day of battle, all men are equal.

"The habit of fighting, superiority in tactics, the coolness and presence of mind of the commander, make the conquerors or the conquered. A Septuagenarian King, who should for the first time put himself at the head

of his army, would only be an additional embarrassment on the day of battle, and furnish a new chance of success to his enemies.

“The King of England speaks of the honour of the crown, the maintenance of the constitution, of religion, laws, and independence. Would not then the peaceable enjoyment of all these blessings have been secured to the English people by the peace of Amiens? What has the rock of Malta to do with the religion, the laws, and the independence of England? It does not lie within the compass of human prudence to penetrate the secret means which the wisdom of Divine Providence will adopt for the humiliation of perjury, and the punishment of those who foster divisions and sow enmity between two great nations, and drive them to make war under the most miserable pretexts.

“Defeat, confusion, misfortune! all these menaces are absurd, and unworthy of the chief of a great nation, even where he an Alexander, Cæsar, or Frederick; for the more elated he might be by victories, the more unpardonable would he be to forget that the fate of war and the issue of a battle often depend on very trifling events: to venture to predict that the French army would meet with nothing on the soil of England but defeat, confusion and misfortune!”

“Two hundred thousand men covered, with their camps, the coasts of France, from the Ostend to the mouth of the Somme. Measures were taken to concentrate all the maritime resources of France, Spain and Holland, with a view of sweeping the channel, and facilitating and covering the passage of thousands of gun-boats and barges which were being built in all the dock-yards of France and Holland, and which were to be collected between St. Valéry and Ostend for the embarkation of the troops. On both sides of the channel, nothing was to be seen but preparations for attack or defence. The aged and venerable George III. left his royal residence to exchange his peaceful life for the fatigue of camps.

“The cabinet of St. James’s omitted no means to rouse that kind of apathetic indifference with which the danger of England was viewed at the the courts of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin. La Vendée could not have frankly laid down arms, and attempts were made to raise the standard of insurrection in that province. These attempts were useless; the concordat had rallied the clergy around the government of Napoleon; the Vendean peasant was weary of war, enjoying with thankfulness the blessings of the pacification, and the gifts which the First Consul distributed with a liberal hand, to heal the wounds of the war, by rebuilding the churches, and repairing or reconstructing their habitations.

“The cabinet of St. James’s was led into numerous mistakes by the emigrants, who, deceived by the illusions of their own minds, had induced their protectors to engage in many troublesome expeditions. It had a great idea of the power and means of the Jacobins, persuaded itself that a great number of them were dissatisfied—that they were disposed to unite their efforts with those of the royalists, and would be seconded by generals jealous of the First Consul. It thought that by systematizing these efforts of parties opposed to each other, but united by a common passion, it might form one powerful enough to create an efficacious diversion.

“During the past four years, I had reunited all the parties into which France was divided before my accession to power; the list of emigrants was closed; I had at first marked, then erased, and finally granted an amnesty to all those who wished to return to their country; all their existing and unsold property had been restored, with the exception of the forests, of

which the law assigned them the revenues ; there no longer remained on that list any names except those of persons immediately attached to the princes of the house of Bourbon, and who did not wish to take advantage of the amnesty. Thousands upon thousands of emigrants had returned, and been subjected to no other conditions than the oath of fidelity and obedience to the republic. I thus enjoyed the most delightful consolation which a king can enjoy, that of re-organizing more than 30,000 families, and of restoring to their country all that remained of men who had made France illustrious in different ages ; even those who continued emigrants frequently received passports to come and visit their families. The public altars were rebuilt, the deserted or exiled priests were restored to their functions, and paid by the republic. These laws effected great amelioration in public affairs. They, however, were accompanied by the inevitable inconvenience of emboldening, by their very mildness and indulgence, the enemies of the consular government, the royalist party, and the hopes of our foreign enemies.

“From 1803 till 1804, there were five conspiracies ; it is to this period that the death of the Duke d'Enghien belongs.”

## CHAPTER X.

## THE DUKE D'ENGHEIN.

THE Duke d'Enghein lost his life because he was one of the principal actors in the conspiracy formed by Georges, Pichegru, and Moreau.

Pichegru was arrested on the 28th of February, Georges on the 9th, and the Duke d'Enghein on the 18th of March, 1804.

The Duke d'Enghein took an active part in all the intrigues which had been carried on from 1796 by the agents of England; this is proved by the papers seized in the cartridge-box of Klinglin, and the letters of the 19th of Fructidor, 1797, written by Moreau to the directory.

The king's speech, delivered to the English parliament in March, 1803, announced the commencement of a new war, and the rupture of the peace of Amiens. The French government indicated the design of carrying the war into England. During the years 1803 and 1804, the whole sea-coast at Boulogne, Dunkirk, and Ostend was covered with camps; formidable squadrons were prepared in Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon; the whole of the dock-yards of France were filled with gun-boats, sloops, rafts, and pinaces, and thousands of men were employed in excavating and enlarging the channel ports, to enable them to contain these numerous flotillas. England, on her part, flew to arms; Pitt relinquished the peaceful occupations of the exchequer, put on a uniform, and thought of nothing but warlike machines, battalions, forts, and batteries; the aged and venerable George III. forsook the quiet of his palaces, and was daily engaged in reviews; camps were formed on the heights of Dover, and in the counties of Kent and Sussex; the two armies were, in fact, in sight of one another, separated merely by the straits.

At the same time, England neglected none of those means calculated to rouse the continental powers; but Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Spain, were either allies or friends of France, which gave laws to the whole of Europe. The attempts which were made to re-kindle the war in La Vendée, were not more successful. The concordat had rallied the clergy to Napoleon, and the feelings of the inhabitants of the province had undergone a complete change, for they contemplated with gratitude the progress of his administration. The great public works which he had decreed gave employment to thousands of hands; it was designed to connect the Vilaine with the Rance by a canal, which would enable the French coasters to pass from the coasts of Poitou to those of Normandy without the necessity of doubling Cape Ushant. A new city was springing up in the midst of La Vendée, and eight new public highways were about to traverse the west; and finally, considerable sums, in the form of insurances, were distributed among the Vendéans, in order to enable them to rebuild their houses, churches, and parsonages, which had been burnt or destroyed by order of the committee of public safety.

All the emigrants who were in the pay of England had received orders to form a junction in the Breisgau, and in the grand duchy of Baden. Massey, an English agent who corresponded with the government, Drake, and Spencer Smith, had taken up their abode at Offenburg, and furnished in profusion whatever money was necessary for the execution of all these plots.

The minister, Decrès, who was desirous above everything of gaining the favour of his master, used every possible exertion, by means of smugglers, to ascertain what was going on in England, and was the first to give information respecting the plots which were being woven in Germany, and in which Spencer Smith and Drake were the chief instruments.

The First Consul made bitter complaints to the minister of foreign affairs, of the negligence displayed by the French diplomatic agents at the German courts; Monsieur de Talleyrand was excited to action, and required explanations from Baron Dalberg, *charge d'affaires* of Baden, in Paris, and one of his most intimate acquaintances. Dalberg now saw an opportunity of making his fortune, and he judged correctly; for it was to this circumstance he was indebted for being created a duke, with a pension of 200,000 francs. He did not hesitate to reveal, even to the minutest details, all that he knew of the presence of the Duke d'Enghien at Ettenheim, and of the attempts of the English agents in Munich and Switzerland.

Marshal Moncey, inspector-general of the *Gendarmerie*, and Count Schœe, prefect of Strasburg, confirmed by their reports the opinion that the Duke d'Enghien was the soul of the conspiracy, and had been invested with extraordinary powers to enter France in the character of Lieutenant-General of the kingdom, in the name of the Pretender, as soon as the conspirators had succeeded in assassinating the First Consul.

On receiving this intelligence, an extraordinary council was convoked at the Tuileries. The ministers and the chief dignitaries of the senate and of the legislative body were present, and all were of opinion that the safety of the republic demanded the adoption of extraordinary measures. The forcible capture of the Duke d'Enghien was decreed.

Caulaincourt, aide-de-camp of Napoleon, was bound to obey the instructions which Berthier, and Talleyrand the minister of foreign affairs, were desired to give him, for the accomplishment of the mission with which he was entrusted.

1st. To confound the plots which were laid by the English ministers on the right bank of the Rhine.

2ndly. To make sure of the persons and papers of the Baroness de Reich and her accomplices, who were busy at Offenburg in devising schemes for the overthrow of the consular government, and the death of the First Consul.

3rdly. To give explanations to the court of Baden respecting the violation of their territory, as soon as Ordenner had seized upon the Duke d'Enghien.

Ordenner was bound to obey his orders, to pass the Rhine with 300 dragoons, and to carry off the prince; and a court-martial was bound to condemn him, if he was proved guilty. Innocent or guilty, Caulaincourt and Ordenner were bound to obey: if he were guilty, the court-martial was obliged to condemn him—if innocent, they ought to have acquitted him, inasmuch as no order could justify the conscience of a judge. There is no doubt, that if Caulaincourt had been appointed judge of the Duke d'Enghien, he would have refused; but being charged

with a diplomatic mission, he was bound to obey. All this is so obvious, that nothing but folly, or the madness of party-spirit, can find any thing to say against it. It is true that such party-spirit found it easy to attack an ancient name distinguished by new and honourable services, and was bent on calumniating Caulaincourt in this case. This hatred and injustice were among the causes of his favour. Caulaincourt, being entrusted before the time of the Empire with one of the departments of service in the palace, had afterwards merely the title of the functions which he had already filled.

The death of the Duke d'Enghien ought to be attributed to those who in London directed and commanded the assassination of the first consul, who destined the Duke de Berry to enter France through the district of Beville, and the Duke d'Enghien by Strasburg. It ought to be attributed also to those who, by their reports and conjectures, forced the council to regard him as the chief of the conspiracy; and it ought to be made a subject of eternal reproach to those who, urged on by a criminal zeal, did not await the orders of their sovereign before executing the sentence of the court-martial.

The Duke d'Enghien fell a victim to the intrigues of the time; and his death, which has been made a matter of reproach to Napoleon, was injurious to him, and of no political utility whatever. Had Napoleon been capable of decreeing the commission of such a crime, Louis XVIII. and Ferdinand would not now have been upon their thrones.

It is true that the Emperor, in his will, has taken upon himself the responsibility of this act, which even in his eyes was not justified by necessity, had not a strange impression on his own mind excited him to one of those passionate movements to which he sometimes yielded, as we shall see.

The Emperor had written and sealed up his will about twelve days, when he first saw, in the European papers, in relation to the death of the Duke d'Enghien, an attack as unjust as it was virulent against two persons to whom no blame whatever attached. These were the Dukes of Vicenza and Rovigo—"Bring me my will," said he; and having broken the seal by a convulsive movement, he seized his pen, and wrote, in characters scarcely legible, "I decreed and determined the death of the Duke d'Enghien, because it was necessary for the safety, interest and honour of the French people, when the Count d'Artois maintained sixty assassins in Paris. Under the same circumstances, I would act in the same manner." An hour after having performed this act, he called us, made us seal up the will and codicils, and place our own seals and signatures upon the envelopes.

Napoleon never committed crimes. What crime would have been more profitable to him than the assassination of the Count de Lille and the Count d'Artois? The proposition was often made to him, especially by \*\*\* and \*\*\*, and would not have cost him two millions. The Emperor rejected the proposal with contempt and indignation. During the whole of his reign no attempt was ever made on the lives of these princes. When Spain was in arms in the name of Ferdinand, this prince, and his brother Don Carlos, the sole heirs of the throne of Spain, were at Valencey, in the heart of Berry; their death would have put an end to the affairs of Spain. He was advised to adopt such a course, but he regarded it as criminal and unjust. Were Ferdinand, and his brother Carlos, put to death in France?

It would be easy to quote many other examples, but these two may suffice, as being the most striking and conclusive. Hands accustomed to gain battles by the sword never tarnish themselves by the commission of crimes, even under the vain pretext of public utility; this pretext has, in



all ages, been the frightful maxim of weak governments alone, which disavow all the obligations of religion, honour, and European civilization.

Napoleon attained the summit of human greatness by direct paths, without ever having committed an action which morality ought to disavow. In this respect his elevation is unique in history. David, in order to secure the throne, put to death the house of Saul, his benefactor; Cæsar kindled the flames of civil war, and destroyed the government of his country; Cromwell caused his master to be executed on the scaffold. Napoleon was a stranger to all the crimes of the Revolution. At the time in which he commenced his political career, the throne had crumbled into dust. The amiable Louis XVI. had perished, and factions were rending the country to pieces. It was by the conquest of Italy, and by the peace of Campo-Formio, which ensured the greatness and independence of France, that Napoleon commenced his career; and when he assumed the supreme power in 1800, he triumphed over anarchy. His throne was raised on the unanimous desires of the French people.

A dictation of the Emperor seems to me to be necessary to complete the foregoing reflections.

## CHAPTER XI.

## ON STATE-PRISONS.

THE aged Queen Caroline of Naples was living in Sicily, overwhelmed with vexation, and steeped in humiliations. The English had unworthily sacrificed her to their ambitious views upon Sicily. She was thirsting for vengeance, and her imagination—degraded by all the blood which she had caused to be shed, when the unskilfulness of the directory re-opened to her the gates of Naples—could not be restrained within any bounds, when she thought she saw a ray of hope.

The marriage of one of her daughters with the Duke of Orleans was made subservient to the policy of the moment. On the birth of the Duke de Chartres, she conceived the infernal idea of offering him up as a holocaust, in order to buy back the crown of Naples. "This child," she wrote to the Emperor, "will one day become a dangerous rival of your son; he will fully represent a principle of conciliation between interests which you have amalgamated in appearance, but which your death will separate anew. Restore me to the crown of Naples, and I will at the same time serve your cause, and satiate my hatred of the English, by new Sicilian Vespers, which will swallow up a whole race of rivals of your dynasty."

The Emperor was filled with indignation, and caused the bearer of this execrable message to be conveyed to a state-prison; there he would have remained, had not the events of 1814 restored him to liberty.

It was such men who filled the state-prisons of the empire; and everything which has been said of imperial despotism is a calumny.

## THE EMPEROR'S REPLY TO AN ENGLISHMAN WHO SPOKE WITH CONTEMPT OF LOUIS XVIII.

"You are badly acquainted with the course of events, and are unjust towards Louis XVIII. Neither he nor any of the princes of his family were deficient in courage during the events of the Hundred Days. It was on the first appearance of the Revolution in its early progress that they proved themselves wanting in courage. Like princes, they should have shared all the dangers of the Vendéans, in 1815. They did all they could do—the whole people repudiated them, and merely regarded them as kings of the emigrants. It was impossible for the Bourbons to have prevented the popular masses from carrying me off in triumph from Cannes to Paris. Mark what took place at Lyons: the troops deserted the Count d'Artois; remember the case of Ney, at Besancon. At the cry of *Vive l'Empereur*, his soldiers compelled him to recognise the orders sent by me through my aide-de-camp St. Yon, whilst he was dictating to his staff plans for opposing me. Think of the Duchess of Angoulême, at Bordeaux—she was heroic in her resolutions, but not a voice responded to her appeal; and yet Bordeaux was the very city, which, ten months before, had been the first to raise the shout of *Vive le Roi*! Think of the Duke of Angoulême in

the South, and the Prince of Condé in La Vendée; the magic of his name proved powerless against the impressions left by my reign. The Vendean peasants said to him: 'We can do nothing against Napoleon: he has rebuilt our churches and our houses, he has restored to us our priests, and we can have no wish for civil war.'

"The Bourbons have proved powerless in stopping the reaction provoked by the madness of some incorrigible emigrants, and the antipathy against them became a complete epidemic, which seized upon all classes of the nation. Do greater justice to the Bourbons—they are a race of brave men—cowardice among them is but a rare exception—their fault consisted in being only the representatives of superannuated interests; and they were, consequently, repulsed by all the interests of new France."

"It has been said that the number of priests arrested amounted to five hundred. The fact is, that there were never more than fifty-three priests in detention, on account of secret correspondence with Rome, and they were legally imprisoned. Cardinal Piétro, because he was at the head of the correspondence with the *petite église*, in order to establish vicars apostolic, which were contrary to the principles of the Gallican church and dangerous to the safety of the state; and Cardinal Pacca, because he signed the bull of excommunication, on account of which no ill will was exhibited towards the Pope, but the whole responsibility of this act was thrown on the minister who signed it. The intention was, if any person was assassinated at Rome in consequence of this bull, to inflict punishment on the Cardinal. The bull, however, excited universal contempt, which was an extremely fortunate circumstance for the Roman cardinals and prelates. D'Astro, vicar of Paris, kept up a correspondence with Cardinal Piétro; he had received, and clandestinely hawked about bulls unknown and not received in France, which was contrary to the principles of the Gallican church, and characterized as a criminal offence by the penal code.

"How was it possible that 500 priests should have been arrested for affairs connected with the church, when the whole number of persons, at that time confined in the eight state-prisons, only amounted to 243 individuals, which was composed—first, of priests who were imprisoned for the reasons assigned above; of emigrants, whose names were still retained on the list, for having borne arms against the nation; of agents of England or foreign powers, who had violated their oaths, and who, if they had been judicially tried, would have been immediately condemned to death; a degree of severity which there was no desire to exercise. 2dly, of Chouan chiefs, or promoters of civil war, condemned to death, but not executed, because they had given useful information to the government, and whose knowledge was important, either to identify new Chouans who might be arrested, or to furnish accounts of localities and past events which it was desirable thoroughly to understand; 3rdly, of emigrants, who had received an amnesty, but were still under the inspection of the police, for having been engaged in conspiracies against the state and the government. They, also, if subjected to a judicial trial, would have been condemned to death, but their trial would have contributed to keep alive the public feelings with respect to the danger to which France was exposed, of losing her chief; moreover, some of these plots, such as that of the Baron de la Rochefoucauld and of Vaudricourt, commissioner of war of the army of Condé, at the same time that they were criminal, were so stupid, that it was quite sufficient to keep their advisers and abettors in a state

prison till the peace; 4thly, of men of a lower class, loaded with crimes cognizable by the inferior courts, but belonging to still existing associations and societies, whom the jury, though persuaded of their guilt, would not have dared to condemn, for fear of their accomplices. Their detention was founded upon an order signed by the judge who had presided at their examination, and who testified the facts, supported by an order signed by the Prefect and the Council of the Prefecture, and which required that these persons should not be set at liberty, but kept in prison as being dangerous to public tranquillity. Such were the persons who made up the number of 243, confined in the eight state-prisons of a country containing 40,000,000 of inhabitants, and emerging from the evils of a horrible revolution, which had shaken the foundations of the whole social system of an empire long agitated by civil discord, and continually harassed by foreign wars. There is no similar case to be found in the history of nations—for there is no country in Europe which does not contain a greater number of persons pining in prisons, under the warrant of various authorities, and under forms approved by the laws. These 243 individuals, the number of whom continually diminished, were detained in eight prisons, of which Vincennes was one; each, therefore, one with the other, contained from thirty to forty persons.

“These state prisons were established by virtue of a decree of the council of state, of the date of the 3rd of May, 1810: it was a liberal regulation, and a beneficent act of the administration, but which, from being ill-understood, gave rise to the strangest ideas in foreign countries. Sir Francis Burdett, at a meeting in Westminster, accused me of having established six Bastilles. The decree was couched in the following terms:

“We, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, protector of the confederation of the Rhine, mediator of the Swiss confederation, &c., &c.

“On the report of our minister of general police, considering that there is a certain number of our subjects detained in state-prisons, whom it would neither be convenient to bring to trial before the ordinary tribunals, nor to set at liberty—that several of them have, at various periods, made attempts to disturb the public peace—that they would necessarily be condemned to death by the public tribunals, but that superior considerations prevent their being sent to trial—that others, after having been conspicuous as chiefs of revolutionary bands in the civil wars, have been again seized in open rebellion, and that motives affecting the general interest, are equally opposed to their being brought to trial—that many are either notorious public robbers, or men addicted to crime, whom our courts have not been able to condemn, although convinced of their criminality, but whose enlargement would be injurious to the interests and safety of the public—that a certain number, having been employed as agents of the police in foreign countries, and failed in their fidelity, can neither be set at large, nor brought to trial, without compromising the security of the state—and finally, that some belonging to different united countries, are men who cannot be brought to trial, because their crimes are either political or anterior to the union, and that they could not be set at liberty without compromising the interests of the state. Considering, however, that it is due to our justice to be well assured that such of our subjects as are confined in our prisons of state, are confined for just reasons affecting the public well-being, and not from any private considerations or personal causes—that it is proper to establish legal and solemn forms, for the ex-

amination of each particular case, and by such examination every year, to review the decisions of the privy council and the causes of detention, and to ascertain the propriety of its being prolonged, thus equally providing for the security of the state and that of its citizens—by the advice of our privy council, have decreed, and do hereby decree, as follows:—

**“ CHAP. I.—FORMALITIES TO BE OBSERVED FOR THE DETENTION OF STATE PRISONERS.**

“ Art. 1. No person shall be kept in any state-prison, except by virtue of the decision of the privy council, founded upon a report of our chief judge, minister of justice, or our minister of police—such privy council being constituted according to the act of the 16th Thermidor, year 10, chap. x., art. 86.

“ 2. The detention authorized by the privy council, shall in no case be extended beyond a year, unless authorized by a new decision of the privy council, in the manner about to be explained. 3. In the month of December in each year, the list of all state prisoners shall be laid before us at a special privy council. 4. The list shall contain the names of all the prisoners, together with their Christian names, age, residence, profession, place of imprisonment, its period and causes, together with the date of the decision of the privy council or councils, by which it has been authorized. 5. The column for observations shall contain an analysis of the reasons for putting an end to, or prolonging, the detention of each prisoner. 6. Before the 1st of January in every year, the decision of the privy council affecting each prisoner, forwarded by the minister of state, and certified by the minister of justice, shall be sent to the minister of police, and to the attorney-general of the court of appeal of the district. 7. The minister of police shall send to the commandant of every state-prison, a formal document certified by himself, and containing the decisions of the privy council concerning each of the prisoners. 8. Each of these decisions shall be copied in a register kept for that purpose, according to the forms prescribed by law, and notified to every prisoner.

**“ CHAP. II.—OF THE INSPECTION OF STATE-PRISONS.**

“ Art. 9. Each prison shall be inspected at least once in every year, previous to the report of the privy council, referred to as above. Such inspection shall be made by one or more councillors of state, appointed by us for that purpose, on the recommendation of our minister of justice, and shall take place before the 1st of September in each year. 10. Our commissioners shall visit every part of such prison, in order to be well assured that no one is detained contrary to the prescribed forms, and that the means of safety, order, cleanliness, and health are carefully maintained. 11. They shall hear the complaints of each prisoner apart, his observations on the change of circumstances which may affect his case, and his demands either to be brought to trial or set at liberty. 12. They shall set at liberty all persons detained contrary to the provisions required by chap. i. 13. They shall make a report of their mission, and give their opinion on the case of each prisoner. 14. These opinions shall all be laid before the privy council referred to in chap. i., art. 3. 15. Before the 15th of February in each year, the attorney-general of the imperial court of the district, by means of one of his deputies or imperial attorneys under his

orders, shall verify such reports, and see that no persons are detained in the state prisons within his jurisdiction, in opposition to the forms above prescribed, and that the registers are regularly kept. A minute of this visit shall be drawn up, which shall be forwarded to our minister of justice, and in case of any contravention of this decree, or of any detention either illegally enforced or prolonged, the commissioner charged with the duty of such visitation shall set all such persons at liberty.

“CHAP. III.—OF PERSONS KEPT UNDER SURVEILLANCE.

“Art. 16. The list of all persons under surveillance shall be laid before us by the minister of police, at the annual special council, referred to in art. 3. 17. This list shall be drawn up in the form prescribed for prisoners of state, in art. 4; and instead of the decision of the privy council required in the case of state prisoners, the authority by which the surveillance has been commanded shall be mentioned. 18. The prolongation or cessation of the surveillance shall be decided on by the privy council.

“CHAP. IV.—OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF STATE-PRISONS.

“SECT. 1.—*Of the Inspection of Prisons.*

“Art. 19. The superintendence or administration of every state-prison, shall be entrusted to an officer of *Gendarmerie*, who shall have the command of the party appointed for guarding the prison, and shall determine all such measures of safety or precaution as may be necessary to prevent escape. 20. There shall be a jailor for the interior superintendence, and the keeping of the registry. The jailor shall have under his orders a sufficient number of keepers. 21. The military commandant shall be selected by us, on the recommendation of our minister of police, to whose office shall exclusively belong every thing relating to the administration of state-prisons, the maintenance of the buildings, the food, clothing, and safe keeping of the prisoners. 22. The jailor shall be nominated, and his nomination revocable at pleasure, by our minister of police. 23. The commandant, jailor, and keepers, shall be each of them responsible for the safe keeping of the prisoners, as far as his own department is concerned. 24. If from negligence, or any other cause whatsoever, a prisoner be suffered to escape, they shall be deprived of their situations, and prosecuted as the law requires....

“SECT. 2.—*Of the Relations of the Officers.*

“25. The jailor shall be subordinate to the commandant, and receive his instructions from him. 26. The commandant shall correspond with the minister of police, and the councillor of state of the *arrondissement*, and be under the surveillance of the prefect.

“SECT. 3.—*Of the Interior Regulation.*

“27. The governor shall keep an exact register of the prisoners admitted and discharged, and copies of the orders by virtue of which they are kept in confinement. 28. No order for the discharge of a prisoner can be executed, without a notification to the commandant of the decision of the privy council, by which such discharge has been ordered. 29. Any governor or keeper, who shall be found guilty of having favoured the clandestine correspondence of any prisoner, ordered to be kept *au secr et*,

shall be deprived of his situation, and punished by six months' imprisonment. 30. The commandant shall not, under any pretext whatsoever, allow the prisoners committed to his charge to go out, either with himself, the governor, or any of the keepers. 31. In case of the sickness of a prisoner, the commandant shall immediately give notice to the officer of health, who shall visit and treat the patient. 32. Every prisoner who shall require the same, shall be entitled to receive the sum of two francs daily, or the common allowance, in aid of his support. 33. Prisoners shall retain the disposition of their property, unless otherwise specially ordered. 34. With this view they shall give, under the surveillance of the commandant, all the necessary powers and receipts. And whatever sums they receive shall only be given them in his presence, and under his authorization.

"Art. 35. There shall be no state-prisons, except in the places hereinafter mentioned. 36. No state-prisoner shall be confined, except temporarily or in transition, in any other state-prisons than those appointed by us. 37. State-prisons shall be established in the Castles of SAUMUR, HAM, IF, LANDSKRONA, FIERRE-CHATEL, FENESTRELLE, CAMPIANO, and VINCENNES. 38. Our ministers of justice, war, police, and finance are commanded, each in his department, to carry this decree into effect; a copy of which shall be inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*."

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"The whole people of France would have been filled with indignation, had I attempted or wished to re-establish *Lettres de Cachet*; the forty magistrates composing the council of state, would not even have entertained such a proposal; I should besides have been insane, if, having any design to interfere with the civil liberties of the people, I had commenced, as I actually did, by proclaiming and causing to be inserted in the *Bulletin des Lois*, regulations which were guarantees for individual liberty, and opposed to all our constitutions, even to that existing before 1789, and maintained by the parliaments.

"Under the convention, the laws against suspected persons and against emigration, had given birth to a great number of state-prisons; there were more than 2000 of them, containing as many as 60,000 persons; during the early part of the reign of the directory, this number was greatly diminished, and all these prisons successively ceased to exist. The number of prisoners of state was gradually reduced to 3000; they were removed into the ordinary prisons, and their superintendence was in the hands of the administration, and especially of the police. The commissioners of police and the minister were magistrates of the public safety, and had authority to cause names to be enrolled in the jailor's books. A special article of the constitutions of that period conferred this right on the minister of police or on the administration, in case of any plots or conspiracies against the well-being of the state. The number of prisoners was augmented in 1799, after the revolution of Prairial, by the execution of the law of the hostages. There were 9000 prisoners at the time of the 18th Brumaire; these were, for the most part, set at liberty, and in the period of the empire scarcely 1200 remained belonging to these classes.

"The police was accustomed to exercise the most deplorably arbitrary rule. It was consequently found necessary to transfer the surveillance of the prisons to the tribunals, to authorize the imperial attorneys

general to visit and examine them, and to set all those at liberty, who were not actually in the hands of justice. The police of the prisons was conferred on the tribunals; the police was no longer allowed to detain persons in the common prisons; the prisoners of state, to whom we have already referred, were placed under the immediate administration of the police, with power to the imperial attorneys-general to visit and examine the list even of the state-prisoners, and set all those at liberty who had not been arrested by virtue of a decree of the privy council, countersigned by the minister of justice. From that moment, liberty was ensured in France. Every prisoner could at once address himself to the magistrates; the minister of police and his agents were despoiled of that frightful power which enabled them to arrest any man at their discretion, and to keep him in their hands without his being thereby, *ipso facto*, amenable to the law or under its protection. Thus, instead of a committal emanating from a mere commissary of police, a deliberative resolution of the privy council became necessary, in order to retain a prisoner in the hands of justice. This privy council, over which I presided, was composed of five high dignitaries and of two ministers, besides the ministers of police and justice, of two senators, two councillors of state, the first president, and the imperial attorney-general of the court of cassation. In all, there were sixteen persons of the highest dignity and character in the empire, who were appointed to decide on cases of personal arrest. Was a better guarantee ever given to the citizens of any country? This decree declared, that no prisoner of state could be kept in confinement beyond the term of a year, and that at the termination of the year he was to be set at liberty, if the privy council did not prolong the term of his captivity by a new resolution. For this purpose, the prisons were visited each year by two councillors of state; their reports, recommending charge or discharge, were carefully examined, and measures, in accordance with the opinion of the minister of justice, adopted by the privy council. The privy council delivered their votes, commencing with that of the president of the supreme court of cassation.

"This decree, then, was a real benefit—a liberal law—a diapason to establish the harmony of society, by means of which nothing arbitrary was left in the hands either of the magistracy, the administration, or the police, and a complete guarantee was given to the citizens. There was no councillor of state, appointed as an inspector of prisons, who did not regard it as an honour to be instrumental in releasing as many persons as possible. All those who were present at meetings of the privy council, can attest that these councillors always acted as if they had been the advocates of the prisoners. The prisons would have disappeared with the circumstances to which they owed their origin, with that race of brigands which had been called into existence by the civil wars. The intriguing priests of the *petite église*—the men who were exasperated by the revolution, by the losses which they had suffered, and their prejudices, were continually engaged in devising assassinations or weaving plots for the overthrow of the state. There were 200,000 individuals in France who had emigrated, or been transported, or figured in the civil wars, to whom I had restored their country and their property, but under the condition of their being subjected to special surveillance. It was from this class of men that the state-prisoners were drawn; and the right of surveillance was legalized conformably to the liberal spirit of justice, by which all the acts of the council were animated.

"Whenever the fourth part of the privy council were of opinion that a



prisoner might be set at liberty, he was immediately discharged. Prisoners thus arrested, independently of the right of recourse to the privy council, and to the council of state, had also a constitutional guarantee in the committee of the senate for the protection of individual liberty; none of them neglected to apply to the committee; the committee deliberated, and asked for explanations from the minister of police. This body was the means of setting many at liberty; it was necessary to pay attention to its demands, because, when its members had once given their opinion, if the administration failed to listen to it, they immediately made a report to the senate. Although this committee for the protection of individual liberty never made much noise, never delivered long harangues, nor exhibited any desire to draw public attention to itself, yet it was of the greatest utility. Had the state prisons, like a Bastille, contained citizens who were merely the victims of the intrigues or dissatisfaction of the prince, this intervention alone would have been sufficient to put an end to the abuse. It is equally erroneous to suppose that the legislative body had no share in the formation of the laws; the legislative committees discussed the substance of them with the councillors of state, and formed projects of new laws; their influence was not tumultuous, but it was not the less real.

"An event which occurred at Dantzic caused me to reflect upon the decree respecting state-prisons. An old man had been confined for fifty years in the castle of Weichselmunde, and had lost his memory; it was no longer possible either to know who he was, or the reasons for which he had been imprisoned.

"I was anxious for the strict execution of the law, which prescribed, that in all ordinary cases, persons should be placed before a magistrate within twenty-four hours after their arrest; that in extraordinary cases, according to the nature of the circumstances, there should be no greater exception to this rule than the space of a year; and that in all such cases, the sentence of detention should be pronounced by a privy council of sixteen persons, and on the report of the minister of justice. This regulation may have excited foolish complaints. In public societies, people talk idly, without any knowledge of the question. The title, perhaps, was not well chosen; and it would have been better to have called these houses, *prisons for the confinement of persons subjected to general surveillance*.

"No people ever enjoyed a larger share of civil liberty than those of France under my reign; there is no state in Europe which has not had a greater number of individuals arrested and cast into prison under various titles or forms, or who are not actually engaged in suits pending before the tribunals. A country in which the insolence and injustice of the press upon its quays and public places, is authorized by law, ought not to boast of enjoying true civil liberty. Such liberty does not exist for the common people in England, however real it may be in the case of the higher classes. If the criminal legislation of England be compared with that of France, who can doubt the superiority of the latter, and the comparative abuses and imperfections of the former? As to the criminal legislation of Austria, Russia, Prussia, and the other states of Europe, suffice it to say, that there is neither publicity nor confrontation of witnesses. My laws are highly esteemed by the Italians, and there is no country into which they have been introduced, whose inhabitants have not petitioned for their continuance as a favour.

"Misfortune brings with it good as well as evil; it makes us acquainted

with the truth. It reduces convictions to errors, and transforms consequences into the condition of fantastic dreams. Now that my head no longer bears the heavy burthen of a crown, I can reflect, like a philosopher, on the times in which my faults were the work of Providence; I recognise the influence of chance in the destinies of man, and in those events which are decisive of the fate of empires. The favours which I bestowed were most frequently merely happy accidents for those on whom they were bestowed. And yet, what king is there who can say more conscientiously than myself, that he has been anxious to disregard all intrigue, and to render justice to his subjects? Intrigue, however, is so skilful, and merit so awkward and timid, extremes so nearly meet, and the atmosphere of courts is so murky, that do what one will, it is impossible always to proceed on the true course. A good choice is a mere lottery in the case of a sovereign, and intrigue is constantly at work to undermine the path under the feet of merit. Any errors which I may have committed in the bestowal of favours, have not, in fact, been voluntary, but the results of a vice inherent in the very existence of royalty, and of governments of every description, by whatever name they are called.

"When I began to form a court, I sought among the high officers of the army for names which, by their recent and glorious celebrity, might worthily replace those which were the most illustrious of the ancient court. Some old names presented themselves to me; the Duchess of Montmorency, the Countess of Remusat, the Count of Bearn, and Count Ségur, who had formerly been ambassador at Petersburg; it was, however, absolutely necessary to engraft these names upon names in the army, and which were connected with the revolution, in order to avoid provoking discontent and want of confidence among the people. I was also desirous of having done with the *reasoners* in the army of the Rhine, by rallying around my person the most brilliant amongst them. Caulaincourt had long served under Moreau, and he was entrusted with the task of sounding the feelings of his old comrades. Col. Préval, formerly an adjutant-general, and a very distinguished officer, was one of those whom I was desirous of having about my person. He belonged to a military family, and his fitness and abilities recommended him to my attention above all others. I was told that he rejected the proposition with contempt. I was not astonished, for such, in fact, was the feeling by which all the faithful friends of Moreau were at that time influenced. Well, nothing could be more untrue!

"Ten years afterwards, General Préval, whose personal qualities were so worthy of admiration, was brought into immediate relation with me, and I found that he had never refused, but would have been delighted to have become a member of my household. It is a subject of regret both for him and for me, that he was prevented from becoming what I desired. He is an officer of great merit, and had he not been kept at a distance from me, I should certainly have made him minister of war; but I should have had to begin by conferring upon him dignity and rank. Under my reign, it was not so easy to find a suitable minister. No man in France understood the organization and mechanism of armies as well as General Préval. His military conduct at Frankfort was something perfect in policy, and on that occasion, he furnished me with the standard of what might be expected from a general who was as intelligent as he was brave. But I am looking for examples of the effect of intrigues. Have I not, by such means, been deprived, in the course of years, of the services of Macdonald, Dalmas, Le-

courbe, Carnot, and Dessoles? With respect to the last, however, I have nothing to regret, since his treason in 1814. In short, let it be proved to me, that any sovereign has shown himself more anxious than myself to do justice, or has better understood how to identify himself with the interests of his people, and then I shall repent of not having done more. I am, however, conscious that whilst on the throne, I constantly made it my first thought and desire to realize my motto : *'Everything for the French people.'*"

## CHAPTER XII.

## BRIEF VIEW OF THE CONSULAR PERIOD.

"THE 1st of January, 1804, completes the magnificent picture of the progress of the prosperity of France during the consular government.

"The legislative body, through the medium of their president, sent me the following address :

"The representatives of France offer you their thanks, in the name of the French people, for all the useful works planned and executed in France, and for the improvements in agriculture and industry, which the war has not interrupted.

"The custom of entertaining great ideas sometimes causes superior minds to neglect the details of administration. Posterity cannot reproach you with this fault. The idea, and the practical carrying out of it, have always been co-existent during your government.

"Everything is improving ; hatred is being extinguished, opposition is giving way, and under the victorious influence of a spirit which bends all to its will, the circumstances, the systems, and even the men who appear most opposed to one another, approach and unite, and together serve to promote the glory of their common country.

"Former customs and present customs are beginning to agree ; everything is preserved which should maintain the equality of civil and political rights ; everything is resumed which may tend to increase the splendour and the dignity of a great empire. All these advantages have been brought about in four years. Those rays of our national glory, the brightness of which had been diminishing for five years, have regained all their splendour under your government.'

"It has always been considered possible to have effected a landing in England, and when this landing was once effected, the question was reduced merely to a second battle of Austerlitz or of Jena. Did Hannibal look behind him when he crossed the Alps ? Did Cæsar, when he landed in Epirus, look back ? London is only a few days' march from the coast of the channel ; the army and the militia of England were extended over a very wide space ; as for the coast-guards, it would have been impossible for them to have united at the point of disembarkation, or to reach London quickly enough to protect it. The place chosen for the landing was only known to myself. I concealed it from those most in my confidence ; none of the generals of the army knew it ; nothing could give any idea of where it would be. It might be Hastings, Torbay, or some point at the mouth of the Thames. It was quite necessary, therefore, to guard an extent of coast more than thirty leagues long, and four days would be necessary to collect forces for that purpose ; whilst, in two, or three at the most, the French army, once disembarked, might have arrived in London with a van-guard of 50,000 men.

"The flotillas were only to be the means of disembarking from 160 to 200,000 men, in the space of a few hours, and of taking possession of all the maritime places. They were to cross over, under the protection of a numerous squadron, assembled at Martinique, and coming with all speed to Boulogne; and if this fleet should miss its object one year, it might succeed another time. Fifty, sixty, eighty, or a hundred sail of the line, could sail from Toulon, from Brest, from Rochefort, L'Orient, Cadiz, and unite at some common rendezvous; this fleet would then appear in the English Channel like a dreadful tempest, whilst the English squadrons were engaged in scouring the seas for the protection of the East and West Indies. Had not the squadron of Toulon, although encumbered by 500 transport vessels, been able to gain Egypt, in spite of the English squadron under Lord Nelson? At Paris, in the Faubourg St. Germain, every one laughed at the project of a landing; Pitt, however, did not laugh at it in London. He seems to have conceived almost all the extent of the danger. He therefore managed to clog France with a coalition, at the very moment when she was about to execute her purpose: the English oligarchy was never in greater danger.

"I should not have entered London as a conqueror, but as a liberator; I should have acted over again the part of William III., but with more generosity and disinterestedness. The discipline of my army would have been as strict in London as it was in Paris. No sacrifices, no contributions even, would have been exacted from the English. My troops would not have behaved like conquerors, but like brothers, who had come to restore them to liberty and to their rights. I should have told them to assemble, and themselves to work at their regeneration; I should have told them that they were our elder brothers in matters of constitution and of political legislation; that we only wished to take a part in the work of their regeneration; and I should have kept my word faithfully and strictly. Thus, only a few months would have elapsed, before the two nations, so bitterly opposed to each other, would have become completely identified in their principles, their maxims, and their interests; and I should only leave England in order to complete, from north to south, the work of European regeneration under monarchical forms. This system might have been as liberal as the republican system. Both aimed at the same object. Never was a more vast idea conceived in the interest of the progress of civilization, nor brought nearer to realization; it might have been executed with firmness, moderation, and good faith. And it is worthy of remark, that of the obstacles which caused it to fail, none took their origin from men: they were all caused by the elements. In the south, it was the sea; in the north, the burning of Moscow and the frost; thus, the water, the air, the fire—all nature, and nothing but nature was the opponent of a regeneration commanded by nature itself! The problems of Providence are not to be solved.

"If, by events difficult to comprehend, the French army had been obliged to stop at the Medway, it would have done, in all the ports of the Thames and in the roadstead of Portsmouth, what the English did at Toulon; the arsenals of Portsmouth and Chatham would have been left in ruins, and for at least twenty years, the maritime power of England would have given no annoyance to France."

## CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE POLICY OF FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS, AND  
ESPECIALLY OF THOSE OF ENGLAND AND AUSTRIA.

THE incessant quarrels with Sir Hudson Lowe, and perhaps also his conversation with Lord Amherst, had led the Emperor's mind to reflect on his gigantic struggle with England, and the constant efforts which he had used to induce the English ministers to see that it was the interest of both nations to come to a good understanding with one another. During the whole day, the Emperor appeared to be labouring under a sort of moral and physical depression. He had scarcely quitted his sofa or the fire-side, for a moment, and his valet-de-chambre had remarked that he had only taken a little soup and the wing of a chicken for his dinner. Towards midnight he caused me to be sent for, and asked me, with a smile, if I was in a humour to spend the remainder of the night with him. He then led me into the drawing-room, and giving free course to the impulse of his mind, he dictated to me the following note, as materials for that chapter of his memoirs which might treat of his negotiations with England :

"When deplorable weakness and endless versatility manifest themselves in all the acts of power ; when yielding, sometimes to the influence of one party, and sometimes to that of another, and living from day to day without any fixed plan, or any definite object in view, its possessors have exhibited the clearest evidence of their incapacity, and the most moderate citizens are compelled to agree that the state is not governed ; when, finally, to the incapacity of the administration at home, it is guilty of the greatest error which it is possible to commit in the eyes of a proud nation—viz., degradation in the opinion of foreign nations—then a vague restlessness begins to pervade the whole mass of society. It is deeply agitated by the fear of the loss of national reputation and honour ; and turning its eyes upon itself, it appears to seek for a man capable of effecting its deliverance.

"Such a tutelary genius is always to be found within the bosom of a populous nation, but sometimes he is slow to appear, and, in fact, it is not enough that he exists, he must be known by others, and know himself, too. Till this happens, all attempts are vain, all intrigues powerless ; the inaction of the multitude protects the nominal government, and, in despite of its incapacity or even its treasonable betrayal of the national interests, the efforts of its enemies do not prevail against it. But no sooner does this deliverer, so impatiently expected, appear, and give symptoms of his existence, than the national instinct divines it, and calls him to his post : obstacles disappear before him, and the whole of a great people unite, with one accord, and seem to say—' This is the man !'

"Such was the state of the public mind in France, when the nation confided its destiny to my hands.

"Peace, without having been gained in the field of battle would have

ruined the republic. War was absolutely necessary to maintain energy and unity in the state, as long as its administrative machinery did not work perfectly. Peace would have brought, in its train, a reduction of taxation and a discharge of a part of the army. Many men had been under arms since the levy *en masse*, in 1792, and were only raised for the defence of the country. To have detained them in service, when the republic was at peace with the Continent would have been to abuse their patriotism, and provoke dissatisfaction and discontent amongst a great number of families, and, under all circumstances, it would have been necessary to give them their discharge. The consequence would have been that France, after two years of peace would have found herself in a notorious and dangerous inferiority in the presence of the whole of monarchial Europe, which as necessarily would have continued to be allied against her republican institutions.

"I owed it, however, to public opinion to open negotiations for peace; and the majority of the nation wished ardently for it, and circumstances appeared favourable to its conclusion.

"The cabinet at Berlin had just given evidence of a very pacific disposition. Count Haugwitz, the first minister, had said to the minister of France—'The revolution with you has been accomplished from below upwards, and by a succession of the most frightful storms; it will proceed more slowly among us, but will come, sooner or later, and from above downwards. The king is a democrat, after his fashion. He is an enemy to the privileges of the nobility, and has been born in the school of philosophers; and in a few years, the law will be in Prussia what it has become, by means of the revolution of France, equal for all. Have patience, then, and, believe me, we shall be your allies by the force of events, and that will be the day on which your government shall offer us guarantees of stability.' At the same time, however, a Prussian *corps de armee* was assembling on the Lower Rhine, and threatening the department of the Roer.

"Duroc was sent to Berlin; the king and the queen showed him the most marked attention, and gave him various proofs of their regard. The Prussian troops quitted the banks of the Rhine, and returned to their usual quarters, but the cabinet still remained in an expecting attitude.

"After the 26th of December, 1799, the First Consul wrote to King George. This unusual step produced very different effects in England. The aristocracy merely regarded it as a violation of royal etiquette; the people, weary of the sacrifices which the war imposed upon them, were displeased with the insulting reply of Lord Grenville. This minister wrote to Monsieur de Talleyrand, that peace was impossible as long as France was governed by a system subversive of all social order, and as long as the house of Bourbon was not restored to the throne—an event which would restore her colonies to France, as well as the friendship of all Europe. This arrogant minister allowed his passion to impel him so far as to say to parliament, 'To cease from fighting against a nation which is an enemy to all worship, all morality, and all government, is not to labour for the common good, but it is rather to grow weary of resisting evil. It is necessary, then, to carry on the war with vigour against a nation which is desirous of subjecting the world to its ravages. I declare, in the presence of Europe and of England, that I would prefer war and all its horrors, as long as France shall persist, as she has hitherto done, in the maintenance of those opinions and principles which have led to and effected the revolution:

they were Jacobins, and they are so still. France proclaims war against kings; she regards nothing as sacred, and is faithless to her treaties.' The courageous efforts of the Whigs were unavailing to defend the First Consul from the furious assaults of the Tories, and to prove to them that to refuse peace was, in fact, to deny the history of their country, and to fight in order to trammel the progress of civilization. The cabinet of Vienna was in the pay of England, and its refusal to treat on the basis of the treaty of Campo-Formio served the policy of Napoleon. The battle of Marengo replaced France in the position, without which no treaty of peace could have any permanence.

"Italy being lost—Vienna menaced—Austria asked for peace. Lieut.-General Count St. Julien arrived at Paris on the 21st of July, 1800, as the bearer of a letter from the Emperor of Germany to the First Consul. He announced himself as a plenipotentiary, commissioned to negotiate, conclude, and sign the preliminaries of a peace. The Emperor's letter was precise, and contained full powers: 'You may place,' observes the writer, 'full confidence in everything which Count St. Julien may say on my behalf, and I will ratify all that he may do.' I commissioned Monsieur de Talleyrand to negotiate with this plenipotentiary, and in a few days the preliminaries were arranged. I asked nothing which had not been already decided upon by the treaty of Campo-Formio, for I agreed to the Emperor's receiving indemnities in Italy for his losses in Germany. I only required that the two armies should remain in their respective positions till a definite peace was signed.

"The Emperor's letter could leave no room to doubt respecting the ratification of the preliminaries. It, however, proved otherwise; the cabinet of Vienna disavowed Count St. Julien. Baron Thugut wrote that the Emperor, his master, was bound to England by treaties of peace, which rendered it impossible for him to ratify the treaty, but that he was, nevertheless, disposed to open new negotiations; and he communicated the contents of a letter, in which Lord Minto explained the grounds on which the English ministry was equally well disposed to concur in promoting a general peace.

"The changes thus effected in a few months were very gratifying to the self-love of France. Not long before, France had made the first efforts to obtain a peace, to which Lord Grenville replied by torrents of abuse. Suffering himself to indulge in the most extraordinary insinuations, he had expressed his desire that the princes of that race of kings should be restored to the throne of France, without which peace was impossible; and now it was the same Lord Grenville who asked to treat with the First Consul, and even to buy the opening of a negotiation at the price of a naval armistice, which was wholly to the advantage of France.

"The best thing which the republic could have done would have been to recommence hostilities. I was anxious, however, to overlook no opportunity of re-establishing peace with England, and for the attainment of that object I suppressed the resentment which I felt in consequence of the insult offered to the French republic by the cabinet of Vienna, and made no allusion to it in my reply. My minister of foreign affairs wrote to Baron Thugut, that the First Consul was ready to accept the proposal for a double negotiation and the admission of an English plenipotentiary to the conferences at Lunéville, on condition of an armistice by sea as well as by land; and that hostilities should recommence by land, if England refused to acquiesce in a naval armistice.



"At the same time a courier was sent to Monsieur Otto, who was then in London, acting as French commissioner for an exchange of prisoners. I directed him to write, that my wish was that my ships and neutral vessels should be allowed to convey succours and provisions to Malta and Alexandria, in the same manner as the fortresses of Ulm and Ingolstadt were to be provisioned and reinforced by the Austrians. On the 24th of August, M. Otto addressed a note to Lord Grenville, in which he informed him of the contents of the communication made by Lord Minto, the English ambassador in Vienna, in which he signified the desire of the English government to take part in the negotiations which were about to be opened between Austria and France for the re-establishment of peace, and stated that the First Consul was willing to admit an English plenipotentiary to the negotiations, but that in this case the conclusion of a peace would become more difficult, the interests to be discussed more numerous and complicated, and the negotiations prolonged, so as to be injurious to the cause of the French republic, unless some compensation were given for the prolongation of the armistices of Marengo and Sarsdorff, by a naval armistice with England.

"Lord Minto's despatches had not arrived in London.

"Lord Grenville was astonished at the receipt of this note, and sent to request M. Otto to communicate to him the whole of the letter of which he had sent a part; the latter immediately complied. In the meantime, Lord Minto's courier arrived in London, and Lord Grenville said to M. Otto, that the idea of a naval armistice was something new in the history of nations—that, nevertheless, the British ministry acceded to the principle, and would send Mr. Thomas Grenville as plenipotentiary to the place appointed for the opening of the negotiations. For this purpose, he requested M. Otto to furnish him with the necessary passports to enable him to enter France and reach his destination.

"This was evidently a mere elusion of the question, in order to gain time and to enable Austria to repair her losses before the resumption of hostilities. It was now the end of August, and M. Otto requested a categorical reply before the 3rd of September, because the armistice with Austria expired on the 10th of that month.

"On the 4th of September Lord Grenville confined himself to asking for a written plan, as he was at a loss precisely to comprehend what France intended by an armistice applicable to naval operations.

"M. Otto immediately forwarded his plan, the principal features of which were: 1st, that the ships of war, and the trading vessels of both nations, should enjoy free navigation without being subjected to search or visitation; 2ndly, that the squadrons blockading Toulon, Brest, Rochefort, and Cadiz, should return to English ports; and 3rdly, that Malta, Alexandria, and Belleisle should be placed on the same footing as the fortresses of Ulm, Philippsburg, and Ingolstadt; and consequently, that all French and neutral ships should have free access to these ports.

"On the 7th of September, Lord Grenville replied, that his Britannic Majesty admitted the principle of a naval armistice; although contrary to the interests of England, it was a sacrifice which she was willing to make in favour of peace, and of her ally, Austria; but that none of the articles of the French scheme were admissible; and he offered to negotiate the following counter-scheme as a basis:

"1st. Hostilities shall cease by sea; 2ndly, supplies shall be granted to Malta, Alexandria, and Belleisle for a fortnight at a time, according to the number of men which the garrisons respectively contain; 3rdly, the

blockade of the harbours of Brest, Toulon, and other harbours belonging to France or her allies shall be raised, but no vessel of war which shall be in any of the said harbours shall go to sea during the continuance of the armistice, and the English squadrons shall remain in sight of these ports.'

"On the 16th of September, the French commissioner replied that his government proposed to his Britannic Majesty, that the negotiations should be opened at Lunéville, that the English and Austrian plenipotentiaries should be admitted to a joint negotiation, and that, in the meantime, the war should continue by sea and land, or that there should be an armistice with Austria alone, and a negotiation with Austria alone; and that, in the latter case, negotiations could be carried on between France and England, either in Paris or London, without any interruption of the naval war.

"The prolongation of the armistice by land would give Austria time to re-organize her armies, seriously injured at Marengo and Maestricht, would efface the impressions produced upon the minds of the Austrian soldiers by those two great victories, and enable the King of Naples to put himself in a condition to interfere in the affairs of Italy; levies *en masse* were already in the course of organization in the Apennines, and the March of Ancona.

"A suspension of hostilities had only been conceded to Austria, on her formal promise of concluding a peace without delay, and by means of negotiations independent of her treaties with England. The First Consul, therefore, felt himself perfectly authorized to resume the offensive, both on the Rhine and in Italy, on the 10th of September; General Moreau did not, however, put his advanced guard in motion till the 19th, and he stopped almost immediately, on the request of the Austrian general, and the offer made to him, by the court of Vienna, of placing the fortresses of Ulm, Ingolstadt, and Philippsburg, in his hands as a pledge of the sincerity of its desire for peace.

"The First Consul acceded to this proposal, and a prolongation of the armistice for forty days was granted, reckoning from the 30th of September. At the same time he consented to modify his first proposition respecting England, and on the 20th of September, M. Otto wrote to Lord Grenville, that 1st, the French government agreed that the French or allied squadrons should not leave their positions during the continuance of the naval armistice; 2ndly, that only such communications with Malta should be authorized, as were necessary to convey supplies every fifteen days, at the rate of 10,000 rations per diem; but that Alexandria not being invested by land, and having an abundant supply of provisions, it required that six French frigates sailing from Toulon should be allowed free ingress and egress to and from Alexandria, without being disturbed by the English fleet, on the single condition of having on board an English officer with a flag of truce.

"The only advantages which the republic could have obtained from a suspension of hostilities by sea, were, that these six frigates armed *en flute*, would have been able to convey from 3 to 4000 men as reinforcements to Egypt, as well as such materials of war for the artillery, as it might stand in need of. As soon as the principle of negotiation was admitted, Lord Grenville authorized M. Amman, his under-secretary of state, to confer with M. Otto, with a view of coming to an understanding. At their first interview, the under secretary proposed to M. Otto, the evacuation of Egypt by the French army, as a consequence of the convention of

El' Arish, concluded on the 24th of January preceding, but broken on the 18th of May following, in consequence of England not having agreed to its ratification. Such a proposition could not for a moment be entertained—M. Amman perceived the difficulty, and relinquished the point. A few conferences sufficed to bring the parties to a perfect understanding on all the points, except that of sending six frigates to Alexandria. It was found impossible to come to any agreement on a point which so nearly concerned England and her views upon Egypt, and on the 9th of October, the English commissioner declared the negotiations at an end.

"These events led to serious complications; Malta capitulated towards the beginning of September, and, on the other side, a general rising was organized in the Apennines, ready to break out on the arrival of 10,000 English under General Abercrombie, and of a Neapolitan division which was to pass the frontiers of the kingdom, as soon as they were certain of the landing of the English corps.

"In a state of things so dangerous to France, it became necessary to conclude a peace at any cost.

"The opportunity appeared so much the more favourable, as a change of ministry had just taken place in Vienna. Baron Thugut was replaced by Count Cobentzel, the negotiator of the peace of Campo-Formio, who regarded it as an honour to be called a man of peace. His first act was to announce in Paris, that Count Lerbaché was about to set out for Lunéville without delay. Shortly after he himself set out for Paris; his secret purpose was to gain time.

"The First Consul gave him a most distinguished reception, but on the next day the veil was torn off. On being requested by the minister of foreign affairs to show his credentials, he hesitated, and alleged that the etiquette required the respective parties to make a regular exchange of powers at Lunéville. The First Consul had appointed his brother Joseph, as his plenipotentiary at this congress, whom he now ordered to set out forthwith for Lunéville, and requested Count Cobentzel to proceed thither without delay. The minutes of the proceedings were opened on the 6th of November, and an exchange of powers took place, but, at the first sitting, the Austrian plenipotentiary declared that he could not treat without the concurrence of an English plenipotentiary, and as an English plenipotentiary could not be admitted without the consent of England to the last conditions proposed by France, in the question of naval armistices, such a declaration was equivalent to a rupture. On the 17th of November, hostilities recommenced on the Rhine, and in Italy; but as the minutes were still open, the French plenipotentiaries at Lunéville were ordered to propose to Count Cobentzel to sign a separate peace with the Emperor, which in case of need might be kept secret, till negotiations were definitely broken off with England. This peace was to embrace the following conditions:—

"The Mincio as the boundary between the Cisalpine republic and the Austrian states in Italy; the duchy of Tuscany for the Infant Duke of Parma; the legations for the Archduke Ferdinand; the restitution of Piedmont to the King of Sardinia, with the Sezio for its boundary on the side of the Cisalpine republic; the Alps and the Rhine as the frontiers of France. On these conditions hostilities were again to cease."

"Austria refused. It was not until the French head-quarters were established at St. Piotten, and the advanced guard within four leagues of Vienna, that she determined to renounce her alliance with England. On

the 19th of February, 1802, she signed the peace of Lunéville, which was ratified by the Emperor in Vienna on the 7th of March following.

"A very grave question was at this time agitated—the right of search.

"In the month of December, 1800, a mutual engagement was entered into by Sweden, Denmark, Russia and Prussia, to lend assistance each to the others against the pretensions of the English admiralty, which arrogated to itself the right of visiting and searching all vessels sailing under a neutral flag.

"This treaty was called the quadruple alliance, laid down, and was formed to support the following principles :

"1st. The flag covers the merchandise.

"2ndly. All vessels under convoy of the ships of a neutral state, are *ipso facto*, free from visit or search.

"3dly. Munitions of war alone are contraband, and subject to seizure.

"4thly. The right of search is not to be employed, except in cases where munitions of war are on board.

"5thly. Neutrality is established in all cases in which the captain and the half of the crew are natives of the country under whose flag the ship sails.

"6thly. Ships of war belonging to the contracting powers, shall be considered entitled to convoy merchant vessels not only of their own, but of each of the four powers reciprocally.

"7thly. A Russian, Danish, and Swedish squadron shall be continually at sea, to protect the commerce of the contracting nations, and to cause the principles laid down in this treaty to be respected.'

"This question had led to a complete division between the cabinets of France and England, and involved the necessity of war between these two great rivals for the supremacy of the sea. The treaty of Amiens had decided nothing on this point; the First Consul was desirous of peace, and his plenipotentiaries had orders not to embarrass or entangle the negotiation by the discussion of questions whose solution was not indispensable to the interests of the moment.

"During the ages of barbarism, the right of nations was the same by sea and land. Individuals belonging to hostile nations were seized and made prisoners, whether they were taken with arms in their hands or not, and were kept in bondage till an adequate ransom was paid. Their property in money and goods was confiscated in whole or in part. The influence of civilization, however, had effected a complete change in this respect among nations at war by land, without having produced the same effect in cases of vessels at sea; so that matters are regulated by two different rights, as if there were two kinds of reason and justice. The right of nations in war by land no longer justifies the spoliation of individuals, nor any change in their personal condition. War only applies to governments; thus property does not always change hands; stores of merchandise remain intact; personal liberty is guaranteed. Those alone are considered as prisoners of war, who are taken with arms in their hands, or who form a part of the military force. This change has effected a vast amelioration of the evils of war, rendered the conquest of nations more easy, and war less bloody and disastrous.

"A conquered province takes an oath of submission and obedience, and, if the conqueror requires it, gives hostages, surrenders its arms, and pays the usual taxes to the credit of the conqueror, who, if he

deems it necessary, has and exercises the right of imposing an extraordinary levy, either for the support of his army, or as an indemnity for the expenses of the war. This contribution, however, has no regard to the value of merchandise; it is only a *pro rata* increase of the ordinary contributions to a greater or less extent, nearly equal to a year's revenue, and is imposed upon the whole body of the people, so that it never involves the ruin of individuals.

"The right of nations which regulates maritime war has still continued to remain the same as it was in ages of barbarism. The property of individuals is confiscated, and persons not engaged in actual hostilities are made prisoners. When two nations are at war, all vessels belonging to either one or the other, whether at sea or in port, are liable to be seized and confiscated, and the individuals on board to be made prisoners of war. Thus, by a manifest contradiction (supposing France and England to be at war) an English ship which should be found in the port of Nantes, for example, at the moment at which the war was declared, would be confiscated, and the crew made prisoners of war, although not engaged in hostilities; whilst goods in the same city, belonging to an English merchant would not be sequestered or confiscated, and the merchant himself travelling in France would receive the necessary passports to enable him to leave the country. An English vessel at sea, captured by a French ship, would be confiscated, although the cargo belonged to private individuals, and the crew would be made prisoners of war although not taken in arms, whilst a convoy of a hundred wagons of merchandise belonging to an Englishman, and traversing France at the time of a declaration of war between the two powers, would not be seized.

"In a war by land, even territorial properties possessed by foreign subjects are not confiscated; they are, at most, placed under sequestration. The laws therefore which regulate war by land are much more conformable to the spirit of civilization, and individual safety and well-being, than those which prevail in naval affairs, and it is greatly to be desired that a time may come, when the same liberal ideas shall be extended to naval wars, and that the great belligerent powers may carry on warlike operations against each other, without the confiscation of merchant ships, or treating their crews as legitimate prisoners of war; and commerce would then be carried on, at sea, between the belligerent parties, in the same way as it is carried on by land, in the midst of the battles fought by their armies.

"According to common rights, the sea is the domain of all nations; it extends over three-fourths of the globe, and forms a medium of intercourse among the different inhabitants of the earth. A ship laden with merchandise, and at sea, is still subject to the civil and criminal laws of the country under whose flag she sails; she may, perhaps, be considered as a floating colony, inasmuch as all nations are equal sovereigns upon the sea. If merchant vessels belonging to belligerent powers were allowed to navigate the ocean freely, much less would there be any reason for exercising any right of search in case of neutrals; but as it has become a principal that merchant vessels belonging to the states of belligerent powers are liable to capture and confiscation, the result necessarily is, that all ships of war should have the right of satisfying themselves with respect to the genuineness of the flags of neutral ships with which they fall in at sea, for if, in any case, she proved to be an enemy's vessel, she would be liable to seizure, hence the right of search, recognised by all the great powers of Europe in

various treaties; hence vessels of war have a right to send out their boats, and order an officer to go on board neutral vessels, to require the captain to produce his ship's papers, and thus to assure themselves of the country to which the ship belongs. The exercise of this right is recognized by all treaties, but at the same time, the greatest delicacy is expected and enjoined in the manner of its exercise; it is usual for the armed ships to remain beyond the range of cannon-shot, and for only two or three persons to go on board the vessel visited, in order that all appearance of force or violence may be avoided.

"The principle has been recognized, that a vessel belongs to the nation under whose flag she sails, when she is furnished with proper papers, and the captain and one-half of the crew are citizens of the nation to which the vessel claims to belong. All civilized powers have agreed in forbidding their neutral subjects to carry on a contraband trade with powers which are at war. All such articles as powder, balls, shells, guns, saddles, bridles, or other munitions of war whatsoever, are reckoned contraband, and vessels with such articles on board are supposed to have transgressed the laws of their own country, because every sovereign binds himself to forbid his subjects to carry on trade in such articles, and therefore all such articles are liable to seizure and confiscation.

"The visit made by a cruiser is not merely a simple visit to ascertain the genuineness of the flag under which the ship visited sails, but the commander of the cruiser, in the name of the sovereign whose flag the vessel bears, exercises a new right of search to ascertain whether the vessel has any contraband articles on board.

"Should there be any soldiers on board, they too are regarded as contraband, and this right does not at all derogate from the principle, that the flag covers the merchandise.

"There is still another case, that in which vessels belonging to neutral powers proposed to enter ports in a state of siege, and blockaded by an enemy's squadron, such vessels being laden not with munitions of war, but with provisions, timber, wine, or other merchandise, which might be useful to the besieged, and enable them to prolong their defence. After long discussions among the powers, it was finally agreed and determined by several treaties, that in every case in which a port is really blockaded so that there would be manifest danger to a vessel attempting to enter the harbour, then the commander of the blockading squadron is empowered to interdict neutral vessels from entering the port, and to capture the ship, provided she makes an attempt to violate the blockade, and to sail into the port either by force or stratagem.

"Thus maritime laws are based upon these principles: 1st. The flag covers the merchandise; 2ndly, a neutral vessel must submit to be visited by ships of war belonging to belligerent nations, to ascertain whether she is *bonâ fide* a vessel belonging to the country whose flag she bears, and that her cargo does not include contraband articles; 3rdly, contraband is restricted to munitions of war; and, 4thly, neutral vessels may be prevented from entering any harbour which is really blockaded, so that there would be manifest danger to any vessel attempting to enter such port or harbour. These principles form the code of maritime law for neutral vessels, because the different powers have freely, and by various treaties, bound themselves to the observance of them, and to enforce that observance upon their subjects in all cases of necessity.

"The different maritime powers—Holland, Portugal, Spain, France,

England, Sweden, Denmark, and Russia, have at different times, and in various treaties, successively bound themselves, each to the others, by the formal recognition of those principles which have been established and published in general treaties of pacification, such as those of Westphalia in 1649, and of Utrecht in 1712.

"England in the war with America, in 1778, pretended: 1st, that all merchandise for ship-building, such as wood, hemp, pitch, &c., were contraband of war; 2ndly, that a neutral vessel had the right to proceed from a friendly to an enemy's port, but that she could not be allowed to trade between one enemy's port and another; 3rdly, that neutrals could not sail from the colonies of a belligerent power to the mother country; 4thly, that neutral powers had no right to send their merchantmen under convoy of ships of war, or in such case, that they were still liable to the right of search.

"No independent power would acquiesce in these unjust pretensions; for the sea being the common domain of nations, no one power can have the right to regulate and establish a law for what takes place there. If the right of search be permitted in the case of neutral vessels, it is because the various sovereign nations have recognized this right for common convenience, and by special treaties. If munitions of war are contraband, it is because treaties have made them so. If belligerent powers can seize them, it is because the sovereign under whose flag the neutral vessel sails, has bound himself not to allow such a description of trade. The list of contraband articles cannot, however, obviously be extended at discretion, as was objected to the English claim, and no nation has bound itself to forbid trade in naval munitions, such as ship timber, hemp, pitch, &c.

"With regard to the second claim—it is contrary, it was said, to recognised usage: you cannot intermeddle with the commerce of neutral nations, further than to ascertain the genuineness of the flag; you have no right to know what a neutral ship is doing on the high seas, because such a vessel is on her own rightful element, and beyond your authority. She is not protected, it is true, by the batteries of her country, but she is so by the moral power of her nation and of her sovereign.

"The third pretension has no better foundation. A state of war can, and ought to have, no effect upon neutrals. They ought to be able to do in war what they can do in peace. In a state of peace, there is nothing to prevent a vessel belonging to one country from trading between another country and its colonies. If foreign vessels are permitted to trade in this way, this permission is not founded upon the law of nations, but on municipal regulations; and in all cases in which a nation is disposed to confer this privilege on foreign vessels, no other nation has any right to interfere.

"With regard to the fourth pretension, it was replied, that as the right of search was instituted merely in order to ascertain the genuineness of the flag, and whether the cargo was composed of articles contraband of war, an armed vessel under the commission of the sovereign of a neutral nation is a much better assurance of the genuineness of the flag, and of the cargoes not being contraband of war, than can result from any search whatever; and it would be a consequence of such a pretension, that a fleet of merchant vessels, under convoy of eight or ten ships of the line, would be liable to have the right of search enforced by a brig of war, or a privateer of a belligerent power.

"During the American war (1778) Monsieur de Castries, then minister of Marine in France, published, and caused to be adopted, a regulation re-

lative to the commerce of neutral powers. This regulation was drawn up in conformity with the spirit of the treaty of Utrecht, and of the rights of neutral nations. The principles above mentioned were therein declared to be inadmissible, and that their observance was only to continue for six months, after which, they should cease to be regarded by neutral nations which should not have made their rights known by England.

"This course was both just and politic. It satisfied all the neutral powers, and threw a new light upon this question.

"The Dutch, who then carried on the largest trade, annoyed by the English cruisers, and the decisions of the English Admiralty, caused their merchant ships to be conveyed by vessels of war, hoping that this course would at least protect them against the exercise of the right of search. A convoy, escorted by several Dutch ships of war, was, however, attacked, taken, and carried into an English harbour, an event which filled the Dutch with indignation, and shortly after, Holland and Spain declared war against England.

"Catherine, Empress of Russia, took such a part in these great questions as the dignity of her flag and the interests of her empire demanded. The trade of Russia principally consisted in articles employed in ship-building, and this led her to resolve to unite with Sweden and Denmark in forming an armed neutrality. These powers declared their determination to make war upon any belligerent power which should violate the following principles, which they assumed as the basis of their union: 1st, that the flag covers the merchandise (contraband excepted); 2ndly, that the right of search exercised by a ship of war upon a neutral vessel, should be exercised with the greatest possible delicacy; 3dly, that munitions of war alone, such as cannon, powder and ball, are contraband; 4thly, that every power has a right to convoy merchant ships; and that in this case, the declaration of the commander of the ship of war is sufficient to protect the flag and cargoes of the ships under her convoy and protection; 5thly, that a port cannot be regarded as blockaded by a squadron, except where there is manifest danger of entering such a port—and that a ship is not to be prevented from entering a port previously blockaded by a force no longer before it, from whatever cause the absence of the blockading squadron may have taken place, whether from stress of weather or from the want of provisions.

"The armed neutrality of the northern powers was announced to the belligerent powers on the 15th of August, 1780. France and Spain, whose principles were thus recognised, hastened to express their adherence to these conditions. England alone testified extreme dissatisfaction, but did not venture to brave the new confederation. She contented herself with the non-enforcement of her own principles, and thus virtually renounced them. Fifteen months afterwards, the peace of 1782 put an end to the maritime war. The war between France and England commenced in 1793; England very soon became the soul of the first coalition. Whilst the armies of Austria, Spain, Russia and Piedmont invaded our frontiers, she employed all possible means to ruin our colonies. The taking of Toulon, where our squadron was destroyed by fire, and the rising of the west, in which a great number of sailors perished, annihilated our marine, and England no longer set any limits to her ambition. Thenceforth mistress of the seas, and without a rival, she thought the moment was come, in which she might without danger, revive her former pretensions, which she had tacitly renounced in the war of 1790—that is to say, that materials for



ship-building are contraband ; that neutral powers have not the right to convoy their merchant ships by ships of war, and thus protect them from the right of search ; and that a blockade is to be respected not only when the blockading squadron is present, but when it is absent from stress of weather or other reasons. She, however, went still further, and put forward three new pretensions : 1st, that the flag does not cover the merchandise, but that the property of an enemy is liable to be seized and confiscated even in a neutral bottom ; 2ndly, that neutrals have not a right to carry on trade between the colonies and the mother country of a belligerent nation ; and, 3rdly, that a neutral vessel may enter an enemy's port, but not proceed from one enemy's port to another.

" The assassination of Paul I. left England complete liberty of action to maintain, with greater force than she had ever yet displayed, her pretensions to the absolute dominion of the seas. The quadruple alliance was dissolved, and Denmark cruelly punished for having dared to measure her strength with England in a naval engagement.

" Pitt had at this time retired before the ascendant of France ; the signature of the treaty of the quadruple alliance, the occupation of Hanover by Prussian troops, and the necessity to sign a peace imposed upon Austria by the defeat at Hohenlinden, had deprived him of all hope of success in his scheme of preventing any serious approximation to peace between France and England. Lord Hawkesbury had replaced Lord Grenville in the foreign office, and hastened to renew the negotiations with Monsieur Otto. There was some reason to hope for success on this occasion, but on the arrival of the news concerning the events which had just taken place at Petersburg, the demands of England proved that peace would be impossible until some new events should constrain its adoption.

" It became necessary, at all costs, to alarm the hearts of the citizens of London ; considerable armaments were ordered to be got in readiness on the whole coast of France, from the Gironde to the Scheldt ; all the French dockyards were put into a state of full activity in order to construct a flotilla for the conveyance of troops across the channel. The English on their side raised troops, threw up entrenchments at the mouth of the Thames, and gave many other proofs of their fear of an invasion.

" The interviews between M. Otto and Lord Hawkesbury had never been discontinued, and the pretensions of the cabinet of St. James, inadmissible as they were, had still continued to be discussed, in the expectation of the occurrence of some events favourable to peace, when the First Consul, at the propitious moment, caused a counter-project to be submitted through M. Otto to the following effect :

" 1stly. Restitution of Egypt to the Grand Seignor, Port Mahon to Spain, Malta to the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, and the recognition of the Ionian republic.

" 2ndly. Ceylon to England, and the restoration of the Cape of Good Hope to Holland.

" 3dly. Restoration, by England, of the colonies in the West Indies, taken by her during the war.

" 4thly. Restoration to Portugal of the province of Olivenza, occupied by a Franco-Spanish army.

" Lord Hawkesbury replied, that England was disposed to restore the Island of Malta to the Knights of St. John ; that she considered the Indian question settled by the acquisition of Ceylon—that as to the question of the Antilles, she was ready to restore Martinique, but must retain possession

of Trinidad and Tobago, and require that Demerara should be a free port. After long discussions, all these points were admitted, on condition that Spain should retain the province of Olivenza in lieu of Trinidad. On the first of October, 1801, the preliminaries of peace were signed by M. Otto on these bases.

"The joy consequent on the announcement of this peace, was still greater in England than in France. Lauriston, the First Consul's aide-de-camp, who was sent to England as the bearer of the ratifications of the treaty, signed by M. Otto, was received with the most enthusiastic ovations, and Mr. Addington, the prime minister, said to him: 'This is not an ordinary peace; it is an act of reconciliation between the two most powerful nations in the world.'

"Conferences for a definitive peace were opened at Amiens. Lord Cornwallis was the representative of England; the interest of Spain were entrusted to the Marquis d'Azara; Herr Schimmelpennynck appeared on behalf of Holland; and the First Consul selected his brother Joseph for France. On the 27th of March, 1802, the peace was signed.

"From this day forth, the great object of the English Tories was a rupture of the treaty; and in this they were aided and abetted by the criminal device of a body of *émigrés*, who marched under the banner of the Count d'Artois. The French government had nothing wherewith to reproach itself. It did everything possible, consistent with French honour, to preserve the peace.

"The cabinet of St. James, by violating the peace of Amiens, involved Europe in a mortal struggle against the French republic, at the very moment in which it offered, through M. Malhouet, an *émigré*, formerly minister of Louis XVI., to place at my personal disposal 30,000,000 of francs, and the whole moral assistance of England, to induce me to proclaim myself king of the French, on the sole condition of ceding to England the rule of the Mediterranean, which would ensure the markets of the Levant for her manufactures, and sooner or later open to her the way to India by the Euphrates or the Red Sea.

"The reply to be given to this proposal required no hesitation; I gave it myself to Lord Whitworth, the English ambassador, in the following terms; 'I wish to owe nothing to strangers or to their interference; if ever the French nation places the royal crown upon my head, it shall be of its own free accord.'

"During the war in Italy, Austria had already sought to work upon my ambition by her insinuations; the Marquis de Gallo, the ambassador of Naples in Vienna, offered me, on the part of the Emperor, a sovereignty in Germany; but then, as always, my device as well as my life has been  
TOUT POUR LA FRANCE.

"In 1805, Napoleon, when conqueror of Austria, wrote anew to the King of England: 'Is not the world large enough to hold our two nations; and has not reason power sufficient to suggest means of reconciliation, if both parties earnestly desire it? Peace is the wish of my heart, though war has never been unfavourable to my arms. I conjure your Majesty, not to deny yourself the happiness of giving peace to the nations.'

"Pitt made war to the death upon the French revolution, because he regarded it as a species of mutual struggle for the English aristocracy. In 1806, however, before the battle of Jena, he would have accepted the pacific offers of the Emperor of the French, when the latter said to Lord Lauderdale:

“ ‘You would do better to persuade your government to peace, for in a month I shall be master of Prussia. Prussia and Russia, if united, might offer some resistance, and perhaps with some hopes of success; but Prussia cannot do that alone. The Russians are three months’ march distant from the first battle-field. The plan of the Prussian campaign is to defend Berlin, instead of retiring behind the Oder, and there awaiting the Russians before risking a battle. The Prussian army will be destroyed, and I shall be in Berlin before the advanced guard of the Russians shall have passed the Vistula. Make peace, therefore, whilst the moral power of the Prussia of Frederick the Great aids you with its friendship.’

“The Emperor of Austria offered to interpose, in order to decide his allies. ‘The English,’ said he, in the interview granted him at Austerlitz—‘the English are merchants; they set fire to the Continent, in order to secure the commerce of the world for themselves; and France is right in her quarrel with England.’

“Pitt’s death in 1806, brought Fox to the head of affairs, and rendered peace possible. It might have been expected that the ancient rivalry of two great nations, worthy of mutual love and esteem, would have been extinguished; but the day of reconciliation had not yet arrived. Fox died, and the shade of Pitt protected the Tory ministry, which returned to power. The English cabinet, by following Pitt’s principles, endeavoured on all hands to find new enemies for France. It sent a squadron to the Tagus to draw Portugal into the war; threatened the Ottoman Porte to compel it to enter into the coalition; intrigued with Russia, with a view to change her pacific intentions; and excited Prussia against France, by persuading her that she would lose Hanover, which France had suffered her to occupy, but which she would not guarantee, except on the condition of making common cause in compelling England to accept a peace. As long as Fox directed the negotiations, they were carried on in an honourable and frank spirit, with the view of re-establishing peace; after his death, the only object was to break them off, by all possible means to elude the responsibility of the rupture, and to give the war a spirit of greater violence than before, in hopes that a new coalition would be all in favour of the allies of England, and would be for her merely an account current at the Treasury; and finally, that France would be exhausted, and finish by succumbing in this incessant struggle against the whole of Europe.

“The decrees of Berlin and Milan were nothing but just reprisals upon England for the course which she had pursued. The continental system appeared like the mere swagger of a diseased mind; no one comprehended its bearings, and it was even necessary to have recourse to force to ensure its execution. The tree, however, soon bore fruit, and time will do the rest.

“Had it not been for the treachery of 1814, the face of commerce would be now changed, as well as the route of industry; the impulse was immense, and our manufacturing interests and property were increasing immeasurably; the progress of knowledge was gigantic; ideas were everywhere being rectified, and science becoming popular in France. “I have been careful,” said Napoleon to his minister of commerce, “not to fall into the errors of men of system, of preferring myself, and my own ideas, to the wisdom of nations. True wisdom is the result of experience; the economists who preach up freedom of trade, constantly quote the commercial prosperity of England as a model for imitation; but England is the country of prohibitions, and, in some things, she is right, for protection is

always necessary to encourage rising industry, and, in such cases, the value of this protection cannot be replaced by customs—smuggling destroys the object of the law. Men in general fall far short of the truth in the solution of all these questions, so vital to national prosperity. The truth, however, will be more and more approximated by taking, as the basis of our reflections upon this subject, the classification which I have always adopted in agriculture, industry, and commerce—objects which are distinct, and form a real gradation:

“1stly. Agriculture is the soul, the foundation of all national prosperity.

“2dly. Industry—the ready money and prosperity of the people.

“3dly. Internal trade—the profitable employment of the products of agriculture and industry.

“4thly. Foreign trade—the profitable employment of the surplus of the national products, the superabundance of property, but of much inferior interest to the others, to which it is subservient, and not they to it.

“It was the whole plan of the imperial administration to promote these diverse interests according to their natural rank, but it was never successful in satisfying them all. Time will tell what they owe to it; the national resources which it has created, and the deliverance which it has effected for them from the bondage of the merchants of the city. It is now time to make known the secret of the treaty of commerce of 1783. The English imposed it under threats of recommencing the war, and this was what they wished to repeat on the rupture of the peace of Amiens; but Napoleon was possessed of gigantic power, and *felt* that he was so; he replied, that he would persist in refusing, even if their armies were on the heights of Montmartre. He has been blamed, and that justly, for conceding *licences*; but this arose from the necessity of the moment, and was only a temporary resource, as the whole continental system was merely an arm of war. It would have been easy to come to an understanding concerning a peace, by a system of reciprocity in customs, in accordance with the interest of the two great commercial prosperities of England and France.

“During the interview with Alexander in Erfurt, in 1808, the Emperor induced him to join in a new attempt at reconciliation.

“Finally, in 1812, when Napoleon was in the apogee of his power, he made a fresh offer of peace to England, in concert with the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia, who went to Dresden expressly to visit him, and to give him a splendid proof of the sincerity of their alliance. The English ministry, and the libels of all the oligarchs in the world may say what they will, the Emperor Napoleon always wished for peace with England, because he regarded a general peace as the first condition of the regeneration of Europe.

“The cabinet of Lord Castlereagh, as well as that of the Venetian aristocracy, suffered itself to be ruled by old women. The great Lord Chatham said—‘If England were to act with justice towards France, for twenty-four hours only, she would run to her ruin.’ England is indebted to Lord Castlereagh for all the embarrassments of her situation, and the crisis which threatened her. A man must have been blinded by an absurd respect for the opinions of Lord Chatham, or by a more absurd vanity of disinterestedness, worthy of a new Don Quixote, to have acted as Lord Castlereagh did at the congress of Vienna, at a time when Austria acquired 10,000,000 of people; Russia 8,000,000; Prussia 10,000,000; and

even Holland, Bavaria, and Sardinia, obtained extensions of territory. England would not have asked too much as an indemnity for the almost incredible and impossible efforts which she had made, if she had demanded and required the establishment of small maritime independent states put under her protection, such as Hamburg, Bremen, Lubeck, Stralsund, Dantzic, Antwerp, Genoa, and Venice, to serve as an *entrepot* for her manufactures, with secret stipulations, which should ensure her the means of extending her trade with a moderate competition. A still graver fault, however, was committed, by suffering Russia to obtain the crown of Poland. It would have been a hundred times better to have given it to the King of Prussia or to the Emperor of Austria; nor should the Emperor of Russia have been allowed to usurp the protectorate of the four provinces on the Danube. Russia is aggressive by nature—sooner or later she will make an irruption into Europe; and this, in fact, is her duty for advancing the progress of civilization among the four-fifths of her population. Such an irruption would be a powerful and seductive means of consolidating her rule over the numerous and valiant races who dwell on her frontiers. They would be drawn towards her by the fabulous tales of the pleasures of Europe; all would successively be grouped in the ranks of the Russian light troops. The attractions of the plunder of a city like Paris are much more than sufficient to induce all the barbarians of the north to unite in a predatory incursion into Europe. These nations have all the elements of success; they are brave, active, and indefatigable, insensible to changes of climate; they subsist upon very little, and submit to discipline like brutes.

Should Russia succeed in destroying the nationality of Poland, and acquiring the fraternity of the Poles, she will then be without a rival. She will keep England at bay by threatening her possessions in the Indies, and hold Austria in check by the great moral superiority of her troops, and the assistance of the members belonging to the Greek Church, who are so numerous in Hungary and Gallizia. According to all appearances, a Greek Patriarch will one day officiate in St. Sophia, and from that moment England will be deprived of India, and Europe at the mercy of the knout.

“Another fault, perhaps not less grave, committed by the English ministry, was that of having united Belgium with Holland; because Holland never will be strong enough to prevent France from seizing upon Belgium when she pleases, and because Holland, not having the manufactures of Belgium, would again become, in her own interest, the *entrepot* for the most important products of the English manufactures. It would have been much better for England to have restored Belgium to the Emperor of Austria.

“In short, the cabinet of Lord Castlereagh is responsible for all the evils and all the disasters which threaten England, for having failed to take advantage of the opportunity of ensuring immense commercial advantages to his country, and of rendering his nation the richest and the most powerful in the world. He signed the treaty of Paris, and conducted himself at the congress of Vienna, as if England had been conquered. From being the directing power of the coalition, as she really was, he transformed her into a mere auxiliary; happy in being able to pick up a few crumbs at the banquets of kings, instead of speaking like a master, he placed himself in the wake of the chanceries of Vienna, Petersburg, and Berlin, which for twenty years had all been in the pay of the treasury in London. He left his country oppressed by an immense debt, contracted mainly for the interest of one family—the Bourbons—and of that Holy

Alliance, now so forgetful of all that England did for them, that they already begin to close the markets of the Continent against her manufactures, with no less rigour than was done by the Emperor of the French himself.

"The debt of England is a gnawing worm—the chain of all those embarrassments which will affect her future course; for, in order to sustain this immense weight, it will be necessary to continue, during peace, the levy of those extraordinary taxes imposed during the war; this will, necessarily, lead to an increase in the price of provisions, and insensibly bring the people to the most frightful misery. One of two things must happen: either the wages of labour must increase proportionably, and then the products of English industry will no longer be able to compete with the productions of other nations in the continental markets, and the manufacturers will suffer; or, the wages of labour will remain stationary, to the advantage of the manufacturers, and in this case the labouring class will not be able to gain the means of providing for the most necessary wants.

"The first element of the well-being of a nation consists in a just equilibrium between the amount of taxes imposed for the maintenance of the public revenue, and the surplus of the price of its labour; unfortunately, however, the taxes are not productive till they reach the masses of the people, and whenever they affect the bread of the people they engender misery and all those scourges which it brings in its train.

"It is imperative on England to endeavour to combat this devouring monster—her debt—by all positive and negative means—by the reduction of her expenses and the increase of her commerce with the whole world. In making reductions, she must be unsparing; it is necessary to cut to the quick, when mortification threatens. In the case of sinecures, salaries, and the expense of her land-armies, reforms must be sweeping. The political greatness of England consists in her navy, and not in those small armies which she has sent to the continent in the train of the large armies of Russia, Austria and Prussia.

"It is equally necessary for her to have recourse to a wise reform of innumerable abuses, connected with ecclesiastical property, the position of farmers in reference to their landlords, the administration of Ireland, as respects the mother country, and that kind of social interdict which is imposed upon nearly one-third of the population of Great Britain in consequence of their religious faith; and, finally, by a free admission of all those really interested to the rights and privileges of electors. The present state of the electoral franchise is nothing more than a brilliant deception, which places the majority of parliament in the nomination of the aristocracy and the crown. As to Ireland, she possesses merely the fiction of a representation in parliament; but it is true, that she is, in fact, a conquered country. It would have been, in reality, much better for her to have been treated as a conquered country, and then she would, at least, have had the advantage of not seeing her national debt doubled by fusion with that of England.

"In England the aristocracy are absolute masters, and the moment that any reform threatens to touch their power or privileges, they have recourse to the habitual cry—'*The foundations of the constitution—touch the foundations, and the whole edifice will fall into ruins—and the liberties of the nation be destroyed.*' It is true, that, in spite of its monstrous defects, when viewed in connexion with the civilization of the age, the En-

lish constitution presents the curious phenomenon of a magnificent result ; and it is the blessings of this result which make the people afraid of risking their loss ; but how much more would these advantages be felt, if wise reforms were employed to facilitate the motions of this grand and beautiful machine !

“ In her foreign policy, she must know how to dare to exercise, in case of necessity, those rights of sovereignty by sea, which the sovereigns of the Continent exercise for the protection of the industry of their subjects ; dare to oblige them to open their markets to English products, under pain of establishing a tariff upon the rights of navigation, as a compensation for their burthensome or prohibitory duties on English commerce. Can it be that a King of Denmark has any better right of sovereignty over the Sound than a King of England has over the Channel or the straits of Gibraltar ? Is it that the protection of the English marine is of no value to the trading vessels of most of the Continental states ? There is, in fact, no want of sufficient reasons for establishing the right of search under any pretext whatever. In speaking to the imagination of philanthropists of all colours, there is no longer any public right to invoke, when the equilibrium is destroyed ; and at present the dominion of the sea belongs, in fact and incontestably, to England—consequently, she has a right to say to the Continental states—‘ Your merchandise shall not be allowed to pass over my seas, without the payment of the same amount of customs which you impose on your Continent—freedom of trade for my merchandise—amen ; but customs with you and not with me—no.’

“ This, it may be said, would be war, but upon whom ? Spain has not three ships fit to put to sea ; Holland has not four ; Naples one or two ; Denmark has none, since the burning of her fleet at Copenhagen ; Russia—but it would require only the smallest effort on the part of England to shut up the Russian fleet in her ports, and burn her ships. As to France, what will her navy be for twenty-five years to come ? The hundred ships which were built under the empire the treaty of Paris has taken from her ! Poor France !

“ The Continent, such as it has been made by the treaties of 1814 and 1815, will submit to the law—bow to the tariffs and open its markets ; for England can make war upon whom she will with impunity, whilst no continental power can go to war without experiencing great losses in her commerce ; and this state of things will continue till France has again assumed her proper rank of a great nation, with a hundred ships of the line, as she had under Napoleon and Louis XIV., and 500,000 troops on her frontiers. The disinterestedness of England, in the division of the spoils of French empire, would be explicable, if she had designed to establish her empire on the Continent by the gratitude of the people, or if she had been seated in a congress of kings as the natural protectrix of constitutional institutions. What would the poor Poles, the poor Spaniards, and the poor Italians, not have given to escape being placed under the iron yoke of the czar or the inquisition ! What a noble character. What a glorious opportunity did the morning after the battle of Waterloo afford for opening the markets of the whole of Europe to English commerce ! What better could the cabinet of St. James have done than to give its hand to those noble means of modern regeneration, which sooner or later will be effectual, and against which kings by right divine, and the oligarchy by assumption, may exhaust all their efforts in vain ! It is the rock of Sisyphus which they keep raised above their heads, and which will fall and crush them

when the arm is no longer able to sustain its weight. Napoleon has planted the seeds of liberty with a bountiful hand, wherever the civil code has been introduced.

"The English ministry which shall put itself at the head of the liberal ideas of the Continent will receive the blessings of the universe, and all the heart-burnings felt towards England will be forgotten. Such a course would have been quite in the spirit of Fox. Pitt would not have undertaken to pursue it. In the case of Fox, his heart warmed his genius, whilst in that of Pitt his intellect withered up his heart.

"Whenever England shall undertake the regeneration of Europe, she will rest her efforts upon a foundation as deep as the earth; Napoleon's foundation was upon sand. The institutions of England are those of ages; England reigns over things established and immovable. Napoleon had the immense task of establishing them—of purifying a terrible and unexampled revolution. He succeeded in subduing anarchy—in binding into a bundle the scattered elements produced by the work of the republicans, but he was constantly obliged to surround this bundle with his powerful arm to save it from the attacks from without, whilst Europe was incessantly in arms to conquer the principles which his crown represented within. Factions attacked him with the most opposite views; he was libelled in the time of the directory for his concessions; he would have been the object and France the victim of a *contre Brumaire*. In France the people are by nature so restless, so busy, and so gossiping, that there would be twenty revolutions, and, consequently, as many constitutions, all ready in the portfolios of political constitution-mongers, of whom there are as many in France as there are bill-discounters under the pillars of the exchange in Amsterdam.

"The conduct of the English ministry at the Congress of Vienna, and the negotiations of the treaty of 1815; its forgetfulness of all duty and patriotism, can only be explained on the supposition of a secret design, the object of which was to reduce the English people under the yoke of military power; to forge chains to fetter all their liberties; to reduce their constitutional institutions to the shadow of their former selves, and to cover them with the mantle of despotism, all which would be in perfect accordance with those principles which Prince Metternich wished, and wishes, to triumph as the rule of European organization born at the Congress of Vienna. The liberty of England is a subject of continual alarm in Vienna and Petersburg. When the English people feel the royal yoke too heavy to bear, or when their distress becomes insupportable—the grape-shot or the cord of the executioner are the implements of justice. This is possible as long as the evil has not penetrated to the marrow of the masses; but when it has touched the vitals, then those who were only a mob in the deluded eyes of power, become a nation, and then it is seen when too late, that it is indeed the masses which constitute the people, and not a few nobles or *millionnaires*; for the rabble no sooner gains the ascendancy than it changes its name and calls itself the nation. If conquered, a few wretches are seized—they are denominated rebels or robbers; and thus the world goes. Mob, robbers, rebels, or heroes, according to the chances of the strife. Poor humanity!"



## CHAPTER XIV.

## GENERAL POLICY OF SPAIN TOWARDS FRANCE DURING THE REIGN OF FERDINAND.

ABOUT this time the newspapers informed us that a proposal had been made to bring back the Emperor to Europe, and to change the damp residence of Longwood for the fine air of Naples. We hastened to carry this news to the Emperor; but he shook his head and said: "It is impossible; as long as the men who formed the congress of Vienna are in power, the sight of my shadow would suffice to strike them with terror; the best plan for the English government would, doubtless, be to come to an understanding with me and to receive my promise not to leave Malta, without the Prince Regent's consent for ten years: after the expiration of which period I should be hospitably received in England; this plan would save eight or ten millions a year, a sum which I uselessly cost the government here; but I repeat, spare yourselves the pain of hope deceived. We have nothing to hope for from the oligarchs, unless danger opens their eyes, and proves to them that I alone had the power to keep the entrance-door of revolution closed, as well in the interests of kings as in that of the people."

Sir Hudson Lowe had now left us for some days in tranquillity. The Emperor had resumed his habit of taking exercise, and worked a great deal. Some news which he received from his brother Joseph led him to speak of Spain; he told me that during the hundred days, the most influential chiefs of the Cortes of Cadiz, the guerillas and the army had communicated with him, and assured him that an aid in money would enable them to bring back King Joseph to Madrid, and to effect in Spain what the landing at Cannes had produced in France; so deeply had an immense majority of the Spaniards become aware, since the return of Ferdinand, of all the benefits to Spain contained in the constitution of Bayonne. "In any other circumstances," added the Emperor, "I would have assisted them, but I did not wish to render my position more complicated by interfering in the affairs of others before having finished my own. I could not forget that the misfortunes of 1813 and 1814 proceeded from my intervention in the affairs of Spain. It was the events of Bayonne which destroyed my morality in Europe, divided my forces, multiplied my embarrassments, and opened a school to the English army. I committed, besides, great faults in the choice of my instruments, for the fault lies much more in the machinery than in the principle.

"Spain had long been the subject of my meditations; its manners; its territorial divisions; its old customs, on which all Castilian honour hangs; the ignorant superstition of the population, all were so many obstacles which it would be necessary to overcome, in order to regenerate the Spanish nation, which would be grand and powerful under the empire of constitutional institutions; but it was impossible not to occupy myself with its

affairs. In the crisis in which France then stood, in the struggle of new ideas, in the great cause of the age against old Europe, Spain could not be left behind in the social re-organization; it was absolutely necessary to carry it forward, *nolens volens*, in the movement of France; the fate of France demanded this, and the code of the safety of nations is not always that of individuals; and besides, Spain justified this necessity by her conduct during the war with Prussia and with Poland; when she at that time considered Napoleon in peril, she had deserted the alliance which her old king had sworn to him; the insolent proclamation of the Prince of the Peace; the sudden embarkation of the 25,000 men belonging to the corps of La Romana, could not be forgotten. The injury ought not to have remained unpunished; it merited a declaration of war; and it was a great misfortune that the Emperor did not take this open and honourable step on his return from Tilsit. The issue could not be doubtful; but France had need of repose; the war with Spain had cost it great sacrifices.

"The nation despised its government, and cried aloud for the blessings of regeneration; hopes might be entertained of accomplishing it without shedding any blood; the dissensions in the royal family authorized this hope, to which the events of the Bayonne gave all the appearance of certain realization.

"A constitution had been freely accepted and sworn to by all orders of the nation, the new king had met with nothing, on his route from Bayonne to Madrid, but homage and demonstrations of satisfaction from the people, who were grateful for their deliverance from servitude under superannuated institutions, and proud of the respect which the Emperor of the French testified for Spanish nationality; in fact, King Joseph was the only Frenchman among them; he was surrounded entirely by Spaniards; his ministers, courtiers, and guards, were all Spanish.

"The constitution of Bayonne was but a work of circumstances; everything contained in it which was contrary to the interest of the mass of the people would have disappeared from it in time; Spain, like Poland, Germany, and Italy, would have been governed by the principles of the French civil code. Men of talent of all conditions would have been appointed to the first offices in the kingdom, and to all public employments, without distinction of birth. The choice of dynasties is, and ought to be, but a secondary question: family bonds are, doubtless, of some value; but this value is so transient, and so often belied by history, that it did not at all influence the Emperor in the choice of his brothers as kings of Holland, Westphalia, and Naples; for in crowning them, he considered them, in his own mind, as viceroys—agents of his policy, whom he would recall into the French ranks, according to the exigencies of the definitive arrangements of a general peace, or the re-organization of the Continent of Europe.

"It was the mean intrigues of the princes of Spain, their family quarrels, their betrayal of all the interests of their country, and not the ambition of placing the crown of Spain on the head of one of the Emperor's brothers which brought on the events of Bayonne.

"It was at Fontainebleau, after the peace of Tilsit, that the first idea of an intervention in the affairs of Spain was suggested to the Emperor.

"Whilst serious dissensions were arising between the king, Charles IV., and his son, the Prince of Asturias, negotiations were being carried on with Monsieur Izquierdo to bring about the eventual partition of Portugal, in order to punish the house of Braganza for its submission to the orders of

the cabinet of St. James. The Prince of the Peace endeavoured to avail himself of this circumstance to realize the ambitious dream of the Duke of Alba, and to obtain for himself the small sovereignty of Algarve, as a recompense for the devotedness which he then testified towards France. This was the knot of the negotiation. Izquierdo, who was much more the agent of the favourite than that of the old king, sacrificed everything to gain this end. The negotiation made his wishes easy of attainment; the agreement was signed on the 27th of October. Prince Talleyrand informed Count Elma, the Portuguese minister at Paris, of the conclusion of this treaty; it commenced the era of treason. The court of Lisbon prepared itself for everything; a second treaty, consequent upon the first, was also signed at Fontainebleau on the 27th of October; it settled the respective forces which were to be employed in the campaign against Portugal. A French corps, consisting of thirty thousand men, was to enter Spain, and march direct to Lisbon, in concert with a Spanish division, 10,000 strong; and a reserve of 40,000 French was to be in readiness to follow the movement in case the English should interfere.

"At the same time that France was thus treating with Spain, and endowing the prime minister of Charles IV., Prince Talleyrand, who, as the minister of foreign affairs, had just been carrying on the negotiations and signing the treaty, reminded the Emperor of the more than equivocal conduct of the cabinet at Madrid, in the year 1806, and of the famous proclamation of the Prince of the Peace, dated the 3rd of October, 1806. He drew up a memorial containing the causes of complaint of France against Spain, and proposed to the Emperor to take decisive measures towards that power.

"There is but one reigning branch of the Bourbons remaining—that in Spain; if left in our rear when we turned against the powers of Germany, this branch would always occupy a threatening position, in case of any wars which France might have to sustain, either in the north or in Italy; it would paralyze a part of our forces, and it would be a continual object of uneasiness; accessible as it is to the intrigues of England, and always ready to open its ports to English merchandise and troops, it would render the whole system of peace and war incomplete. The moment is come for declaring that the last branch of the house of Bourbon has ceased to reign.

"Let a prince of the imperial house occupy the throne of Spain, and the system of the empire will be complete: Prussia subdued, Russia enfeebled in men and money by an unfortunate war, the confederation of the Rhine consolidated, the kingdom of Italy secured, the bonds of friendship with the east drawn closer, leaving nothing to be feared from the malevolence of Austria. Your majesty has now before you time sufficient for attempting and concluding an enterprise which will only require one campaign and the employment of an army of 30,000 men; an army which, it having been stipulated by the treaty of the 27th of October, will be levied and pass the frontier without exciting any suspicion. Spain, taken entirely by surprise, will offer no serious resistance; disgusted with her government, prepared for necessary innovations, she will welcome your Majesty's troops as liberators."

This theme became the subject of the evening conferences between the Emperor and Prince Talleyrand; the latter was urgent, and the Emperor, who was as well pleased to talk of this as of anything else, did not look upon the project of conquering the Peninsula, with 30,000 men, in a seri-

ous light. He applied his reasonings and calculations to the eventual cases of a possible execution; he even sent for Marshal Moncey who had conducted the war in the Pyrenees, and questioned him on the different points of stratagem of which he had made use in 1794.

The inhabitants of the castle knew nothing of what was passing; they only remarked the length of the Emperor's conversations with his minister of foreign affairs, which were sometimes prolonged to a late hour in the night; every one formed his own conjectures.

Another minister, who was roused by jealousy, and whose position gave him pretensions to, and means of, knowing everything—viz. the minister of police—became uneasy at these new confidences to which he had not the key; he at last thought he had discovered it, and his error gave rise to a very singular incident.

Fouché imagined that the subject of their conferences must be projects of divorce, and formed a plan in his own mind for cutting short the question on which they so long deliberated, feeling assured that this service would add to his credit, at the expense of a rival ambition.

He went directly to the Empress Josephine. He enlarged upon the interests of France, which called for a successor to the empire; he represented to the Empress the glory which would exalt her above all other women, if she made this magnanimous sacrifice. Aided by the natural supposition that a minister would not dare to make such overtures without being authorized, Fouché so far succeeded in persuading Josephine, that he ventured to bring her the draft of a letter which she was to write to the president of the senate, in which she offered to the country the relinquishment of her position as an empress and a wife. The Empress, who feebly combated his reasons, put off signing the letter till the following morning.

One of the ladies of the court, Madame de Remusat, a woman of spirit, who had no notion of descending from her position as the favourite of an empress, to that of lady of honour to a fallen princess, made up her mind to act decidedly. She waited for the moment when the Emperor, having left his cabinet, was entering his bed-chamber. It was one o'clock in the morning. She gave her name; the Emperor was going to bed; she was at an equivocal age, and found it very difficult to obtain admittance; she, however, insisted upon it, and said that in the morning it would be too late. The Emperor's curiosity was excited, and the door was opened. The thing was, in fact, curious enough; the Emperor learned that it was all about causing his wife to divorce herself. He immediately hastened to her, undeceived her, and gave her the assurance that if reasons of state should ever cause him to dissolve their marriage, she should receive the first intimation of it from himself alone. He kept his word.

Prince Talleyrand, who let no opportunity escape of giving the Emperor pledges of his unbounded devotedness to his dynasty, and who had already advised him to seat one of his brothers on the throne of Naples, perseveringly urged his project of dethroning the Spanish dynasty of the Bourbons, which would complete the work of extinguishing the last branches of the elder line of Bourbon, and he vainly entreated that his plans should be put into execution. But instead of marching into Spain at the head of 30,000 men, the Emperor set out for Venice, without even answering the letters written to him by the princes of Spain, imploring his intervention; these letters are remarkable:

"St. Laurent, 29th of October, 1807.

"SIRE AND BROTHER—At a moment when I was entirely occupied in devising means to aid in the destruction of our common enemy—when I had hoped that all the plots of the late Queen of Naples were buried with her daughter—I saw with horror that the spirit of intrigue had penetrated even into the bosom of my palace. Alas! my heart bleeds in reciting so fearful an attempt!—my eldest son, the presumptive heir of my throne, had formed the horrible design of dethroning me; he had gone so far as to make attempts against the life of his mother. Such a fearful attempt must be punished with the most exemplary rigour of the laws. The law which called him to the throne must be revoked; one of his brothers will be more worthy to supply his place in my heart and on the throne.

"I am at this moment seeking for his accomplices, in order to make stricter inquiry into this plot of the blackest dye, and I have not lost a moment in sending this information to your majesty, praying you to aid me with your counsel and knowledge.

"I pray God, my good brother, to have your Majesty in his holy keeping.

(Signed)

THE KING."

"From the Escorial, Oct. 11th, 1807.

"The fear of interrupting your imperial and royal majesty in the midst of the more important exploits and affairs which incessantly surround you, has hitherto prevented me from gratifying directly my most heartfelt desire, that of expressing, at least by writing, the sentiments of respect, esteem, and attachment which I cherish towards a hero who outshines all his predecessors, and who has been sent by Providence to save Europe from the total overthrow which menaced it, to steady its tottering thrones, and to restore nations to peace and happiness.

"Your majesty's virtues, your moderation, your kindness even towards your most implacable enemies, all these united to make me hope that the expression of these sentiments would be received by you as the effusions of a heart filled with the sincerest admiration and friendship.

"The position in which I have long stood, and which cannot have escaped your majesty's penetrating eye, has been another obstacle which arrested my pen when on the point of expressing my wishes to you; but, filled with the hope of finding in your imperial and royal majesty's magnanimous generosity the most powerful protection, I determined not only to express the sentiments of my heart towards your august person, but to pour my griefs into your bosom as into that of a tender father.

"I am very unfortunate in being obliged by circumstances to conceal as a crime an action so just and laudable, but such are the fatal consequences of the extreme goodness of the best of kings.

"Filled as I am with respect and filial love for him to whom I owe my existence, I can scarcely dare to say to your majesty, that these very qualities, so estimable in themselves, but too often serve as instruments to artful and wicked persons to hide the truth from the eyes of the sovereign, although such truth is so analogous to characters like that of my revered father.

"If these persons, who unhappily exist here, would allow him to know your majesty's character as I know it, with what ardour would he not desire to draw closer those ties which should unite our houses, and what

means would be more proper for this object, than to demand of your majesty the honour of forming an alliance between a princess of your august family and myself? this is the unanimous desire of all my father's subjects; and I doubt not that it would also be his, notwithstanding the efforts of a few malcontents, as soon as he should be informed of your majesty's wishes; this is what my heart desires, but it is not the plan of the perfidious agents who besiege him, and they may in the first moment surprise him; such is the ground of my fears.

"Your imperial and royal majesty's answer can alone unravel their plots, open the eyes of my well-beloved parents, make them happy, and at the same time complete the happiness of the nation and mine.

"The whole world will more and more admire your majesty's goodness, and you will always have in me a most grateful and devoted son.

"I therefore implore with the greatest confidence your majesty's paternal protection, and that you would not only deign to grant me the honour of an alliance with your family, but would remove all the difficulties and obstacles which may oppose the fulfilment of this wish of my heart.

"This act of kindness on the part of your majesty is so much the more necessary to me, as I cannot make the least effort myself, since this would be taken as an insult to paternal authority; I am, therefore, reduced to one course—namely to refuse, as I constantly do, to form an alliance with any other person without the consent and approbation of your majesty, from whom alone I await the choice of a wife. This is a happiness which I hope from the goodness of your majesty, and pray that God may preserve your precious life for many years.

"Written and signed with my own hand, and sealed with my seal, at the Escorial, October 11th, 1807.

"From your majesty's most affectionate  
servant and brother,

"FERDINAND."

The Emperor set out without having seen Fouché, but he sent him a message, enjoining him to interfere no more in any affairs but those of his office, and to silence the reports of divorce which he had spread in Paris.

The French troops, under the command of Prince Murat, crossed the Pyrenees and entered Spain, conformably to the treaty of Fontainebleau, without the Emperor's having come to any decision concerning the memorial which had been submitted to him by his minister of foreign affairs; but events suddenly changed the face of things; the French ambassador at Madrid sent information that the Prince of the Peace was advising the King Charles IV. to retire first to Seville, and then to Mexico, and to give up the Peninsula to England. This advice could not be explained, except by being attributed to an infernal combination.

The French ambassador at Madrid, soon afterwards announced the revolution of the palace which had placed the crown on the head of Ferdinand, and forwarded the protest of the old king, together with the letter in which he implored the Emperor's aid, and called for the punishment of a parricide on the Prince of Asturias. Charles IV. wrote from Aranjuez, March 21st, 1808.

"SIRE AND BROTHER,—You have, no doubt, received information of the events of Aranjuez, and of their results. Your majesty will not look without some interest on a king, who, forced to abdicate his crown, comes to throw himself into the arms of a monarch his ally, placing himself en-

tirely at his disposal, which alone can bring happiness to himself, his family, and his faithful subjects.

"My declaration of abdication in favour of my son was forced from me by circumstances, and by the arms and clamours of a rebellious guard, which plainly showed me that I must choose between life and death; and my death would have been followed by that of the queen. I have been forced to abdicate, but being now re-assured, and full of confidence in the magnanimity and genius of a great man, who always showed himself my friend, I took the resolution of putting myself entirely at your disposal, leaving in your hands my fate, that of the queen, and of the Prince of the Peace.

"I address to your imperial and royal majesty a protest against the events of Aranjuez, and against my abdication. I refer to it, and confide entirely in your majesty's goodness. I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

"Your majesty's affectionate brother and friend,  
"THE KING."

#### "PROTEST."

"I hereby protest and declare that my decree of the 19th of March, by which I abdicated the crown in favour of my son, is an act to which I was forced in order to prevent greater misfortunes, and the shedding of the blood of my well-beloved subjects; it is consequently to be regarded as null and void.

(Signed)

"THE KING.

"Aranjuez, March 21st, 1808."

On the 29th of March, the Emperor wrote as follows to the Grand Duke de Berg:

"SIR,—I fear that you have deceived me with respect to the situation of Spain, and that you were deceived yourself: the affair of the 20th of March has singularly complicated matters; I am in great perplexity.

"Do not imagine that you are about to attack a disowned nation, and that your troops have but to show themselves to subdue Spain. The revolution of the 20th of March, proves that the Spaniards possess energy. You have to do with a new people; they will have all the courage and all the enthusiasm which are met with in men who have not worn out their political passions.

"The aristocracy and clergy are masters of Spain; should they become alarmed for their privileges and their existence, they will raise against us levies which might *eternize the war*.

"I have partisans in Spain; if I present myself in the character of a conqueror, I shall have them no longer.

"The Prince of the Peace is detested, because he is accused of having given up Spain to France; this is the grievance which has aided Ferdinand's usurpation; the popular party is the weakest.

"The Prince of Asturias possesses none of the qualities requisite for the chief of a nation; this will not prevent his being made a hero of, for the purpose of opposing him to us. I do not wish any violence to be exercised towards the members of this family; it is never of use to render oneself odious, and to inflame hatred. Spain has more than 100,000 men under arms. This is more than is requisite for maintaining an interior war with

advantage ; these forces, separated into various divisions, and placed at different points, might bring about the rising of the whole monarchy.

"I now present to you at one view, the obstacles which are insurmountable ; there are others which you will yourself perceive.

"England will not neglect this opportunity of adding to our embarrassments ; she daily sends information to the forces which she maintains on the coasts of Spain and on the shores of the Mediterranean ; she is enrolling regiments of Sicilians and Portuguese.

"The Royal Family not having quitted Spain for the Indies, it is only a revolution which can change the state of this country. This is perhaps the country of Europe, which is the least qualified for it ; those who perceive the monstrous vices of this government, and the anarchy which has supplanted legal authority are the smallest number ; the majority profit by these vices and this anarchy.

"I can, in accordance with the interests of my empire, do much good to Spain. What are the best means to take for this end ?

"Shall I go to Madrid ? Shall I act as great Protector, by pronouncing between the father and son ? It seems to me that it would be difficult to establish Charles IV. on the throne ; his yoke and his favourite are become so unpopular, that they could not maintain themselves for three months.

"Ferdinand is an enemy to France ; it is for this reason that he has been made king. To place him on the throne would be to serve the factions which for twenty-five years have desired the annihilation of France. A family alliance would be but a weak tie ; the Queen Elizabeth and several other French princesses perished miserably, when an opportunity was afforded of sacrificing them with impunity to some other vengeance.

"My opinion is that we must not be precipitate ; that we must take counsel from the events which follow. We must strengthen our army, keep it on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait.

"I do not approve of the plan which your highness has pursued, in taking possession principally of Madrid. You should have kept the army at a distance of ten leagues from the capital. You could not be sure that the people and the magistracy would recognise Ferdinand without any resistance. The Prince of the Peace must have partisans among the public officers. There is besides a kind of attachment of habit to the old king, which might produce some results. Your entry into Madrid, by alarming the Spaniards, powerfully served the cause of Ferdinand ; I have ordered Savary to go to the old king, and see what is passing ; you will concert measures with him, I will ultimately resolve on the line of conduct which I shall pursue ; in the mean time, this is what I judge suitable to prescribe to you.

"You will not arrange that I shall have an interview in Spain with Ferdinand, unless affairs appear to you in such a position that I ought to recognize him as King of Spain.

"You will treat the king, the queen, and the Prince Godoy well ; you will exact for them and pay to them the same honours as formerly ; you will act in such a manner, that the Spaniards shall not be able to conjecture what line of conduct I shall pursue ; this will not be difficult, as I have not yet determined on it myself.

"You will give the nobility and clergy to understand, that should France interfere in the affairs of Spain, their privileges and immunities will be respected. You will tell them that the Emperor desires to perfect the political institutions of Spain, in order to put that country on an equality with



the actual state of civilization in Europe, and to free it from the rule of favourites; you will tell the enlightened magistrates and citizens that Spain needs a regeneration of its government; that it needs laws which shall secure the citizens from the arbitrariness and usurpations of feudalism, and institutions which shall revive industry, agriculture and the arts.

"You will describe to them the state of tranquillity and ease which France now enjoys, notwithstanding the wars in which she is always engaged; the splendour of her religion which owes its re-establishment to the concordat which I signed with the Pope; you will demonstrate to them the advantages which they may draw from a political regeneration; interior order and peace, exterior respect and power. Such must be the spirit of your conversation and of your letters; precipitate no step; I can wait at Bayonne; I can cross the Pyrenees, and, strengthening myself on the side of Portugal, carry on the war in that direction.

"I will take care of your private interests; give no thought to them yourself. Portugal will be at my disposal; let no personal project occupy you and direct your conduct; that would injure you still more than it would me.

"You go too fast in your instructions of the 14th. The march which you prescribe to General Dupont is too rapid, on account of the events of the 19th of March. There are some changes to be made in your instructions to the generals. Make new arrangements; you will receive instructions from my minister of foreign affairs.

"I desire that the strictest discipline may be observed; no pardon for any fault, however small; the inhabitants will be treated with the greatest consideration; the churches and convents will be especially respected.

"The army will avoid any rencounter, either with divisions of the Spanish army or with detachments. No bait must be offered either on one side or the other.

"Allow Solano to pass Badajoz—have him well watched; trace out the marches to be followed by my army, in such a manner as always to keep it at a distance of several leagues from the Spanish divisions. *Should the war be kindled, all would be lost.*

"It is for policy and negotiators to decide the fate of Spain; I recommend you to avoid an explanation with Solano, as well as with the other generals, and the Spanish governments.

"You will send me two expresses daily; in case of any more important event, you will dispatch an officer of ordnance to me. You will immediately send back the chamberlain Cournan, who brings you this despatch, committing to him a detailed report.

"I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

"NAPOLEON."

What took place at Bayonne is well known: Charles IV. gave up all his claims to the Emperor Napoleon, Ferdinand renounced his, a junta was formed for deliberating upon and voting a constitution, and Joseph Bonaparte, being raised to the throne, entered Spain, accompanied by the grandees who had accepted the offices of his court.

Prince Talleyrand, who had long been impatient under the superiority of rank accorded to two citizens like Cambacères and Lebrun, had exchanged his office of minister for the honour of being reckoned among the great dignitaries of the empire, retaining at the same time the office of chamberlain, a household office, but with a salary which was not to be de-

spised. He approved what had been done at Bayonne, offered his castle at Valençay, and when the princes of Spain had been sent to him, conceived, and offered with the most meritorious zeal to execute, the project of making them swear allegiance to the Emperor.

After the conferences at Erfurt, at which the Emperor Alexander left the south of Europe entirely at the disposal of Napoleon, the latter quitted Paris for the purpose of placing himself at the head of his army in Spain. He crossed the Pyrenees with 60,000 veteran troops, composed of the corps of Marshals Lannes, Soult, and Ney, and the guard; but before arriving at Madrid, which resisted for two days, he had to fight, and gain the battles of Tudéla, Espinosa, Burgos, and Somnassiésa.

These victories produced very various sensations at Paris. The more easy the seizure of Spain had appeared to Prince Talleyrand, when he drew up the memorial at Fontainebleau, the more sure a presage did this obstinate resistance now seem to him of a future disastrous to the Emperor. His old rancour rejoiced at this prospect, and his re-awakened ambition busied itself with calculations of the advantages which it might draw from these disasters and from the errors of public opinion.

"The Emperor," said he, "will not return from Spain;" and from that moment his resolution was taken. He transformed into a grave wrong what might be considered as a fault, and the echoes of his saloons constantly repeated that an insatiable ardour for combats and power had repulsed the best counsels; that he had predicted to the Emperor what was now happening to him, and that the reward of his prudent and devoted skill had been his being obliged to resign his office of minister of foreign affairs, which he had done the more willingly as he had perceived the impossibility of preventing the Emperor from hastening to his destruction. The intriguers of the saloons formed the opinions of the coteries, and the coteries that of the capital.

After having re-organized the government at Madrid, and subdued the northern provinces, the Emperor was preparing to march towards the south, when he learned that the English army, under General Moore, was advancing from the Taragno towards Valladolid, for the purpose of interrupting our line of operations, and cutting off our communication with France; the Emperor quitted Madrid on the 24th of November.

On receiving information of his march, General Moore began his retreat. The French who had been delayed twenty-four hours in their passage of the Guadarama by a storm, rested every night at the place which the English had quitted in the morning.

The Emperor, on his arrival at Astorza, received a despatch there, on the 2d of January, informing him that the Austrians were forming magazines, and were collecting troops on the shores of the Im, in order to attempt an aggression unforeseen and favoured by his absence. He was, at the same time, informed of the intrigues of the vice-electors, which had already assumed the appearance of flagrant usurpation.

Conventicles had collected a certain number of influential members of the senate. A ministry had already been organized. Laplace, Trais, Garot, were at the head of the list. Clement de Ris omitted no detail in his report; he gave the names of all the persons who were to compose this ministry. All measures had been taken for attempting then what was afterwards executed in 1814.

On receiving this news, the Emperor soon took his resolution; he left to Marshal Soult the mission of driving the English into the sea at the

mouth of the Corogna; and set out, on the 3d of January, for Valladolid. As early as 1805, England had incited Austria against us, in order to ward off the invasion with which she herself was threatened; the same means were put into operation in 1809, in order to effect a diversion in favour of Spain. The Emperor, who had intended to pass from the Corogna into Portugal, and to return by Cadiz to Madrid, after having subdued the whole Peninsula, was now obliged to renounce this wise project. After having passed a few days at Valladolid, for the purpose of making the necessary preparations for his absence by organizing the army, and placing it in a position in which it could await his return, he set out suddenly for Paris, and arrived there a day before the express announcing his departure from Valladolid.

On Sunday, the 23d of January, the first Sunday after his return, he received at his grand levee, the high dignitaries and officers of the crown, the ministers, the high chancellor of the legion of honour, the officers of the senate, &c. Before this numerous assembly, he addressed himself to the high chamberlain.

He reminded him of the memorial of Fontainebleau, of his endeavours and urgent entreaties to persuade him to commence the war with Spain. He told him that he did not reproach him with this as with a fault, because he had afterwards followed this advice given at an inopportune time. He then added: "You have changed your opinion. When you thought you foresaw a change of fortune, you made a merit of giving me advice exactly opposed to that which you had urged upon me for six weeks, and turned it into a fault on my part not to have followed it. I know all; I can forget all; but when a person creates for himself interests opposed to mine, and acts against me, he ought to have the modesty to resign an office so nearly attached to my person."

The high chamberlain, who had remained silent, understood that he was already displaced; and it was, in fact, the case: M. de Montesquieu had for two hours had his nomination to this high office of the crown in his pocket.

The disasters of the campaign of Moscow made it necessary to recall the armies of Spain to the Rhine. The minister of foreign affairs, the Duke of Bassano, proposed to the Emperor, in order to put a term to two affairs now become very dangerous, to restore the Pope to Rome, which would appease the religious order, and to send back Ferdinand to Spain, which would paralyze the powerful action of the Cortes, and would remove all subject for fear on the side of the south, until the conclusion of the struggle in which the Emperor was now engaged with the north.

The Emperor at first only admitted the first clause of this advice. He signed the concordat at Fontainebleau, January, 1813. He could not resolve to renounce the great results which he might expect from the immense sacrifices which had been making in Spain since the year 1809.

Spain was, doubtless, conquered, when the hostile demonstrations of Austria obliged him to leave the government of that country to King Joseph and his marshals. In less than three months, four Spanish armies, amounting together to 160,000 men, had been defeated and dispersed. Madrid and Saragossa had fallen into the hands of the French. The English army had been forced to re-embark, after having suffered immense losses. But a change had, since then, come over the affairs of the Peninsula. England had made incredible efforts to rekindle the war; she had lavished armies and treasures on this object. Spain was surrounded on

three sides by the sea ; the English squadrons easily and suddenly landed fresh troops at all the various points of the coast ; in Catalonia, in Biscay, in Portugal, in the kingdom of Valencia, and at Cadiz.

The error committed in Spain, after Napoleon's departure, was not that of proceeding too quickly, but of proceeding too slowly ; if he had remained there a few months longer, he would have taken Lisbon and Cadiz, conciliated parties, and pacified the country. The guerillas were not formed till a year after Napoleon's departure, and then solely through the effects of the pillage, disorders, and abuses, of which the marshals set the example, in contempt of the emperor's most decisive and strict commands.

The corps under the command of Marshal Suchet, which occupied the kingdom of Valencia, never suffered a want of anything : the country, being well governed by the marshal, supplied all the necessities of the army ; the contributions were regularly paid, and war was carried on, as it would have been in Germany, and all this because the marshal set an example of severe probity, and maintained discipline among his troops. Had all the other marshals done the same, the war would have been reduced to the chances of a battle. Spain was lost after a five years' struggle against not only the population of a large and valorous kingdom, but also against the Anglo-Portuguese army which had become as skilful in manœuvres as that of the French.

It is difficult to find an explanation of these false manœuvres, of the faults of strategy, which brought on the disasters of Talavera, Salamanca and Vittoria. One cannot help calling to mind on this occasion, the disgraceful causes of the affair of Belemc. The want of fortresses is a false argument ; the French had taken them all. The true cause is this, that the Spaniards offered the same resistance to the French as they had done to the Romans. Conquered nations can only become subjects of the conqueror by a mixture of policy and severity, and by an amalgamation with the army. Things failed in Spain. If the French had amused themselves with making establishments on the Ebro, instead of marching over the Samo-sierra, and against Madrid and Benevente, for the purpose of expelling the English after the victories of Vittoria, Espinosa, Tudéla, and Burgos, they would have had 200,000 English, Spanish, and Portuguese troops against them, and their army would, in two months, have been driven beyond the Pyrenees.

After the Emperor's departure, the pursuit of the English army was executed without vigour, having forced the English to re-embark, the French general ought to have marched against Lisbon, Cadiz, and Valencia ; political means would then have done the rest. No one can deny that if the court of Austria had not declared war, and had thus allowed Napoleon to remain four months longer in Spain, all would have been brought to a termination. The presence of the general is indispensable ; he is the head, the guiding star of an army ; it was not the Roman army, which subdued Gaul, but Cæsar ; it was not the Carthaginian army at the gates of Rome which made the republic tremble, but Hannibal ; it was not the Macedonian army which overturned the empire of Persia, but Alexander ; it was not the French army which carried the war to the banks of the Weser and the Im, but Turenne ; it was not the Prussian army which defended Prussia for seven years, but Frederick the Great.

After the fatal events of Leipzig, it was of great importance to the French to put an end without delay to the dangers created by the affairs of Spain. The Duke of Bassano received instructions to send the Duke of

San Carlos to Valençay, with proposals to Ferdinand to return to his kingdom; Count Lafarest, who was living on his estate in the neighbourhood of Tours, received at the same time orders to go secretly to Valençay, under the name of Don del Basca, and negotiate the treaty which should restore the Prince of Asturias to liberty and his crown.

Ferdinand had always shown the greatest aversion to the Cortes. The Spaniards long regretted the constitution of Bayonne; had it triumphed, they would no longer have had an ecclesiastical jurisdiction in secular affairs, no more feudal service, no interior barriers. Their national domains would not have remained uncultivated and useless to the state and nation. They would have had a secular clergy—a nobility enjoying no feudal privileges or exemptions from contributions and public expenses—they would now be a different people.

Ferdinand had often said that he preferred remaining at Valençay to reigning in Spain with the Cortes; nevertheless, when Napoleon proposed his remounting the throne, in 1813, he did not hesitate. Count Lafarest was sent to him to negotiate this affair. The treaty was soon drawn up; no conditions were imposed on Ferdinand; for the engagement which he entered into to ratify the sales of national domains made during his absence, and not to call any of the persons who had held public employments to account, cannot be regarded as a condition. Ferdinand at this time loudly manifested his resolution of taking things in Spain as he found them, and reigning like a constitutional king. As soon as the treaty was concluded, he again proposed to contract, by a marriage, a closer alliance with Napoleon; this request was neither refused nor accepted. The reply given was, that the moment for agreeing to it was not yet come; that when Ferdinand was reseatd on his throne, if he renewed his request from Madrid, it should then be received as it ought to be.

The treaty of Valençay had been negotiated with the greatest secrecy; it was important that it should not come to the knowledge of the English; they would have thwarted a proceeding, the result of which was to be to leave the army free to arrive in the plains of Champagne in time for the campaign of 1814.

The events which were being brought about at Paris settled things otherwise. The party which was struggling to overthrow Napoleon, succeeded in discovering this secret negotiation; they attempted to persuade him that a regard for his glory ought not to suffer him to renounce Spain, and to secure his rejection of the treaty of Valençay.

Not having succeeded in their purpose, they published the existence of the treaty, and employed all the resources of intrigue to delay Ferdinand's departure, and thus retard the return of the army to France. Ferdinand was to have quitted Valençay in the course of November, 1813, and yet he did not cross the Pyrenees till the month of March, 1815.

While this negotiation was being opened with Ferdinand, Mons. Fallat de Beaumont, former archbishop of Bourges, received instructions to go to Fontainebleau, with full powers to treat with the pope respecting his return to Rome.

In the meantime, the intrigues of the former high chamberlain, to whose counsels fate willed that the Emperor should again listen, effected a change in the cabinet. The report of Count St. Aignous, on his arrival from the head quarters, was the occasion and pretext of this change; the office of minister of foreign affairs was entrusted to the Duke of Vicenza. The Emperor, however, by a formal and unusual exception, left to the Duke of

Bassano, the care of pursuing the two negotiations which he had opened. The treaty of Valençay was signed on the 8th of December, 1813, and the pope, although he would not subscribe to any written engagement, was restored to his states. One thing alone was reserved to Ferdinand, who demanded the hand of one of the Emperor's nieces. It was agreed that this demand should be listened to when it was renewed from Madrid. It had been calculated that the first column of the veteran army of Spain might be drawn up in line on the 1st of March.

The secret of the treaty was now known to all enemies at home and abroad. Constantly renewed intrigues retarded its execution. The ratification of it was, however, signed; but precious days had already been lost. Such a desire was felt at Valençay, as at the Tuileries, to make provision for all difficulties, that it was agreed, that if the least opposition to the execution of all the conditions of the treaty was made on the part of the Cortes at Madrid, it should only be looked upon, in case of need, as an engagement destined to become a public treaty when the prince should have resumed his power, and in opportune circumstances.

The Duke of San Carlos had been despatched to Madrid, three days after the conclusion of the treaty. The king was to follow him without delay.

But through an unpardonable fault of the Duke of Suedre, minister of war, the King of Spain could not quit Valençay till the 13th of March.

The king was to be received at the frontier by Marshal Suchet, whose head-quarters had just been established at Figuerès. The Duke of San Carlos informed the marshal of this arrangement on his way to Madrid, and spoke to him at great length of the constitutional fidelity of the king.

The secrecy which it had been wished to maintain concerning the treaty of Valençay, and the promptitude of its execution, were of immense importance.

They would have been the only means of preventing the English cabinet from acting on the spirit of the Spanish government, and thus preparing the reception given by it to King Ferdinand and his envoy.

On the arrival of the Duke of San Carlos at Madrid, the regency listened to him with coldness, and after having heard the object of his mission, asked him what he had been doing at the time when the Spaniards were fighting desperately for their king, and suffering the fatigues, privations, and dangers of war. It reproached him with his pleasures at Paris, with his luxury and dissipation, and even with his love affair with the Princess Talleyrand.

As regarded his mission, it declared that the king should be received as king when he had taken his oaths in the presence of the Cortes; that, till then, he should only receive the honours due to him as Prince of Asturias—that the necessary orders should be given along a certain route, that of Burgos, that he might at each station find an escort of sixty men, and that the authorities might be instructed as to the conduct they were to pursue.

General Elliot and Monsieur de Zagaz, nephew of General Otávil, formerly minister of war under Joseph Bonaparte, were successively dispatched to Madrid by the king, on missions similar to that of the Duke of San Carlos, and were treated in the same manner by the regency—with pride and disdain; it found subjects for criticism in some details of their personal conduct; reproached General Elliot with having allowed himself to be defeated at Valencia; and, in short, its whole conduct announced that when the king should have remounted the throne, the credit of the

Duke of San Carlos, Elliot, and de Zagas would not last long, should his majesty be guided by the spirit of the regency.

Ferdinand at last arrived, on the 19th of March, at Perpignan, and on the 22nd, at the head-quarters at Figuières, where he was to await the return of General Elliot from Madrid; his whole conversation showed that he felt a deep sense of what he owed to the regency, to the Cortes, and to the nation.

"He only desired to reign," he said, "by the laws which his victorious people had made for themselves."

He communicated to Marshal Suchet the proclamation which he was about to publish, declaring his sentiments, and he asked his advice, believing that what he was going to do would be in perfect accordance with what he ought to do. Marshal Suchet, who was well acquainted with the state of Spain, entirely approved of the proclamation, which contained the most explicit and candid declarations; he only requested, with a delicate feeling of propriety, that the king should insist still more strongly on the praise merited by the Spanish army. The Marshal breakfasted and dined every day with the king, who, until the return of Messrs. Elliot and Zagas, still testified the same disposition.

But it was soon changed. On the arrival of these gentlemen, they both advised him to throw off at once the yoke which the regency wished to impose on him, and to travel to Madrid by a different route from that pointed out by the regency. They persuaded him to pass through Saragossa, in order to see in the ruins of this great and illustrious city, the sad proofs of the courage of his subjects. They sent emissaries into the country around to excite the people to assemble in masses along the route to be taken by the king. They intoxicated him with the enthusiasm of which he was the object, and which burst forth with especial strength at Saragossa.

From that moment, Ferdinand's wise resolutions were banished. The regency, informed of these proceedings, uttered threats; General Elliot began to collect armed forces, and finding himself at the head of about 10,000 men, marched towards the capital. The regency sent a few battalions to oppose him; he soon put them to rout; Ferdinand entered Madrid as a conqueror, and the counter-revolution was made.

Marshal Suchet wrote to the Emperor, that on the first news of the treaty of Valençay, the regency, happy at, and proud of, a deliverance which it regarded as its work, had manifested the intention of proceeding to the frontier, to be the first to salute with its acclamations the return of the constitutional king to Spain; but that inexplicable delays had excited distrust, and changed these dispositions. "Had the treaty been executed two months earlier," said he, "Spain would have warded off the catastrophes which await her, and France would have been saved."

## CHAPTER XV.

## AFFAIRS OF ROME AND CONCORDAT OF FONTAINEBLEAU.

DURING these occurrences, letters from Las Cases gave us hopes of seeing him again. He had obtained permission to return to England, and was to pass by St. Helena. Without doubt, our reason, our knowledge of the character of Sir Hudson Lowe, had already convinced us that we should not be permitted to take a last farewell of this so devoted friend of the Emperor; but hope is the support of the suffering soul, and we hoped in spite of ourselves.

The health of the Emperor continued to get worse and worse. I saw him more frequently than any one, and consequently I was better able than any one else to trace the causes of the malady which was manifested so often, and under such different forms. His chest could not endure the effect of the moist atmosphere of Longwood, and still less the sudden changes of temperature to which it was subject. In fact, the thermometer at St. Helena varies  $10^{\circ}$  per day, according as the sun is above or below the horizon.

I have remarked that great heat produces no effect on the Emperor; he had already been accustomed to it in Egypt; but moisture of climate exercises a terrible influence on his health. I have frequently seen him, after coming in from a ride at night, suffer from attacks of cough so violent as not to cease till vomiting ensued.

It was in the midst of these new apprehensions for the health of the Emperor, that Sir Hudson Lowe presented himself before me, to complain that we consumed too much fire-wood; and that it was unreasonable for the Emperor, under the tropics, to have a fire every day in his bedroom. He even asserted that this could only arise from a wish, on his part, to cause more expense to England.

I recalled to his recollection that it was not long since the boards of the bedroom had sunk, and suddenly a gush of stagnant water sprang from a sort of marsh which extended along two-thirds of the room.

"But," said he, "since I have had the boards repaired, and the water emptied out, it seems to me that there is no further occasion for a fire."

"In that room, certainly," answered I; "but what do you say respecting the others, where the boards are rotten, and the walls covered with moisture?"

And at the same time I pointed out to him with my finger proofs of what I advanced.

However, Sir Hudson was uneasy on account of the Emperor's state of health, and he proposed to the grand marshal to have one of those wooden barracks, which can be set up and taken down at pleasure, erected for him at the end of the library, "in order," said he, "that General Bonaparte



may be able to take exercise without being exposed to the sun and the rain." When this proposal was repeated to the Emperor, he merely shrugged his shoulders, and murmured between his teeth, "Disgusting irony!"

The Emperor at last decided upon addressing to Lord Liverpool a long memorandum, in the form of observations on the bad treatment he had experienced. The grand marshal committed this sealed despatch to the officer on duty.

The bad temper of Sir Hudson Lowe increased continually, and at last became such, that Bertrand and I did not know what means to use, so that the Emperor might not hear of his outrages. Poor O'Meara, on his part, was exposed to all his ill-humour. Sir Hudson Lowe wished him to issue bulletins after his fashion; the Emperor heard of this, and refused O'Meara's assistance, however much he might have need of it. Long and painful discussions followed; Sir Hudson at length yielded, and it was settled that no bulletin should be issued without having been previously shown to Bertrand or myself; and in order to avoid any occasion for an insult, it was settled that the Emperor should merely be designated as *the patient*.

This simple announcement of a fact will say more than any commentary!

The arrival of a vessel from Europe gave an agreeable diversion to all these ignoble plots during some time. We received pamphlets and some books on the subject of the reign of the Emperor. I profited by them to awaken the recollection of a happier time, and he dictated the following note on the affairs of Rome:

#### AFFAIRS OF ROME.

"Napoleon had given, in the years 1796 and 1797, in Italy, particular attention to affairs of religion. This knowledge was necessary to a conqueror and to the legislator of the Transpadane and Cispadane republics, in the same way as, when in Egypt, he studied the Koran, because it was necessary for him to be acquainted with the principles of Islamism, the government, the opinions of the four sects, and their relations to Constantinople and Malta. His profound knowledge of each religion contributed to captivate the affection both of the Italian clergy and of the *Illémas* of Egypt.

"He never repented of having signed the concordat of 1801; the expressions put into his mouth on that subject are false; he never said, *that the concordat was the greatest error of his reign*. The disputes which he had with Rome proceeded from the abuse made by this court of the mixture of spiritual and temporal power.

"This may have occasioned him some moments of impatience: it was the lion stung by flies; but nothing ever altered his feelings, either with regard to the principles of his religion, or the great act which has had such important results.

"The concordat of 1801 was necessary to religion, to the republic, to the government; the temples of worship were closed, the priests persecuted; they were divided into three sects—the constitutional priests, the vicars apostolic, and the bishops who had emigrated to England. The concordat put an end to these discussions, and raised the Roman-catholic apostolic church from its ruins; it was facilitated by the favourable disposition of the venerable Pius VII., who, immediately on hearing the proposal of it, hastened to reply: 'Assure the First Consul, that I shall willingly enter into

a negotiation, the aim of which is so praiseworthy, so suitable to my holy office, and so conformable to the wishes of my heart.' The plenipotentiaries of the Holy See were, Cardinal Spina, and a celebrated theologian; Joseph Bonaparte, Cretel, a state councillor, and Bermir, then a rector, formerly a chief of the Vendean army, were invested with powers by France.

"One would be inclined to think, that the immense interest which the Holy See had in seeing the altars of Christ again raised in France, would have over-ruled all secondary questions; but with Rome the contrary always happens.

"Canonical institutions, the admission of the priests who had taken their oaths in the re-organization of the French church, the consecration of the goods of the church, gave rise to acrimonious debates, while the subject of divorce presented no difficulty, and the Roman negotiators declared that they would consent to admit the marriage of priests, if the First Consul would consent to yield to the Pope the right of adjourning indefinitely canonical institutions, which consent would have been equal to a renunciation of the right possessed by the chief of the state to nominate bishops.

"But it was necessary to bring these discussions to a close; the French negotiators and the ambassador of France at Rome, received instructions to declare, that if the Holy See did not, within the space of three days, accede to the offers of France, and sign the concordat, the negotiations should be looked upon as broken off, and the First Consul, desirous, above every other consideration, of bringing back the French nation to religious sentiments, would consider, in his wisdom, whether or not he would follow the example of Henry VIII.

"The venerable Pius VII. was troubled by this declaration, the sacred college trembled. Cardinal Gonzalvé set out in haste for Paris; all difficulties were smoothed down, the concordat was signed at Paris on the 15th of July, 1801, and the Holy See ratified it in the course of the same month; as well as the decree issued by the First Consul, which, under the title of '*Regulations for the execution of the Concordat*,' settled the *organic articles*.

"The question of divorce and that of the marriage of priests, are the two great social questions which have escaped the shipwreck of the supreme jurisdiction of the catholic church; this is not the opinion maintained by the ignorant fanatics of the profanations of the holy sacrament. Councils have always admitted the dissolution of marriage. The council of Trent fixed rules for it; it appointed thirteen cases in which a nuptial benediction, given in contempt of the observance of any one of these thirteen conditions of the nullity of a marriage, should be dissolved and declared null. To discuss the rupture or nullity, to cavil, is not a principle; to render the bond of a marriage indissoluble, is to provoke crime, is to place the curate of a village above the power of the law.

"A separation *in mezzo termine* can only be put in practice among the higher classes; the mass of the people can find no protection, they are obliged to groan during their whole lives under the evil consequences of one day, or to rush to crime, in the hope of an impunity which should secure the return of calm to their homes.

"Henry IV. possessed the religious right of divorce, and that during the reign of a religious fanaticism, which had condemned him to choose between an abjuration and a throne; and to debar a simple citizen from any means of breaking the tie which binds him to a barren woman, to a Mes-

salina, or to a shrew, is to establish an inequality in the face of the law between men of the same nation, is to place ourselves again under the empire of feudal distinctions, is to retrograde to the middle ages, to an order of things which was destroyed from the very root by the revolution of 1789. It is true that marriage is both a civil and a religious contract, and as the law declares that it can only be legally contracted by being performed in presence of the municipal officer appointed to execute the commands of the law, it must also, in order to obtain validity in the sight of religion, be subjected to the formalities imposed by it, in order that the priest may give the nuptial benediction. The rupture of marriage ought then necessarily to be doubly pronounced, by the natural judges of all questions of religious belief—viz., the metropolitan authorities.

"In this state of things, equally suggested by reason to the legislator, and by faith to the pious man, perfect equality before the law for all men, entire liberty to have a marriage dissolved, whatever may be the religion of the person requiring it, catholics and protestants would be under the dominion of the same law, while on the contrary, since the abolition of divorce by the effects of a senseless reaction, the inequality between the catholic and the protestant is flagrant. The former cannot dissolve his marriage, while to the latter it is easy, for a protestant has only to acquire the right of citizenship in a protestant village on the frontiers of France to be able legally to divorce his wife.

"The celibacy of priests is only a perfection of holiness; the councils declared this; and this truth cannot be disputed, for these same councils delegated to the Pope the power of releasing a priest from his vows and permitting him to marry.

"M. de Talleyrand, minister of foreign affairs during the negotiations for the concordat, had been Bishop of Autun before the French revolution, but considered himself free, like every French citizen, through the effects of the laws of the republic to contract a marriage, he wished to marry a Dutch woman. The Pope released him from his vows and Madame Gramt became Princess Talleyrand, and not even the most ardent defender of the canons ventured to raise his voice against this marriage.

"Napoleon rebuilt the altars, put an end to all disorders, desired the faithful to pray for the republic, dissipated all the scruples of the purchasers of national domains, and broke the last thread by which the ancient dynasty still communicated with the country, by depriving of their places the bishops who had remained faithful to it, denominating them rebels, who had preferred the affairs of the world and terrestrial interests before the affairs of heaven and the cause of God.

"It has been said, 'Napoleon ought not to have interfered in religious affairs, but to have tolerated religion in practising its worship;' but what worship? Restore its temples; but to whom? To the constitutional party, to the clergy, or to the papist vicars in the pay of England? It was proposed to Napoleon in the conferences for the negotiation of the concordat, to assign a delay in the exercise of the right of instituting bishops, conferred on the Pope; but he had already made great concessions; he consented to the suppression of those dioceses whose sees dated from the birth of Christianity; he deprived a great number of ancient bishops, by his own authority, of their places, and sold, without giving any indemnity, four hundred millions' worth of goods belonging to the clergy.

"It was decided that, even as regarded the interests of the republic, new stipulations which would have favoured the ultra-montanes, ought not to

be exacted. It was in one of these conferences that Napoleon said ; ' If the Pope had not existed, he must have been created for this occasion, as the Roman consuls created a dictator in difficult circumstances.'

" It is true that the concordat acknowledged the existence in the state of a foreign power, which was likely to trouble it one day, but it did not introduce it—it had always existed.

" Being master of Italy, Napoleon considered himself master of Rome, and this Italian influence served him as a means for counteracting the English influence.

" The pieces printed at London, concerning the discussions between the court of the Tuileries and that of Rome, are apocryphal ; they have never been avowed. The effect hoped for from their publication was that of exalting the imaginations of the Spaniards and those of the saints of Christendom ; the *Petite Eglise* published them about with furious zeal. Some of these pieces are false, the others are more or less falsified. It is to be lamented that they should have found place in an important work ; it would not have been difficult to prove their falsity. 1stly. The court of the Tuileries never promised, either directly or indirectly, to allow legations, and the Pope looked upon this condition as the price of his journey to Paris. It is possible that he flattered himself with the hope of obtaining Romagna, in which lay Casena, his native country, from the gratitude of the Emperor ; it is possible that during his stay in Paris he spoke of this desire directly to the Emperor ; but it was very slightly, and without hopes of success. 2ndly. How could it be supposed that the court of Rome had been requested to establish a patriarch in France ? A patriarch would only have possessed influence in France, while the Pope, who was the patriarch of the great empire, possessed an influence over the whole universe. France would then have lost by the change ! 3rdly. How could the Emperor have demanded the acceptance of the civil code ? Did not the Napoleon code rule in France and Italy ? Did he require the assistance of the court of Rome to frame laws for his own subjects ? 4thly. Why should he have demanded liberty of worship ? Was not this a fundamental law of the French constitution. Had this law more need of the sanction of the Pope, than that of Maron the minister, and the consistory of Geneva ? 5thly. How could he have demanded the reform of the too numerous bishoprics in Italy ? Had not the concordat of Italy provided for this ? It is true that some negotiations were carried on respecting the bishoprics of Tuscany and Genoa, but in the form established for these kind of affairs. 6thly. What interest could he have in wishing the pontifical bulls relating to the bishoprics and benefices in Italy to be abolished ?—was not all this regulated by the concordat of Italy ? 7thly. Why should he have demanded the abolition of religious orders ?—were not these orders already abolished in France and Italy ? How could it be supposed that, engaged as he was in discussions with the court of Rome, he would demand freedom of marriage for the priests, which would have been, in all gaiety of heart to give his enemies an advantage ? What did the celibacy of the priests matter to him ! Had he any time to lose in theological discussions ? 9thly. What interest could he have in wishing Joseph Bonaparte to be consecrated King of Naples by the Pope ? Had the Pope wished to do so, Napoleon would have opposed his desire, for fear that he should afterwards put forward a claim to be suzerain of Naples.

" The direct correspondence between the Emperor and the Pope, from 1805 to 1809, remained secret ; it solely concerned temporal affairs, re-

garding which he needed neither the consent nor the advice of his bishops; but in 1809, when the Pope, relying on a passage in the proceedings of the council of Lyons, endeavoured, by the brief of Savona, addressed to the chapter of Florence and to that of Paris, to interfere with the duties of caputular vicars during the vacancies of the sees, the discussion began to refer to spiritual matters. The Pope then felt the need of the counsel and intervention of the clergy—he established a council of theologians. The choice which he made was fortunate; the Bishop of Nantes, who had for half a century been one of the oracles of Christendom, was the soul of the council; from this time, all the discussions became public.

“Fox, conversing with Napoleon after the treaty of Amiens, reproached him with not having obtained freedom for the priests to marry: Napoleon replied: ‘I had and have need of using pacifying measures; *it is with water, and not with oil, that theological volcanoes must be calmed; it would have given me less trouble to have established the confession of Augsburg throughout my empire.*’

“Ever since the coronation, discussions had been carried on concerning the cardinal’s hats, some expressions which the Pope had allowed himself to use in his harangues on the organic laws, and the briefs relating to the penitentiary tribunals, as also concerning some circumscriptions of the bishoprics of Tuscany and Genoa, and some secret affairs relative to the kingdom of Italy; but none of these discussions directly occupied the two sovereigns; they were constantly abandoned to the care of the chanceries, which treated all these affairs with moderation and wisdom.

“The carrying off the Pope was neither foreseen nor ordered by the Emperor; it was a personal act of General Miollis, an old republican who was at the head of the troops stationed in the states of the church.

“The disputes between the cabinet of the Tuileries and that of the Holy See were never caused by any religious question; they were entirely political, and date from the year 1805—a period at which the squadrons of the coalition threatened the shores of Italy with an Anglo-Prussian debarcation.

“The arming of Ancona was included in the general plan for the defence of Italy. The Emperor commissioned his ambassador at Rome to demand it from the Holy See. He made offers of an offensive and defensive alliance between the king of Italy and the court of Rome. The Pope refused, and answered: ‘that as father of the faithful he could enter into no league against his children, and neither could nor would make war against any one.’ The Emperor replied: ‘The history of the Popes is full of accounts of their leagues with the emperors, the kings of Spain, and the kings of France. Julius II. commanded armies: in 1797, I, General Bonaparte, defeated the army of Pius VI., which was fighting among the ranks of the Austrians against the French republic, and since, in our days, the banners of St. Peter could float, without any derogation to their sanctity, beside the eagles of Austria; they may well float over the walls of Ancona, as allies of the eagle of France. Nevertheless, out of respect to the scruples of the holy father, I consent that the treaty of alliance shall be confined to the case of an attack from the infidels or heretics.’

“Events succeeded each other rapidly in this time of deadly struggle between England and France. Ancona must be occupied at any price; the safety of the kingdom of Italy depended upon this being done; General Miollis received orders to garrison it, and was charged with the defence of the marches and legations. The nuncio quitted Paris immediately on

hearing of this arrangement, and, though minister of the smallest existing temporal power, unhesitatingly declared war against the colossal French empire. The cabinet of the Tuileries affected not to consider itself at variance with Rome and instructed its ambassador to make no change in his diplomatic relations with the Holy See.

“The battle of Esling, for a moment, revived the hopes of the coalition.

“The exasperated feelings of the people manifested themselves very strongly in several districts of the states of the church, and General Miollis with alarm saw himself exposed to the fanaticism of a people roused by the holy name of religion. His troops, extended along a line of sixty leagues in extent, amounted to scarcely 6000 men, and in Rome itself, he had less than 1500 to keep that great city under authority. His position was very critical. He recollected the sinister examples of the massacres of Verona, in 1797, and of Rome, in 1798, when General Duphot fell under the daggers of the dregs of the populace, who had been exasperated by the priests; and he saw no prospect of safety but in one of those extraordinary and unforeseen measures which are sometimes taken. General Miollis did not recoil from the fearful responsibility of violating the supreme majesty of the Pope; yet he was still hesitating, when he received a letter signed by the queen of Naples, advising and even authorizing him to adopt this measure; from this moment his hesitation vanished—he carried off the Pope in the middle of the night, and sent him to Florence. The effect of this measure was sudden as a thunderbolt—a most profound stupor reigned throughout the town and in the mountains, instead of the threatening effervescence of the previous evening.

“The Grand Duchess of Tuscany was not a little astonished that a general should dare to act thus without the Emperor’s orders, and became naturally alarmed at the part of the responsibility which would rest on her, if the Pope remained in Tuscany; she sent courier after courier to the imperial head-quarters, requiring General Miollis to send the cortège along the sea shore into the states of Genoa. The Pope was conducted to Savona.

“Nothing could equal the displeasure of the Emperor; he immediately understood all the difficulties which would arise, and his first act was to order the Pope to be taken back to the Vatican. But all the dreams of General Bonaparte, all the projects of the Emperor concerning Italy received from this carrying off of the Pope the possibility of being realized. Of the three obstacles which had always been opposed to the *unity of Italy*, two had disappeared, by the will of the Emperor; the third, the only one which his thoughts had but timidly approached, the residence of the vicars of Jesus Christ at Rome, was now removed by one of those inexplicable combinations of destiny which sometimes occur, and which now transported the chair of St. Peter from the banks of the Tiber to those of the Seine. Paris would be the capital of the great empire, and the residence of the sovereign pontiff of 80,000,000 Catholics. The spiritual power of the Popes would naturally be strengthened by the support of the great temporal power of the Emperor; the golden days of the church would be revived. The removal of the Popes was a fact gained to the fortune of the empire; Napoleon accepted it; it was on this occasion that he wrote to the Abbé Duvoisin, Bishop of Nantes, whose great merit he held in high estimation, and with whom he corresponded, in the following words:

“Let your mind be perfectly easy; the policy of my state is intimately connected with the maintenance of the Pope’s power: I must make him

more powerful than ever : he will never have as much power as my policy would lead me to give him.' ”

The Bishop of Nantes preached the catholic religion by the wisdom of his reasonings and the excellence of the morality which he professed. In his discussions, he abandoned everything which it was difficult for reason to admit, and thus placed himself on an excellent ground on which to argue with his adversaries. He was a contemporary of Diderot, of D’Alembert, and of the philosophers of this period, and had endeavoured, and with success, to combat their opinions ; he had gained the esteem and confidence of the Emperor, who consulted him on all questions relating to the church. The carrying off of the Pope was not an act of the Emperor’s will, but one of those accidents which often happen in politics as well as in the course of life. The whole of the imperial palace at Turin was put at the disposal of the Pope. At Savona he was lodged in the archbishop’s palace, which afforded him every convenience ; the intendant of the civil list, and the Count Salmatori provided abundantly for every thing necessary.

He remained there for several months, during which time proposals were made to him to return to Rome, if he would agree not to disturb public tranquillity, to recognize the government established in that capital, and only to occupy himself with spiritual affairs ; but, perceiving that they wished to weary him out, and that the world went on without him, he addressed briefs to the metropolitan chapters of Florence and Paris, to disturb the administration of the dioceses during the vacancies of the sees, at the same time that Cardinal Pietro sent vicars apostolic into the vacant dioceses. Then, first, did the discussions which had been carried on for five years, lose their temporal character, and begin to take concern in spiritual matters ; and this gave rise to the first and second assemblies of bishops, to the council of Paris, to the bull of 1811, and finally, to the concordat of Fontainebleau, in 1813. Nothing was yet settled concerning the temporal affairs of Rome ; this uncertainty encouraged the resistance of the Pope ; the Emperor, who had been harassed for five years by the most pitiful arguments, arising from the mixture of temporal and spiritual power, decided at length to separate them for ever, and no longer to allow the Pope to be a temporal sovereign. Jesus Christ had said : “ *My kingdom is not of this world ;* ” though heir to the throne of David, he had wished to be pontiff and not king.

In the beginning of the year 1810, Napoleon passed a decree uniting Rome to the empire. He made arrangements on the most liberal scale for everything relating to the temporal concerns of the Pope and cardinals, and caused the senate to issue the following decree :

“ *CLAUSE I.—Concerning the Annexation of the States of Rome to the Empire.*

“ 1stly. The state of Rome is annexed to the empire, and forms an integral part of it. 2ndly. It will form two departments, that of Rome, and that of Trasimene. 3rdly. The department of Rome will send seven deputies to the legislative body, that of Trasimene four. 4thly. The department of Rome will be classed in the first series, that of Trasimene in the second. 5thly. A senatorship will be established in the departments of Rome and Trasimene. 6thly. The city of Rome is the second city in the empire. The mayor of Rome will, on his appointment, take the oath of

allegiance to the Emperor; he will thus, as well as the deputies of the city of Rome, rank on all occasions next after the mayors and deputies of Paris. 7thly. The heir-apparent of the Imperial Crown will bear the title of King of Rome, and receive the honours due to this rank. 8th. There will be at Rome a prince of the blood, or a high dignitary of the empire, who will hold the court of the Emperor. 9thly. The estates which will form the dotation of the Imperial Crown, conformably to the decree of the 30th of January last, will be regulated by a special decree. 10thly. The Emperors, after having been crowned in the church of Notre Dame, in Paris, will be crowned in the church of St. Peter, in Rome, before the tenth year of their reigns. 11thly. The city of Rome will enjoy such particular privileges and immunities as shall be determined by the Emperor Napoleon.

*“CLAUSE II.—Concerning the Independence of the Imperial Throne of all other Authority. .*

“12thly. Any temporal sovereignty is incompatible with the exercise of spiritual authority in the interior of the empire. 13thly. Immediately on their elevation to the chair of St. Peter, the popes will take an oath never to oppose in any way the four propositions of the Gallican church, decreed in the assembly of the clergy, in 1682. 14thly. The four propositions of the Gallican church are declared common to all the Catholic churches of the empire.

*“CLAUSE III.—Concerning the Temporal Affairs of the Pope.*

“15thly. Palaces will be prepared for the Pope in the various places of the empire where he may wish to reside; he will necessarily have one at Paris, and one at Rome. 16thly. A revenue of two millions of francs, arising from rural possessions, and free of all impost, and six millions in various other parts of the empire, will be assigned to the Pope. 17thly. The expenses of the sacred college, and of the propaganda, are declared imperial. 18thly. The present organic decree will be transmitted to His Majesty the Emperor and King.”

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During all this time, the deputations of bishops had always instructions to make proposals to the Pope for his return to Rome, provided he would acknowledge the temporal government which had been established there, and would occupy himself solely with spiritual affairs; but he constantly refused.

Napoleon understood the interests of the church; they were constantly united in his thoughts with those of the crown; and to him the catholic church owes the power which, during the last forty years, it has regained in France. The concordat of 1801 excited violent passions against the First Consul; celebrated generals raised their voices, and accused him of betraying the republic; one of them, the general who commanded the Grenadiers of the guard, dared to carry his reproaches even into the palace; but his excitement soon vanished, as by magic, before the paternal mildness with which Napoleon listened to him; and that very evening he set out on some diplomatic mission for Lisbon. Madame de Staël had placed herself at the head of the *saloon* malcontents, and said at the same



time to the republicans : " You have but a moment ; to-morrow, the tyrant will have 40,000 priests for his *Seides*."

Napoleon showed in his disputes with the Holy See, more patience than accorded with his situation and character, and if he sometimes employed sarcasm in his correspondence with the Pope, he was always provoked to it by the bitter style of the Roman Chancery, which expressed itself in the same manner as might have been used in the time of Louis le Debonnaire, or of the emperors of the house of Swabia ; a style so much the more out of place as it was addressed to a man eminently well-informed concerning the wars and affairs of Italy, and who knew all the temporal intrigues of the popes by heart. The court of Rome might have avoided all these disputes, by frankly annexing itself to the great system of France—closing its ports against the English, summoning some French battalions to the defence of Ancona, and, in short, maintaining tranquillity in Italy.

As regards spiritual questions, no others were discussed between the Emperor and the Pope, except those laid down in the two verbal processes—that of the two ecclesiastical commissions, and that of the council of Paris ; the only important question was that concerning the bishops.

The Pope rendered him justice ; and when he heard of the disembarkation at Cannes, he said to Prince Lucien, with a manner that marked his confidence—" The Emperor having disembarked and arrived, you will go to Paris. This is well ; make my peace with him ; I am at Rome ; he shall never have any annoyance from me."

Man, launched into life, asks himself—" Whence do I come ? What am I ? Whither do I go ?" Mysterious questions, which draw him towards religion ; we all hasten towards it—our natural inclination urges us so to do. We believe in the existence of God, because everything around us proclaims it ; the greatest minds have believed in it—Bossuet, Newton, Leibnitz.

We have need of believing, and without doubt believe most frequently without exercising our reason ; faith becomes wavering as soon as we begin to reason ; but even then we say in our hearts—" Perhaps I shall again believe blindly ; God grant it !" For we feel that this must be a great happiness, an immense consolation in adversity and in great trials, and even in accidental suggestions of immorality.

The virtuous man never doubts of the existence of God ; for if his reason does not suffice to comprehend it, the instinct of his soul adopts the belief. Every intimate feeling of the soul is in sympathy with the sentiments of religion.

When Napoleon received the supreme power, his mind became occupied with the great elements of the social body ; he recognized all the importance of religion—he resolved to re-establish it ; but it would be difficult to believe all the resistance he had to overcome in order to attain his object, and to re-erect the altars of Catholicism. The council of state was not favourable to the concordat. The greater part of its members, those who held the highest places in public esteem, only gave way after taking a resolution to become Protestants, in order to remain independent of Rome, if the church again took up the sceptre which the revolution had broken.

The disposition of the public mind was then tending strongly towards reform. But besides that the First Consul himself firmly maintained his natal religion, the highest political motives for re-establishing it existed. What advantage would he have gained by proclaiming Protestantism ? He

would have awakened religious fanaticism and created new parties, when the first aim of his ambition was to abolish them in France, and rally the French people beneath the banner of national interest. Parties, under whatever denomination they may rank, weaken the social system, and give favourable opportunities to the intrigues of foreigners. None of these dangers were to be feared from the re-establishment of Catholicism. Catholicism had, besides, the great advantage of gaining the favour of the Holy See; and from that time what an influence would it have!—what a lever of opinion on eighty millions of catholics! During his disputes with the vatican, Napoleon had never, either as First Consul or as Emperor, touched upon points of dogma. The Pope had dispensed the Emperor from public communion, and by this determination showed him the value of the sincerity of his religious faith. A council of cardinals had been held on this subject; the most of them had strongly insisted on his receiving the communion in public, and said, that his example would be of great importance to the church, and that he ought to give it. The Pope answered, that if he only performed this action as he would a part of a ceremonial, it would be a sacrilege: “I cannot desire that he should do this—my conscience opposes it. Napoleon is not, perhaps, favourably disposed to it. A time will doubtless come, when faith will urge him to perform this act of devotion. In the meantime, let us not load either his conscience or our own.”

Pius VII. was personally attached to the Emperor; their private intimacy was never interrupted by their disputes as sovereigns; and to this esteem and this mutual affection must be attributed the concluding of the concordat of Fontainebleau, by which the Pope renounced all temporal sovereignty.

The Pope left Paris after the coronation, without having obtained the reward which he thought he had merited. He demanded the execution of the famous donation of Countess Matilda, and showed the Emperor some letters, written by Louis XIV., who, in the last years of his reign, had thus compromised the honour of the crown of France. The Emperor, after having read the letters, threw them into the fire, instead of giving them back to the Pope, who stood in amazement at this act of power.

To have executed the donation would have been to sacrifice the interests of the empire in order to pay a debt of personal gratitude; and *that* nothing in the world could have persuaded Napoleon to do. The sacred college became hostile to him, and Rome was thenceforth the centre of all the plots woven against him.

Fanatic priests proclaimed in the senate bulls and letters of the Pope; they represented the Emperor as excommunicated by the vicar of Jesus Christ. A Monsieur Franchet, director of the posts in a department on the frontiers of Savoy, was the intermediate link of all these clandestine webs; and the son of a former minister of religious affairs, who was himself a councillor of state, charged, *per interim*, with their administration, knew all, without informing the Emperor of it. The prefect of Lyons was the first who gave him any intimation of these proceedings. It was necessary to give some example which should stop these madmen; the Emperor wished to give it paternally; he could not resolve to punish as he deserved, the son of a virtuous man, whom he had numbered among his friends.

But when, at the next sitting of the Council of State, he saw Monsieur Portalis enter and take his seat as if he had nothing to reproach himself with, Napoleon could not restrain his indignation. “Monsieur Portalis,” said he, “is it your religious principles which have induced you to betray your duty to your sovereign? But should this be so, why come and seat

yourself in my council of state? I do violence to the conscience of no one; did I force you to become one of my councillors of state? Was it not rather a signal favour which you solicited from me? You are the youngest here, and perhaps the only one without personal claims; I only saw in you the heir to your father's services. You swore allegiance to me. How can your religion accord with the flagrant violation of an oath? Speak, however; you are here as in a family circle; your colleagues will judge you. Your fault is great—very great! A murderous conspiracy is rendered abortive as soon as we seize the poniard in the hand of the assassin; but a moral conspiracy is a train of powder.

"I have surrounded myself with men of all parties; I have even placed near my person *émigrés*, men from the army of Condé; and I have done this because I have confidence in French honour, and in serving me they swore allegiance to me. Since I have been at the head of affairs you are the first person who has betrayed me." Monsieur Portalis had nothing to say, but stammered out some unmeaning excuses.

The Emperor said—"Leave the room, sir; you are no longer a councillor of state."

Pius VII. had been for six months at Fontainebleau; his court was composed of the Cardinal of Bayonne, Cardinals Buffo, Rovende, Doria, and Agnani; the Bishop of Edessa; several almoners, and a staff of physicians; some French prelates, and some from the kingdom of Italy, such as Monsieur de Basal, Archbishop of Tours, Cardinal Mancey, called Archbishop of Paris, the Bishops of Nantes, Trèves, Evreux, Plaiseur, Ideltre, and Faenza.

Independently of the great question of the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, questions of comparatively secondary importance, but grave in themselves, were in discussion, and appeared insoluble in the state of exasperation in which the sacred college had for three years been. It was impossible to obtain bulls of consecration for the bishops who had been appointed to vacant sees; and what was still more important, the Pope obstinately refused to sanction the establishment of the bishoprics created by the Emperor at Hamburg, Amsterdam, and Düsseldorf, for the propagation and glory of catholicism.

The Emperor demanded, for the interest of religion, that the Holy See should be obliged to publish the bulls, as well as the concordat of 1801, within a given time, and that the sovereign should have a right, during a limited period, of nominating to the bishoprics.

The Pope's resistance to such just demands at length appeared to be weakened; the ill-will on the part of the cardinals had sensibly diminished, as letters from the Bishop of Nantes announced. The Emperor resolved upon taking a personal step in order to accomplish a complete reconciliation, which was rendered so desirable by the interests of his policy and by his religious sentiments; he relied, and with reason, on the friendship and esteem which the Pope had never ceased to exhibit towards him, notwithstanding their disputes as sovereigns.

He demanded of the Prince of Neufchatel to hold a coursing chase on his estate of Gros Bois, near Melun. While the chase was yet being actively carried on, he set out for Fontainebleau, arrived there quite unexpectedly, and presented himself to the Pope, who, moved by this unhopd-for homage, received him with great kindness, and testified a lively and friendly pleasure at his visit. Their interview lasted for several hours; and from this moment the Pope's resistance was vanquished. The conversation was car-

ried on in Italian, and bore the kindly stamp of the names by which they addressed each other—"father," and "son." The Pope agreed provisionally to the residence at Avignon, and without totally renouncing his temporal sovereignty over Rome, he consented to come to arrangements respecting compensation, and agreed to the fixing of a limited time for the expediting of the bulls. These bases being agreed upon, the Emperor immediately dictated the new concordat to which they gave rise. The Pope was present; he expressed his approbation, either by words or signs, of every one of the stipulations. The cardinals were commissioned finally to draw up the document; they were occupied four days in fulfilling this charge. On the 25th of January, 1813, the concordat was signed, in presence of the whole court of France, which had united itself to that of the holy father, in order to give the greatest possible solemnity to this ceremony. The Empress was present. All the actions and words of the Pope were so many testimonies of the joy and serenity of his mind; he seemed happy, in short, to see a good understanding re-established between himself and the Emperor.

The Cardinals of the household received magnificent presents. The Emperor loaded them with benefits; he pardoned the fourteen cardinals who were either prisoners or exiles, and the reconciliation appeared complete; on his side it was so.

- The concordat of Fontainebleau being signed, the Pope had a prospect of finding, in riches, homage, and royal pomp, more than a compensation for the loss of his temporal power. The Emperor desired to make an idol of him. Paris was to become the capital of the Christian universe, the centre of action and direction of the religious as of the political world. This would be a great means of drawing closer the ties of the federative parties of the empire.

#### "CONCORDAT AT FONTAINEBLEAU."

"His Majesty the Emperor and King, and his Holiness the Pope, wishing to put a term to the differences which have arisen between them, and to provide for difficulties which have arisen concerning several affairs of the church, have agreed to the following articles, which are to serve as a basis for a definite arrangement:

"Art. 1. His holiness will exercise the office of Pontiff in France, and in the kingdom of Italy, in the same manner, and with the same forms as his predecessors.

"Art. 2. The ambassadors and ministers of foreign powers at the court of the Pope, and the ambassadors, ministers, or *chargés d'affaires* of the Pope, who may be at foreign courts, will enjoy the same immunities and privileges as were enjoyed by the diplomatic body.

"Art. 3. The domains of the holy father which have not been alienated, will be exempt from all kinds of imposts; they will be administered by his agents or *chargés d'affaires*. Those which have been alienated will be replaced by a revenue of two millions of francs.

"Art. 4. During the six months following the usual notification of the nomination by the Emperor to archbishoprics and bishoprics of the empire, and of the kingdom of Italy, the Pope will give the canonical institution, conformably to the concordats and in virtue of this present. The previous inquiry will be made by the metropolitan bishop. Should the six months elapse without the Pope's having granted the institution, the metropolitan,

or, in default of him, the oldest bishop of the province, will proceed to consecrate the nominated bishop, so that by this means a see may never be vacant longer than a year.

"Art. 5. The Pope will have the right of nomination to ten bishoprics, either in France or in the kingdom of Italy; these ten will be afterwards agreed upon.

"Art. 6. The six suburban bishoprics will be re-established. The Pope will have the right of nomination to them. Their existing possessions will be restored, and measures will be taken with regard to such as have been sold. On the decease of the bishops of Agnani and Rieté, their dioceses will be annexed to the said six bishoprics, conformably to an arrangement which will be made between his majesty and the holy father.

"Art. 7. With regard to those bishops of the Roman states, who may from circumstances be absent from their bishoprics, the holy father may exercise in their favour his right of giving bishoprics *in partibus*. A pension equal to the revenue which they enjoyed will be given them, and their vacant sees, either in France or the kingdom of Italy, may be filled.

"Art. 8. His majesty and his holiness will come to an agreement at an opportune time, concerning the reduction to be made, if necessary, in the bishoprics of Tuscany and Genoa, as well as concerning the bishoprics to be established in Holland, and the Hanseatic departments.

"Art. 9. The propaganda, the penitentiary's court, and the archives, will be established in the place of the residence of the holy father.

"Art. 10. His majesty restores to his favour those cardinals, bishops, priests, and laymen, who have incurred his displeasure during the present events.

"Art. 11. The holy father gives his approbation to the above articles through consideration of the present state of the church, and confidently relies on his majesty's powerful aid in administering to the many necessities of religion in the times in which we live.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON.

"POPE PIUS VII.

"Fontainebleau, January 25th, 1813."

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#### "DECREE OF THE 25TH OF MARCH, 1813.

"Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy, Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, Mediator of the Swiss Confederation, &c. &c.

"We have decreed, and decree, as follows:

"Art. 1. The concordat signed at Fontainebleau, which regulates the affairs of the church, and which was published as a law of the state, on the 13th of February, 1813, is obligatory upon the archbishops, bishops, and chapters of France, who will be bound to conform to it.

"Art. 2. As soon as we shall have nominated any ecclesiastic to a vacant bishopric, and shall have made known our nomination to the holy father, in the form laid down by the concordat, our minister of religious affairs will send an announcement of the nomination to the metropolitan, or, in default of him, to the oldest bishop of the ecclesiastical province.

"Art. 3. The person whom we shall have nominated will address him-

self to the metropolitan, who will make the necessary inquiries, and will inform the holy father of the result.

"Art. 4. Should the person nominated come under the head of some ecclesiastical exclusion, the metropolitan will immediately send us information of the fact; but in case no such motive of exclusion exists, if the institution has not been accorded by the Pope within six months after the notification of our nomination, the metropolitan, conformably with the terms of Art. 4 of the concordat, will be bound to institute the said person in his bishopric, with the assistance of the bishops of the province.

"Art. 5. Our imperial courts of justice will take cognisance of all affairs known under the name of 'appeals against abuses,' as well as of all such as result from the non-execution of the laws of the concordats.

"Art. 6. Our chief judge will present, to be discussed in our council, a plan for a law which shall determine the legal procedures and punishments applicable to these matters.

"Art. 7. Our kingdoms of France and Italy are charged to execute this present decree, which will be inserted in the archives of the laws.

(Signed)

"NAPOLEON."

The emperor wished to give great importance to the curates; he wished to render them useful in forwarding the development of social intelligence. The more enlightened and well-informed they are, the less do they seek to abuse their ministry. To their course of theology, the Emperor would have added elementary courses of agriculture, of the useful arts, and of a practical knowledge of medicine and law. They would then truly have been a providence to their flocks; and as he would have made them entirely independent with respect to fortune, they would have formed a very respectable and worthy class of society, and would have enjoyed great consideration; they would not have possessed the power of the feudal seigniorial clergy, but they *would* have possessed, and that without danger, all its influence. A curate would have been the natural mediator of peace, the true moral head, who would have directed the lives of his parishioners.

If we remember that in addition to the instruction thus acquired at the seminaries, the priests would have to pass through their probation and noviciate, which, in some measure, guarantee the vocation, and suppose good dispositions of heart and mind, we are inclined to declare that such a class of pastors distributed among the people, would have brought about a moral revolution entirely to the advantage of civilization. The Emperor had already several times expressed, in the council of state, an opinion that it would be well to abolish the council of the ministers of religious affairs, and had exposed, in order to strengthen his argument, the impropriety of placing the priests in a position in which they were obliged to bargain about the sacred and yet indispensable acts of their office. He wished to replace their casual income by a great increase of salary. A curate would have had at least 6000 francs income. To make up for this, however, the number would have been reduced, and the small parishes, which are for the most part only so in name, would only have had chapels of ease.

To have rendered the offices of religion gratuitous, would have been to increase its dignity and its charitable nature, and to do much for the mass of the people. All are born, many marry, all die. Why, then, should not the expense of religious assistance in these various phases of life be looked upon as a charge of the state, and be included in the list of general taxes?

In principle, convents are useless, and are examples of debasing indolence. There are, however, certain things to be said in their favour; therefore, to tolerate them, to restrict them to a useful number, and only to permit annual vows, is the best policy for France in this respect; for an empire like that of France can and ought to have Trappists. No law could, without revolting tyranny, enforce the practices which they observe, but these very practices sometimes form the delight of him who voluntarily imposes them on himself. The monastery on Mount Cenis was re-established by the First Consul, because the monks were found useful, and heroic in their efforts for the safety of travellers. The monks would perhaps be by far the best of the instructing bodies, if they could be properly kept in check.

But there is a religious society, the tendency of which is highly dangerous, and which should never have been admitted into the territories of the empire—viz., the Society of Jesus. Its doctrines are subversive of all monarchical principles. The General of the Jesuits desires to be sovereign master, the sovereign of sovereigns. Everywhere that the Jesuits are tolerated, they strive for power, at any price. Their society is by nature fond of ruling, and nourishes, therefore, an irreconcilable hatred of all existing power. Any action, any crime, however atrocious it may be, is meritorious, if committed for the interest of the society, or by the orders of its General. The Jesuits are all men of talent and learning. They are the best existing missionaries, and would be, were it not for their ambition of ruling, the best instructing body, for the propagation of civilization and the development of its progress. They may be of service in Russia for some years longer, because the first need of that empire is civilization.

Another religious interest had attracted the attention of the Emperor, because it might have been brought to have an influence on the increase of national riches. Millions of Jews were scattered over the earth—their riches were incalculable; France might hope to attract them to her dominions by giving them equal rights in the empire with the catholics and protestants, and by rendering them good citizens; the reasoning on this subject was simple. Their Rabbins taught them that they should not practise usury in transactions with their own people, and that it was only permitted to exercise it towards the Christians; the moment they were placed on an equality of rights with the other subjects of the Emperor, they would regard him as they would have done Solomon or Herod, as the chief of their nation, and consider the rest of his subjects as brethren, of tribes similar to theirs; they would enjoy all the rights of the country, and would think it but just that they should share the charge of paying the imposts, and submit to conscription. The Emperor realized his projects on this point.

The French army gained many good soldiers, great riches poured into France, and much more would have been brought to it, had it not been for the events of 1814, because the Jews would all have successively come and established themselves in a country where equality of rights was secured to them, and where the door to honours was open to their ambition. The Emperor wished to tolerate all religions; he wished every one to think and believe in his own way, and that all his subjects—protestants, catholics, Mahometans, and even deists—should enjoy equal privileges, so that a man's religion might in no way influence his public fortune.

The Emperor proposed to hold religious sessions in the same manner as he held legislative ones. The councils of Paris would be the representa-

tives of the whole of Christendom; the Pope would preside over them, but the Emperor would open them—their sessions would be convoked and closed by his decrees, and their decisions would be approved and published by him as they would have been by the Emperor Constantine or by Charlemagne. Rome had thrown off the yoke of imperial supremacy solely through the fault of the emperors, who had allowed the popes to reside at a distance from the seat of the empire.



## CHAPTER XVI.

## CORSICA.

THE Emperor was in the mood for work ; I availed myself of it to remind him of his history of Corsica, written under the impressions of a young man of twenty, and proposed to him to re-write it, under those of his experience of things and of men ; he laughed at this courtier-like criticism, and answered : " Very well ; go and find it, and we will set to work." I give it here as he dictated it to me.

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" The history of Charlemagne is full of absurdities, which even the most learned critics have not been able to clear up. It would, then, be superfluous to attempt to discover the events which took place in Corsica during the time of that prince. Philippi, the author of the most ancient chronicle of the island, lived in the 15th century ; he was archdeacon of Aleria. Lampridi wrote at Rome, towards the end of the last century, a very voluminous history of the revolutions of this country ; he was a man of talent, and distinguished for literary acquirements. At the same period, several histories were published in Tuscany and other parts of Italy. We have, in France, a great number of writings on Corsica, under the titles of journeys, memoirs, revolutions, histories, &c. &c. Public curiosity was excited by the continued struggles of this people to free themselves from oppression, and to declare and maintain their independence.

" The African Arabs ruled for a long time in Corsica. The arms of this kingdom are still a death's head, with a band over the eyes, on a white ground. The Corsicans distinguished themselves at the battle of Estié, where the Saracens were defeated, and obliged to renounce their designs upon Rome. There are some who think that this shield was given them by Pope Leo II., as a testimony of their valour.

" Corsica is said to have formed a part of the dotation of Constantine, and of that of Charlemagne ; but what is more certain, is, that it formed a part of the Countess Matilda's inheritance. The Colonnas of Rome affirm, that in the 9th century, one of their ancestors wrested Corsica from the hands of the Saracens, and became its king. The Colonnas of Istria and Cuierca have been acknowledged by the Colonnas of Rome and by the genealogists of Versailles ; but the historical fact of the sovereignty of a branch of the Colonna family in Corsica, is not the less a problem. This much, however, is certain, that Corsica formed the twelfth kingdom recognised in Europe, a title of which these islanders were extremely proud, and which they never would renounce. It was in virtue of this title that

the Doge of Genoa wore the royal crown ; and at the moment when they were the most zealous for their liberty, they reconciled these opposite ideas by proclaiming the Holy Virgin their queen.

"We find traces of this in the deliberations of several councils, among the rest, in that which was held at the Convent de la Vinsalosea.

"Like the rest of Italy, Corsica was under the rule of the feudal system ; every village had its superior lord : but the enfranchisement of the commonalties in this island preceded the general movement, which took place in Italy in the 11th century, by fifty years.

"There are still to be seen, on steep rocks, ruins of castles which tradition points out as the places of refuge of the superior lords during the war of the commonalties in the 12th, 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries. The district called that of the Liamone, and especially the province of La Rocca, exercised the principal influence in the affairs of the island.

"But during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries, the parishes called the districts of the commonalties, or otherwise of the Castagnichia, in their turn preponderated in the councils or assemblies of the nation.

"Pisa was the nearest town of the mainland to Corsica ; it was the first which carried on commerce with this island, established settlements there, insensibly extended its influence, and finally brought the whole island under its government. Its administration was mild, and suited the wishes and opinions of the islanders, who served it with zeal in its wars with Florence. The enormous power of Pisa was destroyed by the battle of Malaria. On its ruins arose the power of Genoa, which inherited the commerce of Pisa. The Genoese established themselves in Corsica ; this was the commencement of the misfortunes of the country, which constantly increased.

"The senate of Genoa not having found the way of engaging the affection of the inhabitants, sought to weaken and divide them, and to keep them in ignorance and poverty.

"The picture drawn by the Corsican historians of the crimes of the administration of the oligarchs of Genoa, is one of the most hideous presented by the history of mankind ; and there are, therefore, but few examples to be found of a hatred and antipathy equal to that nourished by the islanders against the Genoese.

"France, though so close a neighbour to Corsica, never made any claims to it. It has been said, that Charles Martel sent one of his lieutenants thither to fight the Saracens ; but this is very apocryphal. It was Henry II. who first sent an army there, under the command of Marshal Cherusco, of the celebrated San Pietro Ornano, and of one of the Unsins, but they only remained a few years in the island.

"Andreas Doria, although very aged, having passed his 85th year, recovered the island for his country.

"Spain, divided into several kingdoms and solely occupied with its war against the Moors, had no designs upon Corsica till very lately, and was, even then, diverted from them by its wars in Sicily.

"The parishes of the districts of the commonalties, Rostino, Campagnani, Orezza, and La Peuta, were the first to revolt against the government of Genoa ; the other parishes of La Castagnichia, and insensibly all the other provinces of the island followed their example. This war, which commenced in 1729, was terminated in 1769 by the annexation of Corsica to the French monarchy ; the struggle lasted forty years. The Genoese levied Swiss armies, and had several times recourse to the great European powers, by taking auxiliary troops into their pay. It was thus that the

Emperor of Germany first sent Baron Wachtendorf into Corsica, and afterwards the Prince of Würtemberg; and that Louis XV. sent Count Boissieux, and afterwards Marshal Maillebois, thither. The Genoese and Swiss armies suffered defeats. Wachtendorf and Boissieux were also defeated; the Prince of Würtemberg and Maillebois obtained some victories and subdued the country; but they left the spark among the ashes; and immediately on their departure the war broke out with fresh fury. The old Giafferi, the canon Orticone, a cunning and eloquent man, Hyacinthe Paoli, Cianaldi, Gaforio, were successively at the head of affairs, which they conducted with more or less success, but always with fidelity, and under the inspiration of the most noble sentiments. The sovereign power was in the hands of a council composed of deputies from the parishes. This council determined war and peace, and decreed the taxes and levies of militia; no paid troops were maintained; but all citizens capable of bearing arms were inscribed in three lists in every commonalty; they marched against the enemy at the summons of their chief. Each individual supported the expenses of his own arms, ammunition, and provisions.

"It is difficult to understand the policy of Genoa at this period. Why such obstinacy in a struggle which was so burdensome to her? she ought either to have renounced Corsica or have contented its inhabitants.

"If she had inscribed the principal families of the island in the Golden Book, and had adopted a system entirely opposed to that in which she had succeeded so ill, and which she was not sufficiently powerful to maintain, she would have conciliated the Corsicans and attached them to her government. This opinion was often expressed in the senate: 'The Corsicans are more in a condition to take possession of Genoa, than you are to take possession of their mountains. Attach these islanders to you by a just government; flatter their ambition and their vanity; you will by this means have a seminary for good soldiers, who will be useful in guarding your capital, and you will preserve settlements so advantageous to your commerce.'

"The proud oligarchy replied: 'We cannot treat the Corsicans more favourably than the two nations of the two rivers; the Golden Book would become principally filled with the names of provincial families. This would be a total subversion of our constitution; in proposing it, you propose to us to abandon the heritage of our fathers. The Corsicans are not formidable; it is to our errors that they owe all their success; with more wisdom, it will be an easy matter for us to subdue this handful of rebels, who have neither artillery, discipline nor order.'

"In all the councils (there were some years in which several were held) the Corsicans published manifestoes, in which they detailed their causes of complaint, both old and new, against their oppressors; their object was to interest Europe in their cause, and at the same time to excite the patriotism of the people.

"Several of these manifestoes, drawn up by Orticone, are full of energy, good reasoning, and the most noble and elevated sentiments.

"False ideas are entertained respecting King Theodore. Baron Neuchoff was a Westphalian; he landed on the coast of Aleria, bringing four transport vessels laden with guns, powder, and shoes. The expenses of this store were borne by Dutch private persons and speculators. This unexpected aid, arriving at a moment when the Corsicans were discouraged, seemed to descend from heaven. The chiefs proclaimed the German baron king, and represented him to the people as a prince of Europe, who was a

guarantee to them of the powerful aid which they would receive. This proceeding had the desired effect, it influenced the multitude for eighteen months; its influence was then spent, and Baron Neuchoff returned to the Continent. He re-appeared several times on the coast, bringing important aid, which he owed to the court of Sardinia and the Bey of Tunis.

"This is a curious episode of this memorable war, and shows what various resources were at the command of the leaders of the Corsicans.

"In the year 1775, Pascal Paoli was declared first magistrate and general of Corsica. He was the son of Hyacinthe Paoli, had been educated in Naples, and was now a captain in the service of the King Don Carlos.

"The parish of Rostino named him its deputy to the council of Alesani. His family was very popular. He was tall, young, well-made, well-informed, and eloquent. The council was divided into two parties; the one proclaimed Paoli chief and general; this party was composed of the warmest patriots, and those who were the most disinclined to any accommodation. The more moderate party supported, in opposition to him, Matras, deputy of Fiumarbo. The two deputies quarrelled on the subject and fought; Paoli was defeated and obliged to shut himself up in the convent of Alesani. His cause seemed to be lost, he was surrounded by the partisans of his rival. But as soon as the news of Paoli's situation arrived in the parishes of the commonalties, all the mountain tops were immediately lighted up with alarm fires; the caverns and forests resounded with the terrible blasts of the trumpet; this was the signal of war. Matras attempted to get the start of these formidable troops; he assaulted the convent; being himself of an impetuous character, he advanced in the foremost rank and fell mortally wounded. From this moment all parties united in acknowledging Paoli; a few months afterwards the council of Alesani was acknowledged by all the parishes. Paoli displayed talent; he conciliated the minds of the people; he governed by fixed principles, established schools and a university, and gained the friendship of Algiers and of the people of Barbary; he formed a navy of light vessels; had correspondents in the maritime towns, and took possession of the island of Capraja, from which he expelled the Genoese, who were not without some fears that the Corsicans would land on the banks of their river. He did all that it was possible to do, under existing circumstances, and among the nation which he ruled. He was about to take possession of the five ports of the island, when the senate of Genoa, in alarm, had again recourse to France. In 1764, six French battalions were sent to guard the maritime cities, and under their ægis, these places continued to recognise the authority of the senate.

"The French garrisons remained neuter, and took no part in the war, which continued to be waged between the Corsicans and the Genoese. The French officers loudly expressed opinions greatly favourable to the islanders and opposed to the oligarchs, and this circumstance completed the alienation of the inhabitants of the cities from the Genoese. In the year 1768, the French troops were to return to France; this moment was awaited with impatience; no trace of the authority of Genoa remained in the island; when at this juncture the Duke of Choiseul conceived the idea of annexing Corsica to France. This acquisition appeared to him important, as being a natural dependence of Provence, and as being fitted to protect the commerce of the Levant, and to favour the future operations of the French in Italy.

"After long deliberation the senate consented to this measure, and Spinola, the Genoese ambassador at Paris, signed a treaty by which it was

agreed that the King of France should subdue and disarm the Corsicans, and govern them until such time as the republic should be able to repay him the advances which this war would have cost him. Now, more than 30,000 men would be required in order to subdue and disarm the island, and it would be necessary to maintain numerous garrisons there for several years; and the expense of all this would necessarily amount to a sum which the republic of Genoa would neither be able nor willing to repay.

"Both the contracting parties were well aware of this fact; but the oligarchs thought by this stipulation to save their honour, and to ward off the odium which, in the eyes of all Italy was thrown upon them by their so lightly yielding a part of their territory to a foreign power. Choiseul saw, in this turn of the affair, a means of deluding England, and of retracing his steps, if necessary, without compromising the honour of France. Louis XV. wished to avoid a war with England.

"The French minister opened a negotiation with Paoli; he demanded of him that he should persuade his countrymen to acknowledge themselves subjects of the French king, and that he should, conformably to a wish which had been sometimes expressed by former councils, freely acknowledge Corsica to be a province of the kingdom. In return for this condescension, he offered Paoli fortune and honours; and the noble and generous character of the French minister could leave the Corsican no cause of uneasiness on this point. Paoli rejected these offers with disdain; he convoked the council, and exposed to its members the critical state of affairs; he did not conceal from them that it would be impossible to resist the arms of France, and that but a vague hope existed of the interference of England. There was but one cry in the assembly—*Liberty or Death!* Paoli exhorted them not to engage rashly in this affair, demonstrating that such a struggle should not be undertaken without reflection, and in a fit of enthusiasm. A young man of twenty, a deputy in the council, made a speech full of energy, which completed the already enthusiastic tendency of the assembly. He had just come from Rome and Pisa, and was filled with the enthusiasm which is aroused by reading the ancient classical authors and which reigned in these schools. 'If, to be free, it were sufficient to desire it, all the nations of the earth would be so. And yet but few of them have attained to the blessings of liberty, because but few have possessed the necessary energy, courage, and virtue.' Others added that, brought up as they had been for forty years among arms, they had seen their parents and their children perish in the struggle for the independence of their country, a blessing bestowed on them by nature, which had isolated them from all other nations.

"They all seemed indignant that France, which had so often acted the part of a mediator in their quarrels with Genoa, and had always professed the most disinterested motives, should now come forward as a party in the affair, and pretend to believe that the government of Genoa could sell the Corsicans like a herd of cattle, and against the tenor of the *facta conventa*.

"Maillebois had, in the year 1738, levied the royal Corsican regiment, formed of two battalions, and consisting entirely of Corsicans. The French carried on a communication, through the officers, with the principal chiefs of this regiment. Many of them showed themselves above corruption; but some yielded, and made a merit of advancing to meet a domination which was henceforth inevitable.

"In order to justify themselves and to make proselytes they said—'Our

ancestors struggled against the tyranny of the oligarchs of Genoa; but we are now at length delivered from it for ever. If Giasseri, Hyacynthe Paoli, Gaforio, Ortecone, and all the great men who died in the defence of our rights, could now see their native country become an integral part of the most splendid monarchy of Europe, they would rejoice, and would not regret the blood which they shed in its cause! Open your records; you have always been the sport of the Pisans or the Genoese—nations, in reality, much less powerful than your own. All the ports of Provence and Languedoc will now be opened to you; you will be respected by the inhabitants of Barbary; you will be an object of jealousy to Tuscany, Sardinia, and even to Genoa itself; calling yourselves Frenchmen, you may show yourselves with pride in any part of Europe. You say that, by following this plan, we should acknowledge that Genoa had the right to sell us—this is not so. The treaties concluded between the two powers, in the secrecy of the cabinet, do not concern us. Let us fulfil the wish of the council of Calca-Sana, and spontaneously request the King of France to include us in the number of his children; he will acknowledge us by this name. Beware of the delusions of your passions; you cannot, without betraying the interests of your countrymen, engage in such an unequal contest. If you wish that the King of France should question you, he will do so; but it will then be too late to stipulate for your privileges, or to claim your rights. You will be slaves, by the incontestible right which governs the world, that of force and conquest. France is a collection of small states; Provence is not governed like Languedoc, nor Bretagne like Lorraine. You may, then, unite all the advantages of liberty and independence with those attached to a union with the most enlightened nation of Europe, and to the protection of the most powerful monarch.'

"The patriots and the mass of the people neither read the writings nor listened to the speeches of the advocates of this course of proceeding: 'We are invincible in our mountains; we have defended them against the auxiliary troops of Genoa, against the imperial army, and against the forces of France itself; let us sustain the first shock, and England will interfere. You speak of the advantages we should gain by declaring ourselves subjects of the King of France; we wish for none of them; we will be poor, but masters in our own land, governed by ourselves, and not the sport of a commissary from Versailles. You speak of stipulating for our privileges: but the French monarchy is absolute; it is founded on the principle—as the *king wills*, so the *law wills*; we should, then, find no safeguard in it against the tyranny of a subaltern. *Liberty or death.*

"The priests and the monks were the most enthusiastic. The mass of the people, and above all the mountaineers, had no idea of the power of France. Accustomed frequently to fight and repulse the feeble troops of Count Boisseux and Maillebois, nothing that they had yet seen had alarmed them. They mistook these weak detachments for French armies. The council was almost unanimous in favour of war; the people shared the same feelings.

"The treaty by which Genoa was to cede Corsica to the king, excited a general feeling of reprobation in France. When it became known, from the resolutions of the council, that France was to make war, and to put part of its forces in motion against this small nation: the *injustice* and *ungenerous character* of this war moved all minds.

"The guilt of all the blood which was about to be shed was attributed entirely to Choiseul: 'What need have we of Corsica? None. Has it

only now come into existence? And why is it only now that France turns her thoughts to it? We have but one interest in the matter—viz., that England should not establish its power in Corsica; everything else is indifferent to us. But if this war is not prescribed by necessity, it is still less so by justice. Genoa herself has no right to the island; and if she had, she could not transfer this right to a foreign power. When Francis I., by the treaty of Madrid, ceded Burgundy to Charles V., the whole province revolted, and declared that the King of France had no right to alienate; and yet this was as early as the sixteenth century. What! can men then be sold like herds of cattle! Grant to the oppressed party, in this struggle between Genoa and Corsica, a protection worthy of the exalted greatness of the king; this will attach the people to you by bonds of gratitude; it will spare you an act of injustice, a costly war, and the trouble of, for years, keeping under subjection a country discontented and ill-disposed towards your government, and which would writhe under the hand that oppressed it. Are our finances in too good a condition? or are the imposts which now weigh upon the people too light?

"This reasoning was, however, in vain; it did not arrest the proceedings of the cabinet. Lieutenant-General Chauvelin landed at Bastia, with 12,000 men under his command. He published proclamations, intimated his orders to the commonalties, and commenced hostilities. But his troops, defeated at the battle of Borgo, and repulsed in all their attacks, were compelled, at the end of the campaign of 1768, to shut themselves up in the fortresses, and only communicated with each other by the help of a few cruising frigates. The Corsicans thought themselves saved; they did not doubt that England would interfere. Paoli shared this illusion; but the English ministry, uneasy at the agitation which was beginning to show itself in the American colonies, had no desire to declare war with France. It transmitted a feeble note to Versailles, and contented itself with the yet more feeble explanations which were given. Some London clubs sent arms and money to the Corsicans; the court of Sardinia and some Italian societies secretly sent them aid; but these were but feeble resources against the formidable armament which was being prepared on the shores of Provence. The check experienced by Chauvelin had been seen with satisfaction throughout the whole of Europe, and especially in France. The French people had the good sense to see that their national glory was not at all compromised in this struggle with a handful of mountaineers. Even Louis XV. himself expressed sentiments favourable to the Corsicans; he was by no means desirous of having this new crown placed on his head; and the promoters of the scheme were obliged, in order to determine him to order preparations for a second campaign to be made, to speak to him of the joy which would be felt by the philosophers, at seeing their great king defeated by a free people, and compelled to retreat before them. The influence of this on the king's authority, said they, would be great; there were fanatics in the cause of liberty, who would see miracles in the success of so unequal a struggle. The monarch no longer deliberated.—Marshal Vaux set out for Corsica; he had 30,000 men under his command, and the ports of the island were inundated with troops. The islanders defended themselves, however, during a part of the campaign, but without hopes of success. The population of Corsica then amounted, at the most, to 150,000 inhabitants; 30,000 were taken up by the forts and the French garrisons; there remained 20,000 men fit to carry arms, but

from these must be taken all those who served under such chiefs as had treated with the agents of the French ministry.

"The Corsicans fought obstinately at the passage of the river Golo. Not having had time to destroy the bridge, which was of stone, they made use of the bodies of those who had been killed to form an intrenchment. Paoli, driven to the south of the island, embarked in an English vessel at Porto-Vecchio, landed at Livorno, traversed the Continent, and arrived in London. He was everywhere received, by sovereigns and people, with the greatest marks of admiration.

"It was not possible, without doubt, to resist the army of Marshal Vaux. And yet there was a moment when he had scattered all his troops; when he had deceived himself, believing that the country was subdued and disarmed; but the fact was that none but old men, women, and children had remained in the villages, and that only old guns had been given up to him on his landing. All the strong and brave men of the island, inured to civil wars which had lasted for forty years, were wandering among the woods and caverns, and on the tops of the mountains. Corsica is a country so extraordinary, and so difficult of access, that a San Pietro, in these circumstances, would have fallen separately on all the divisions of the French army, hindered them from rallying, and compelled them to shut themselves up in the fortresses; which event must assuredly have obliged the court of Versailles to change its system. But Paoli had neither the quick sight, the promptitude, nor the military vigour required for the execution of such a plan. His brother, Clement, had he had more talent, would have been suited to the duty by his warlike virtues. Four or five hundred patriots followed Paoli, and emigrated; a great number of others abandoned their villages and houses, and continued for many years to carry on a desultory kind of war, intercepting the passage of the convoys, and of all isolated soldiers. The Corsicans called them 'patriots,' the French named them 'bandits.' They merited the latter appellation by the cruelties which they committed, though never upon their countrymen.

"In the year 1774, five years after the subjection of the island, some refugees returned thither, and raised the standard of revolt in the district of Nivlo, a parish lying on the highest mountain. The Count of Narbonne-Fritzar, lieutenant-general and commandant of the island, marched against the mountaineers with the greatest part of the garrisons. He dishonoured his character by the cruelties which he committed. Major-general Sionville rendered himself odious to the Corsicans; he burnt the houses, cut down the olive and chestnut trees, and tore up the vines; and committed all these ravages not only on the property of the bandits, but on that of their relations to the third degree. The country was a prey to terror; yet the inhabitants still secretly nourished a silent discontent.

"Notwithstanding all this ravage and destruction, the intentions of the cabinet of Versailles, were beneficent: it granted to the Corsicans freedom to have provincial assemblies or states, composed of three orders—the clergy, the nobility, and the *tiers état*. It re-established the magistracy of twelve nobles, which the Corsicans had always claimed; this was a Pisan institution, a kind of intermediary commission of the states, which regulated the taxes, and the interior government of the province. At the time of each sitting of the states, a bishop, a deputy of the nobility, and a person selected from the *tiers état*, were received at the French court, bringing directly to the king a summary of the complaints of the country. Encouragement was given to agriculture. The African company of Marseilles



was compelled to recognise some ancient customs favourable to the Corsican fishermen, with regard to the fishing for coral. Fine roads were cut through the country, and marshes drained. An attempt was even made to form colonies, consisting of inhabitants of Lorraine and Alsace, in order to give the Corsicans models of agriculture.

"The taxes were not heavy, the schools were encouraged; the children of the principal families were invited to France to be educated there. It was in Corsica that the political economists made the trial of the taxation paid in the produce of the land instead of in money.

"During the twenty years which passed between 1769 and 1789, the island gained a great deal. But all these beneficent measures did not touch the hearts of the Corsicans, who, at the time of the revolution, were as far as possible from being Frenchmen.

"A lieutenant-general of infantry, crossing the mountains, was once talking to a peasant of the ingratitude of his countrymen; he recounted to him all the good measures of the French administration: 'In your Paoli's time,' added he, 'you paid double what you do now.' 'Very true, sir, but then *we gave, now you take.*' The natural wit of these islanders exhibited itself in all circumstances. A thousand of their repartees might be cited; we take one at random. Some titled officers, travelling in the Nivlo, said one evening to their host, one of the poorest inhabitants of the district: 'Look at the difference between us Frenchmen and you Corsicans; see how we are supported and clothed!' The peasant rose, looked at them attentively, and asked each one his name. One was a marquis, another a baron, the third a chevalier. 'Bah!' replied he; 'it is true, I should like to be clothed like you; but is every one in France, a marquis, a baron, or a chevalier?'

"The revolution changed the disposition of the Corsicans; they became Frenchmen in 1790; Paoli quitted England where he had been living on a pension, granted him by the parliament, but which he now resigned. He was received by the *Constituante*, by the national guard of Paris, and even by Louis XVI. His arrival in Corsica caused a general rejoicing. The whole population hastened to Bastia to see him. His memory was extraordinary; he knew the names of all the families, *though it was with the previous generation that he had to do.* In a few days his influence was as powerful as ever. The executive council appointed him general of a division, and commander of the troops of the line in the island.

"The corps of national guards conferred the command on him; the electoral assembly made him president. He thus united, in his own person, all the offices of power. This proceeding of the executive council was by no means politic; but it must be attributed to the spirit which then reigned. However this may be, Paoli faithfully served the revolution till the 10th of August. The execution of Louis XVI. completed his rising disgust for the revolutionary government. He was denounced by the popular societies of Provence, and the convention, whose proceedings no consideration could arrest, summoned him to appear at the bar; he was approaching his eightieth year; this was desiring him to lay his own head on the scaffold; he had no resource but to appeal to his countrymen; the whole island, excited by him, rose in insurrection against the convention.

"The commissaries, representatives of the people, who were charged with the execution of the decree, arrived at this moment: all they were able to do was to retain, by the help of a few battalions, the fortresses of Bastia and Calvi. Had the decision of the course to be taken by Corsica depend-

ed on an assembly of the principal families, Paoli would not have succeeded. The excesses committed in France were generally blamed by these persons, but they thought that they were transient, that it was easy to defend themselves from them in Corsica, and that it would not be well, in order to obviate the evils of the moment, to endanger the happiness and tranquillity of the country. Paoli was astonished at the little influence he had in private conferences. Several even of those who had accompanied him to England, and who had passed the last twenty years in cursing France, were now the most averse to his designs, among others General Gentili; among the mass of the population, however, at the appeal of their old chief, there was but one cry. In a moment the flag with the death's head was hoisted on every tower, and Corsica ceased to be French. A few months afterwards, the English seized Toulon; when they were expelled from it, Admiral Hood cast anchor at San Fiorenza; he landed 12,000 men there, and placed them under the command of Nelson; Paoli added a reinforcement of 6000 men. They invested Bastia; Lacombe, St. Michel, and Gentili defended the town with the greatest intrepidity; it only capitulated at the end of a four months' siege. Calvi resisted forty days of open trenches. General Dundas, who commanded an English corps of 4000 men, and who was encamped at St. Fiorenza, refused to take part in the siege of Bastia, not wishing to compromise his troops without a special order from his government.

"And now was to be seen a strange spectacle; the king of England placing on his head the crown of Corsica, which was no doubt much surprised at finding itself side by side with the crown of Fingal.

"In the month of June, 1794, the council of Corsica, at which Paoli presided, declared that the political ties of that country with France were broken, and that the crown should be offered to the King of England. A deputation, composed of the following persons—viz., the president Galeazzi; Filippo, a native of Vescovato; Negroni, of Bastia; and Cesare Rocca, of the district of Rocca, proceeded to London, and the king accepted the crown. He named Lord Gilbert Elliot viceroy. The council, at the same time that it had determined on offering the crown to the King of England, had desired a constitution, which secured the liberties and privileges of the island; it was modelled after that of England.

"Lord Elliot was a man of merit; he had been viceroy in India; but he very soon quarrelled with Paoli. The old man had retired into the mountains; he now testified his disapprobation of the conduct of the viceroy, who was influenced by two young men, Pozzo di Borgo, and Colonna; the one was in his service as a secretary, the other as an aide-de-camp. Paoli was reproached with being of a restless character, with not being able to resolve to live as a private person, and with always endeavouring to take the state of master of the island upon himself. Yet, the influence which he had in Corsica, and which was never contested, the services which he had rendered to England in the late affair, and all the honourable and worthy points of his career and of his character, led the English minister to act towards him with circumspection and respect. Paoli had several conferences with the viceroy and the secretary of state. It was at one of these that, piqued by some observations, he said to them: "Here I am in my kingdom; I made war for two years against the King of France; I expelled the republicans; and if you violate the privileges and rights of the country, I can still more easily expel your troops." A few months after this, the King of England wrote him a letter, suitable to the circumstances, in which, ex-

pressing the interest he felt in his tranquillity and happiness, he advised him to come and finish his days in a country where he was respected, and where he had been happy. The secretary of state took this letter to Paoli, then at Porto Vecchio. Paoli felt that this was a command; he hesitated; but nothing then announced that the Reign of Terror in France was about to come to an end. The army of Italy was still in the province of Nice. By declaring war against the English, Paoli would have exposed himself to the attacks of both the belligerent parties. He submitted to his fate, and went to London, where he died in the year 1807. We must do him the justice to say, that in all his letters from England, during the last eight years of his life, he advised his countrymen never to separate themselves from France, but to associate themselves with the good and evil fortunes of that great nation. He left a considerable sum, by will, to be appropriated to the foundation of a university at Corte.

"If the English wished to preserve their influence in Corsica, they should have acknowledged its independence, consolidated the power of Paoli, and granted some slight subsidies, for the purpose of retaining a kind of supremacy, as well as the privilege of anchoring their squadrons in the principal roads, especially that of S. Fiorenza. They would then have had a point of rest in the Mediterranean, would have been able, in case of need, to levy an auxiliary body of from 5000 to 6000 brave troops, which might be employed in that sea; the ports of Corsica would have been at their service. The numerous refugees who were in France would insensibly have rallied round a national government; and France itself would easily have been brought, at the peace, to recognise a state of things which opinion had recommended to Choiseul. The Corsicans were extremely dissatisfied with the English governors; they did not understand their language, their habitual gravity, or their way of living. Men continually at table, almost always somewhat intoxicated, and not at all communicative, formed a strong contrast with the Corsican manners. The difference of religion was also a cause of repugnance. This was the first time, since the birth of Christianity, that Corsica had been profaned by a heretical worship; everything they saw confirmed them in their prejudices against the Protestant religion. This worship, devoid of ceremony, these bare and melancholy temples could not accord with southern imaginations, excited as they were by the pomp of the catholic worship, its beautiful churches, adorned with paintings, and images, and its imposing ceremonies.

"The English scattered their gold lavishly around; the Corsicans received it, but it inspired them with no feelings of gratitude.

"At this period, Napoleon entered Milan, took possession of Livorno, and collected all the Corsican refugees there, under the orders of Gentili. The excitement of the mountaineers became extreme. At a grand fête, at Ajaccio, the young Colonna, the viceroy's aide-de-camp, was accused of having insulted a bust of Paoli; he was incapable of such an action. The insurrection broke out; the inhabitants of Bogognano intercepted the communications between Bastia and Ajaccio, and surrounded the viceroy, who had marched against them with a body of troops; he was obliged to abandon his two favourites, and send them from his camp. Disguised, and escorted by their relations, they went to Bastia, by cross roads, and arrived there before the viceroy. Elliot saw that it was impossible to maintain his position in Corsica; he sought a refuge, and took possession of Porto-Ferraio. Gentili and all the officers landed, in October 1796, in spite of the English cruisers. They organised a general rising of the population.

All the crests of the mountains were covered at night with alarm fires; the harsh sound of the mountain-horn, the signal of insurrection, was heard in all the valleys. They took possession of Bastia and of all the fortresses. The English hastily embarked, and left many of their prisoners behind. The king of England wore the crown of Corsica but two years; and the affair only served to unveil the ambition of his cabinet and throw ridicule on himself. This fancy cost the treasury five millions sterling. The treasures of John Bull could not have been worse employed.

"Corsica formed the third military division of the republic. General Vaubois was appointed to the command of it. In the beginning of the year 1797, some ill-disposed persons, under pretext of religion, raised an insurrection in a part of Fiumarbo; and wishing to give the weight of a great name to their enterprise, placed General Giafferi at their head. General Vaubois marched against them, and took Giafferi prisoner; he was ninety years old, and entirely ruled by his confessor. He had been educated at Naples, where he had served, and had attained the rank of major-general; he had for eight years previous to this affair enjoyed a pension and had lived peaceably in retirement; Vaubois had him taken before a military committee, which condemned him to death; he was shot. This catastrophe drew tears from every Corsican; he was the son of the celebrated Giafferi who had led them during thirty years in the struggle for their independence; his name was eminently national. The old man should have been considered as in his second childhood, and the punishment should have been made to fall on the hypocritical monk who guided him."

"Corsica lies at a distance of twenty leagues from the coast of Tuscany, forty from that of Provence, and sixty from that of Spain. Geographically regarded, it belongs to Italy; but as this peninsula does not form a power, Corsica is very naturally an integral part of France. Its extent is about 500 leagues square; it has four maritime towns, Bastia, Ajaccio, Calvi, and Bonifaccio, 60 *dales* or valleys, 450 villages or hamlets, and three large roads, capable of containing the largest fleets—San Fiorenza, Ajaccio, and Porto-Vecchio. The island is mountainous; it is traversed from the north-west to the south-east by a high range of granite mountains, which divides the island into two; the highest peaks are always covered with snow. The three largest rivers are, the Golo, the Liamone and the Tavignano. From the high mountains there flow rivers, or torrents, which empty themselves into the sea in all directions; at their mouths there are small plains of one or two leagues in circumference. The coast on the side next Italy from Bastia to Aleria is a plain, twenty leagues long, and three or four broad. The island is wooded; the plains and hills are, or may be, covered with olive-trees, mulberry-trees, fruit-trees, orange and pomegranate trees. The backs of the mountains are covered with woods of chestnut-trees, in the midst of which lie villages which are naturally fortified by their position. On the tops of the mountains are forests of pines, fir-trees, and green oaks. The olive-trees are as large as those in the Levant; the chestnut trees are of enormous size, and the fruit is of the largest kind; the pines and fir-trees are not inferior to those of Russia in height and size; but when used as masts, they are only serviceable for three or four years; at the end of this time they have become dry and brittle, whereas the pines of Russia always retain their elasticity and suppleness; oil, wine, silk, and wood for building are four great branches of exportation which contribute to enrich this island. The population amounts at the least to 180,000; the country produces corn, chestnuts, and cattle, sufficient for their wants."

Before the invasion of the Saracens, the sea-shore was all peopled: Aleria and Mariana, two Roman colonies, were two great towns, containing each a population of 60,000 souls; but the incursions of the Mussulmen, in the seventh and eighth centuries, and afterwards that of the people of Barbary, drove the Corsicans to the mountains; the plains became uninhabited, and consequently unhealthy.

"Corsica is a fine country in the months of January and February, but in the dog-days the drought is felt; a scarcity of water occurs, especially in the plains; and the Corsicans are fond of residing on a declivity, from whence they descend, in winter, to the marshes, to pasture their cattle or to cultivate their plains.

"San Fiorenza is designed by nature for the capital of the island, the bulwark of its defence, and the centre of all the government magazines, because its roads are the largest in the island and the nearest to Toulon. This point ought to be regularly fortified; in all the other towns, only side-batteries ought to be maintained.

"The air of San Fiorenza is in the present day insalubrious—not in the roads, but at the place where the little town is situated; yet it would not be difficult to drain the marshes. A part of the population of Bastia, which is but a few leagues distant, would naturally go to this new town. In default of San Fiorenza, Ajaccio should be the capital, the centre of administration and of defence, because it is the second road on the side towards Toulon, and the nearest to it after S. Fiorenza. An Italian interest predominated in the choice of Bastia as a capital, because it is the town which lies the nearest to Italy; the direct communication from thence with France is difficult; the inhabitants are obliged to double Cape Corso; this town, besides, has no roads, and its port can only receive merchant vessels.

"To fortify any other town except S. Fiorenza or Ajaccio would be useless, since it could not be defended against an enemy who was master of the sea, and since the national guard would suffice for the defence of the interior of the island. In case of an attack, the troops of the line should collect in one maritime town, in order to prolong their defence and await succour.

"The most urgent wants of Corsica are the following: 1stly, a good rural code which should protect agriculture against the incursions of cattle, and ordain the destruction of goats; 2ndly, the draining of the marshes, in order gradually to bring back the population to the sea shore; 3rdly, premiums for the purpose of encouraging the plantation and grafting of olive and mulberry trees; they should be double for the plantations made on the sea-shore; 4thly, a just but severe police; a general and absolute privation of all arms, large and small, such as stilettos, poniards, &c.; 5thly, 200 places reserved exclusively for young Corsicans, in the lyceums, military schools, seminaries, veterinary schools, schools of agriculture, the arts and trades in France; 6thly, a regular exportation for the royal navy of building timber; and advantage should also be taken of this circumstance to found hamlets on the sea-shore, and on the skirts of the forests; for all the endeavours of the government should tend towards drawing the population down into the plains."

## CHAPTER XVII.

## MEMOIRS OF BONAPARTE WHEN YOUNG—CROWNED AT THE ACADEMY OF LYONS.

THE 1st of January, 1817, arrived, yet more melancholy than the 1st of the January preceding had been. The departure of Count Las Cases had left painful impressions on us all.

There are some anniversaries more dreary than all others, because they naturally bring back a series of recollections which force one to compare the past with the present. The 1st of January—this family festival, at which the Emperor of the Tuileries was first saluted by a wife whom he adored—by a son who was his hope—by a people whose happiness was his principal occupation—by four beings who were his brothers by blood—and, finally, by ten or twelve more who called themselves his brothers in affection—presented itself this time as a dreary gateway to a year still more dreary than that which had just passed. Instead of the Tuileries, our miserable habitation; instead of our France, so often regretted, St. Helena, so often lamented; instead of the caresses of a family, the congratulations of courtiers, the shouts of a nation, and the homage of Europe—the good wishes, though without hope, of some companions in captivity, whose numbers might at any moment be diminished by the caprice of an odious gaoler. The Emperor received with kindness our good wishes and our homage. “I believe you,” said he to us; “but I only expect from fate that death, which will terminate my misfortunes. You yourselves see that every day is marked by some new outrage; I pity you, for the more proofs you give me of your devotion, the more you must feel my sufferings. Let us hope, at least, that Mr. Lowe will allow me to pass this day without condemning me to remain shut up in my room to avoid meeting him in the garden.

“Your children shall dine with me. I wish their joy to be complete. Come, Hortense, you shall have the first present.”

The hopes of the Emperor were not, however to be realized; and the insult would forcibly have brought back his thoughts to his cruel position, had not General Gourgaud kept, till the next day, the secret of the pretended mistake, which caused him to remain for an hour the prisoner of a sentry.

One of the sentries of Hut's-gate interpreted his orders wrong, and arrested General Gourgaud, who was only set free at the expiration of this sentry's guard by the corporal who relieved him. The grand marshal hastened to Sir Hudson Lowe to complain, but obtained no other answer than the general one, that it was an error which should not be repeated; and yet a week afterwards the same error occurred. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, when a sentry, who interpreted his orders in our favour, received a hundred lashes, whilst the interpreting them against us was

merely considered as an excess of zeal, a proof of fidelity, a mark of bad intentions towards us. We learned on this occasion that Sir Hudson very frequently gave orders to the sentries during his rides, without the commanders of the detachment knowing anything of them, except by the report of the corporal who had relieved the sentinel to whom such extraordinary orders had been given, in direct opposition to the rules of military service.

We heard also, that the soldier who had arrested General Gourgaud, had received from Sir Hudson positive orders to arrest any Frenchman who should present himself at Hut's-gate to pass, except he were accompanied by an English officer, even if it should be *General Bonaparte himself*. But Hut's-gate was within our limits, which extended for more than a mile beyond this in two directions; in the third direction alone, Hut's-gate formed the boundary.

The dinner was really a family dinner; all the expenses were borne by our children, and their childish happiness awakened in the Emperor the remembrance of his youth; his first love and his first meditations on happiness returned to his recollection. He took pleasure in repeating to us his long conversations with the Abbé Raynal, in speaking to us of his correspondence with this celebrated man, and of what he had written under his inspiration. The correspondence of the Emperor with the Abbé Raynal, and the manuscript of his first literary work, had been confided by him to an inhabitant of Lyons, whose name he had forgotten. He related this to M. de Talleyrand, in one of his after-dinner chats with him under the shade of that beautiful allée of horse-chestnut trees, which began at St. Cloud, just opposite to his cabinet, and he witnessed some regret at not being able to see again these first impressions of his youth. M. de Talleyrand was too good a courtier to let such a good opportunity of doing something agreeable to his master escape him. He said nothing, but his first care on returning to Paris was to send for M. Dérenade, one of his most intimate friends, and the most suitable man in France, by reason of his acuteness, his general information, and his literary connexions, to discover the person with whom the manuscript had been deposited. A fortnight had not elapsed when M. de Talleyrand presented himself at St. Cloud, having carefully placed in his portfolio, as minister of foreign affairs, the packet which he had received from Lyons the evening before. The Emperor eagerly looked through it, and found there to his great surprise, some fragments of letters to M. Butafoco, and a republican profession of faith, under the title of "Souper de Beaucaire."

These writings bore the impression of the excitement produced in the head of a young man by the events of the revolution. He committed them to the flames; but he preserved, notwithstanding their quite as republican tendency, a history (partial) of Corsica, and a memorial of the sentiments which it was most necessary to impress upon men for their happiness. The Academy of Lyons had rewarded this treatise with a gold medal, and this homage from a learned body was a precious *souvenir* of his youth.

The manuscript concerning Corsica served him as a basis for his history of Corsica, which I shall mention further on. I give here the treatise crowned by the Academy of Lyons:

"Literary societies ought never to have been animated by any other feeling than the love of truth and honour; but there is no truth without prejudice. There are no men where kings are despotic: there is only the

slave *oppressor*, still more vile than the slave *oppressed*. This explains why literary societies, since the beginning of time, have offered the melancholy spectacle of flattery and the most disgraceful adulation.

"This explains why the really useful sciences, those of morals and of politics, have been suffered to languish in oblivion, or have been lost in a labyrinth of obscurity. They have, however, made rapid progress in latter times. This has been owing to some men of spirit who, urged forwards by their genius, have feared neither the thunder of a despot, nor the dungeons of a bastille. These rays of light illumined the atmosphere; threw a new light upon public opinion, which, proud of its rights, destroyed the enchantment which had bound the world as by a spell for so many centuries. Thus was Rinaldo restored to virtue and to himself as soon as a courageous and friendly hand held up to him the buckler, in which were traced, at the same time, his duties and his apathy.

"To what can we with more propriety compare the immortal works of these great men, than to the divine buckler of Tasso?

"The liberty thus acquired after an energetic struggle of twenty months, and the most violent exertions, will be for ever a glory to France, to philosophy, and to literature. Under these circumstances, the academy proposes to *determine those truths and feelings which it is most necessary to inculcate upon man for his happiness*. This question, really worthy of the consideration of the free man, is in itself an eulogy on the sages who have proposed it. None is more likely to answer the purpose of the founder.

"Illustrious Raynal! if in the course of a life harassed by prejudice, and the great whom thou hast unmasked, thou hast ever been constant and immovable in thy zeal for suffering and oppressed humanity, deign this day, in the midst of the applause of an immense nation, which, called by thee to liberty, renders to thee its first homage, deign to smile upon the efforts of a zealous disciple whose feeble attempts thou hast been kind enough sometimes to encourage. The question which I am about to consider is worthy of thy pencil; but without aiming at possessing its power, I have exclaimed to myself with courage, '*I too am a painter*.'

"It is indispensably necessary, in the first place, to fix clearly our ideas of happiness.

"Man is born to be happy. Nature, a beneficent mother, has endowed him with all the organs necessary to this first design of his creation. Happiness, then, is nothing more than that enjoyment of his life, which is most conformable to his organization. Men of all climates, of all sects, of all religions—are there any among you, the prejudices of whose dogmas should prevent them from acknowledging the truth of this principle? Let such, if any there be, place their right hands on their hearts, their left on their eyes, let them enter into themselves, let them consider truly and honestly—and then let them say whether they do not believe with me in this.

"We must live, then, in a manner conformable to our organization, or we can enjoy no happiness.

"Our animal organization feels certain indispensable cravings; those of eating, drinking, of procreation; nourishment, therefore, a lodging, a covering, a wife, are indispensably necessary to our happiness.

"Our intellectual organization gives rise to demands no less imperious, and the satisfaction of which is much more precious. It is in their full development that happiness is really to be sought. Perception and the rea-



soning powers form the essence of man. These are his titles to the supremacy which he has acquired, which he retains, and will retain for ever.

"Our feelings revolt against restraint, render dear to us the beautiful and the just, and disagreeable to us the oppressor and the wicked. Woe to him who does not acknowledge these truths! He knows nothing of life but the shade; he knows no pleasures but the enjoyments of sense.

"Our reasoning powers lead us to make comparisons. From reasoning arises perfection, as fruit from the tree. Reason, the inexorable judge of our actions, ought also to be their invariable guide. The eyes of reason preserve man from the precipice of his passions, in the same way as its decrees modify even the feeling of his rights. Feeling gives rise to society; reason maintains it entire.

"It is necessary for us, therefore, to eat, to drink, to procreate, to feel, and to reason, in order to live like a man; that is, in order to be happy.

"Of all the legislators whom the esteem of their fellow-citizens has raised up to give them laws, none appear to have been more convinced of these truths than Lycurgus and Paoli. It was by very different courses, however, that they have put them in practice in their legislations.

"The Lacedæmonians enjoyed an abundance of food, they had convenient habitations and dress, their wives were robust, they reasoned in their social meetings, and their government was a free one. They enjoyed their strength, their skill, their glory, the esteem of their countrymen, the prosperity of their country. These were all means of gratifying their feelings. Their affections were excited—their families, their emotions roused by the varied views and the beautiful climate of Greece; but it was principally at the sight of strength and of virtue that they felt moved. Virtue consisted in courage and strength. Energy is the life of the soul, as well as the main-spring of reason.

"The actions of a Spartan were those of a strong man; the strong man is good, the weak man wicked. The Spartan lived in a manner conformable to his organization: he was happy.

"But all this is but a dream. On the banks of the Eurotas, at the present day, resides a pasha of three tails; and the traveller, grieving over this sight, retires affrighted, almost doubting, for a moment, the goodness of the governor of the universe.

"But to conduct men to happiness, must they then be equal in means? To what point must the love of an equality of faculties be inculcated upon them? Since feeling is necessary to a happy life, what are the feelings with which they should be inspired? What are the truths which ought to be explained to them? You say, without reasoning no happiness can exist.

#### "FIRST PART.

"Man at his birth brings with him into the world a right to that portion of the fruits of the earth necessary for his subsistence.

"After the buoyancy of childhood comes the commencement of passion. He chooses from among the companions of his sports her who is to be the companion of his destiny. His vigorous arms, in connexion with his wants, demand labour; he casts a glance around him; he sees the earth, divided among a few possessors, affording the means of luxury and of superfluity. He asks himself, by what right do these people possess all this?

Why is the idler everything, the labourer almost nothing? Why have they left to me nothing of all this—to me who have a wife, an aged father and mother to maintain?

“He runs to the minister, the confidant of his secrets; he explains to him his doubts: ‘Man,’ answers the priest, ‘never reflects upon the existence of society—God conducts all—abandon yourself to Providence—this life is only a passage—all things are disposed by a justice, the decrees of which we should not seek to explain—believe, obey, never reason, and work: these are your duties.’

“A proud soul, a sensitive heart, a natural reason, cannot be satisfied with this answer. He wishes to communicate his doubts and his inquietude, and goes to the wisest man of the country—a notary. ‘Man of wisdom,’ he says, ‘they have divided the goods of the country and have given me nothing.’ The wise man laughs at his simplicity, takes him into his study, leads him from act to act, from contract to contract, from testament to testament, and proves to him the legitimacy of the division of which he complains.

“‘What! are these the titles of these gentlemen?’ he exclaims, indignantly; ‘mine are more sacred, more incontestable, more universal; they are renewed with my breathing, circulate with my blood, are written on my nerves and in my heart; they are the necessity of my existence, and above all, of my happiness.’ And with these words he seizes these papers, and casts them into the flames.

“He immediately begins to fear the powerful arm called Justice; he flees to his hut, and throws himself in violent emotion on the cold body of his father. This venerable old man, blind and paralyzed by age, seems only still to live by the forgetfulness of the great tyrant Death. ‘My father!’ he cries, ‘you gave me life, and with it a lively desire for happiness; and now, my father, robbers have divided everything among themselves, I have but my arms left; for those they could not take from me. I am condemned, then, to the most ceaseless labour, to the most degrading toil for money. Neither under the sun of August, nor during the frosts of January, will there be any repose for your son. And as the reward of such great labour, others will gather the harvest produced by the sweat of my brow! And if I could even supply all that is necessary! I must feed, clothe, lodge, and keep warm a whole family. We shall be in want of bread, my heart will be torn at every moment, my sensibility will be blunted, my reason will be obscured. Oh, my father! I shall live stupid and miserable, and perhaps wicked. I shall live unhappy. Was I born for this?’

“‘My son,’ answers the venerable old man; ‘the sacred characters of nature are traced in your bosom in all their energy; preserve them carefully, in order to live happy and strong; but listen attentively to what the experience of eighty years has taught me. My son, I reared you in my arms, I witnessed your young years; and now, when your heart begins to palpitate, your nerves are doubtless accustomed to labour, but to moderate labour, which refreshes the body, excites the feelings, and calms the impatient imagination. My son, have you ever wanted for anything? your dress is coarse, your habitation rustic, your food simple: but once more I ask, have you ever had a desire unsatisfied? Your sentiments are pure as your sensations, as yourself. You wished for a wife; my son, you have chosen one. I aided you with my experience to direct your youthful heart.

Oh! my tender friend, why do you complain? You fear for the future; act always as you have hitherto done, and you need not fear it.

“My son, if I had been among the number of those miserable men who possess nothing, I should have trained your body to the animal yoke; I should myself have stifled your feelings and your ideas; I should have made you the first of the animals in your shed. Bent under the dominion of habit, you would have lived tranquil in your apathy, contented in your ignorance—you would not have been happy, oh my son! but you would have died without knowing that you had lived; for, as you yourself say, in order to live it is necessary to feel and reason; and then, not to be weighed down by physical wants. Yes, good young man, let this information refresh and console you; calm your inquietude; these fields, this hut, these cattle are ours. I have purposely kept you in ignorance of this; it is so happy and so sweet to rise, so hard to descend!

“Your father will soon be no more; he has lived long enough, he has known true pleasures, and now feels the greatest of all, since he once more presses you to his bosom. Impress one thing on your heart, my son, if you wish to imitate him; your soul is ardent; but your wife, this sweet gift of love, and your children, what objects are these with which to fill the void in your heart—do not nourish a cupidity of riches. Riches only influence happiness, in as far as they procure or refuse physical necessities. You have these necessities, and with them a habit of labour; you are the richest man in the country; bridle, then, your disordered imagination: you require but to call reason to your aid.

“Are the rich happy? They have it in their power to be so, but not more than you have; they have it in their power, I say; for they are rarely happy. Happiness resides especially in your station of life, because it is that of reason and feeling. The station of the rich is the empire of a disordered imagination, of vanity, sensual enjoyments, caprice, and fantasy—never envy it; and even should all the riches of the country be offered you, cast them far from you; except indeed you should receive them for the purpose of dividing them immediately among your fellow citizens. But, my son, this struggle of strength of mind and magnanimity is only fitting for a god. Be a man, but a true one; live master of yourself. Without strength of mind, there is neither virtue nor happiness.’

“I have thus demonstrated the two extremities of the social chain; yes, gentlemen, let the rich man be the one, I consent to this; but let not the miserable man be the other; let it be the small proprietor, or small merchant, or the skilful artisan, who may, by moderate labour, feed, clothe, and lodge his family. You will recommend then to the legislator, not to establish the civil law under which a few men might possess everything. He must resolve his political problem in such a manner that even the least may have something. He will not by this means establish equality; for the two extremes are so distant, and the latitude so great, that inequality may exist in the intervening ranks; man can be happy in the hut as well as in the palace, covered with skins as well as clothed in embroidery from Lyons; at the frugal table of Cincinnatus, as well as at that of Vitellius; but then, he must have this hut, these skins, this frugal table. How can the legislator bring this about? How can he resolve his political problem in such a manner that even the lowest may have something? The difficulties are great, and I know of no one who understands better how to overcome them than Monsieur Paoli.

“M. Paoli, whose solicitude for the welfare of humanity and of his fel-

low-countrymen is his distinguishing characteristic ; who for a moment revived in the middle of the Mediterranean the splendid days of Sparta and of Athens ; M. Paoli, full of those feelings and of that genius which nature sometimes unites in one man for the consolation of nations, appeared in Corsica, and drew the eyes of Europe upon himself. His fellow-citizens, tossed hither and thither by wars at home and abroad, recognized his ascendant, and proclaimed him nearly in the same manner as the citizens of Athens formerly did Solon, or those of Rome the triumvirs.

" Affairs were in such disorder that a magistrate clothed with great authority, and possessing transcendent genius, alone could save his country.

" Happy the nation in which the social chain is not firmly enough riveted to cause fear of the consequences of such a rash step!—happy, when it produces men who justify this unbounded confidence, who render themselves worthy of it!

" Placed at the helm of affairs, and summoned by his countrymen to give them laws, M. Paoli established a constitution, founded not only on the same principles as the existing one, but even on the same administrative divisions ; there were municipalities, districts, procurators, and a syndic of the procurators of the community. He overthrew the clergy, and appropriated the property of the bishops to the nation. In short, the course of his government was almost that of actual revolution. He found, in his unequalled activity, in his warm and persuasive eloquence, and in his penetrating and supple genius, means of protecting his new constitution from the attacks of the malicious and of his enemies, for Corsica was then at war with Genoa.

" But M. Paoli's principal merit in our eyes is that he seemed convinced of the principle, established by civil law, that the legislator should assure to every man such a portion of property as would suffice, with moderate labour, for his support. For this purpose, he separated the territories of each village into two kinds ; those of the first order, plains fit for sowing or for pasture land ; and those of the second order, mountains, fit for the cultivation of olive-trees, chestnut-trees, and trees of all kinds. The lands of the first order, called pasture-ground, became public property ; but the temporary use of them was enjoyed by individuals. Every three years the pasture-ground of each village was divided among the inhabitants. The lands of the second order, susceptible of peculiar cultivation, remained under the inspection of individual interest.

" By this wise arrangement, every citizen was born a proprietor, without destroying industry, or injuring the progress of agriculture ; in short, without having helots.

" But all legislators have not found themselves in the same circumstances, they have not all been able to manage affairs and to conduct them to such a happy issue : but yet, pressed by the principle they have rendered homage to it by excluding from society all those who possessed nothing, or did not pay a certain tax. Why this second injustice ? Because the man whom the laws have not enabled to be happy, cannot be a citizen ; because the man who has no interest in the maintenance of the civil law, is its enemy ; a portion of property ought to have been secured to him, in order to interest him in and attach him to this law, but in default of this, it has been necessary to exclude him, as a degraded, dull creature, and as such incapable of exercising a portion of the sovereignty. These are doubtless the political reasons—but what are they in the eyes of morality, of humanity ! When I see one of these unfortunate creatures transgress the law of

the state, and suffer for it, I say to myself: 'It is the strong making the weak their victim.' I imagine I see the American perishing for having violated the law of the Spaniard.

"After having persuaded the legislator that he should care equally for the fate of all ranks of citizens in the reaction of his civil law, you will say to the rich man: 'Your riches constitute your misfortune: remain within the limits of your senses; you will then no longer be uneasy or fantastical. How many young housekeepers run to ruin, because they are in want of the very thing which makes you so uneasy; you have too much, and they have not enough. Your lot is the same, with this difference, that you being wiser might remedy it, whilst they can only groan. . . Man of ice, does your heart, then, never beat? I pity you, I abhor you; you are unhappy, and the cause of unhappiness in others!'

"Without marriage, we have said, there is neither health nor happiness; you will, therefore, teach the numerous class of advocates of celibacy that their pleasures are not true ones; except you find that, convinced that they cannot live without wives, they seek in those of other men the gratification of their appetites; you will then publicly denounce them. You will denounce the extravagant presumption of the minister of Brahma; you will teach him that the happy man alone is worthy of his Creator, that the Fakir who mutilates himself is a monster of depravity and folly.

"You will laugh with indignant disdain, when they endeavour to persuade you that perfection consists in celibacy. You have opened the great book of reason and feeling, and will, therefore, disdain to answer the sophisms of prejudice and hypocrisy.

"Let the civil law secure to every one physical necessities; let the extinguishable thirst for riches be replaced by the consoling feeling of happiness. At your voice let the old man be the father of all his children; let him divide his property equally among them; and let the pleasant sight of eight happy households cause the barbarous law of primogeniture to be for ever abhorred. Let man, in short, learn that his true glory is to live as a man; and at this voice let the enemies of nature be silent, and bite their serpent tongues with rage. Let the minister of the most sublime of religions, who should bring peace and consolation to the wounded souls of the unfortunate, learn to know the sweet emotions of love; let the nectar of pleasure make him sincerely sensible of the greatness of the Author of his being; then, truly worthy of public confidence, he will be a man of nature, and an interpreter of her decrees; let him choose a companion; that day will be the triumph of morality, and the true friends of nature will celebrate it heartily. The minister, awakened to a feeling of those new joys, will bless the age of reason as he tastes its first benefits.

"These, gentlemen, are the truths, as far as regards animal necessities, which must be taught to men for their happiness.

#### "SECOND PART.

"What is sentiment? It is the bond of life, of society, of love, of friendship! It is that which unites the son to the mother, the citizen to his country; it is especially powerful in the child of nature; dissipation and the pleasures of sense destroy its delicacy and refinement, but in misfortune man always finds it again; it is that spirit of consolation which never abandons us but with our lives.

"Are you not satisfied? climb to one of the peaks of Mont Blanc, watch

the sun emerging by degrees, bringing consolation and warmth to the hut of the labourer. Let the first beam which he sheds, dwell and be remembered in your heart. Bear in mind the pleasure you enjoy.

"Descend to the coast of the sea; observe the god of day sinking majestically into the bosom of infinity;—melancholy will overpower you—you will abandon yourself to its impression; no one can resist the melancholy of nature.

"Stand under the monument of St. Remi—contemplate its majesty; the finger of these proud Romans traced in past ages, transports you into the society of Emilius, Scipio, and Fabius: you return to yourself to gaze on the mountains at a distance covered with a dark veil, crowning the immense plain of Tarascon, where a hundred thousand Cimbrians lay buried. The Rhone flows at its extremity more rapid than an arrow; a road lies upon the left, a small town in the distance, a flock in the meadows; you dream, without doubt—it is the dream of sentiment.

"Wander abroad into the country; take shelter in the miserable cabin of a shepherd; pass the night stretched upon sheepskins, with your feet to the fire. What a situation!—midnight strikes; all the cattle of the neighbourhood go forth to pasture, their lowings commingle with the voices of their conductors. It is midnight—forget it not; this is the moment to hold deep communion with yourself: to meditate on the origin of nature, and to taste its most exquisite delights.

"On your return from a long walk, you are overtaken by the night; you arrive by the light of the silvery rays in the perfect silence of the universe; you have been oppressed by the burning heat of the dog-star; you taste the delights of the evening freshness, and the salutary balm of meditation.

"Your family is gone to bed, your lights are extinguished, but not your fire; the cold and frosts of January obstruct vegetation in your garden. What do you do there for several hours? I do not suppose that you wander forth possessed with the passion or ambition for wealth; in what are you engaged? You commune with yourself.

"You know that the metropolitan church of St. Peter's in Rome is as large as a town; a single lamp burns before the great altar. You enter there at ten o'clock in the evening, and grope your way; the feeble light does not enable you to see anything but itself; you believe you are only entering when the morning has already arrived; Aurora sheds her light through the windows, and the paleness of the morning succeeds to the darkness of the night; you at length begin to think of retiring, but you have been there six hours! Could I have written down your thoughts, how interesting to morality would they have been!

"Curiosity, the mother of life, has led you to embark for Greece; you are driven by the currents on the isle of Monte-Christo—at night you seek for shelter; you traverse the little rock, and you find one upon a height, in the midst of the ruins of an old monastery, behind a crumbling wall covered with ivy and rosemary; you arrange your tent; you are surrounded on all sides by the mighty sea, and the hoarse roaring of its waves as they dash against the rocks, suggests to you the idea of this element so terrible to the feeble voyager. A light covering and a wall fifteen centuries old form your shelter; you are agitated by the agitation of sentiment.

"Are you, at seven o'clock in the morning, in the midst of flowery thickets, or in a vast forest, during the season of fruit? Are you asleep in a grotto surrounded by the waters of the Dryads, during the raging heat of

the dog star? You will pass whole hours alone, unable to tear yourself away from the scene, or to bear the intrusion of those who come to interrupt your enjoyment.

"He is not human who has not experienced the sweetness, the melancholy, the thrill which most of these situations impart. How deeply do I pity him who cannot comprehend, or has never been affected by the electricity of nature! If sentiment made us experience these delightful emotions only, it would even then have done much for us, it would have afforded us a succession of enjoyments without regret, without fatigue, without any kind of violent excitement; these would have been its precious gifts, had not patriotism, conjugal affection, and divine friendship been also amongst the number of its bounties.

"You return to your country after many years of absence; you traverse the scenes of your youth, which were witnesses to the agitation which the first knowledge of men, and the morning of passion produced in your senses. In a moment you live through the life of your youth and participate in its pleasures. You say you have a father, an affectionate mother, sisters still innocent, brothers, at the same time friends; oh, happy man! run, fly, lose not a moment! Should death stop you on the way you will not have known the delights of life, those of sweet gratitude, of tender respect, and of sincere friendship. But you say, I have a wife and children. A wife and children! It is too much, my dear friend, it is too much; never leave them more, pleasure would overwhelm you on your return, grief oppress you at your departure—a wife and children, father and mother, brothers and sisters, a friend! And yet we complain of nature, and say why were we born? We submit with impatience to the transitory evils of life, and run with wild impetuosity after emptiness of vanity and riches. What then, oh! unfortunate mortals, is the depraving draught, which has thus altered the inclinations inscribed in your blood, your nerves, and your eyes? Had you a soul as ardent as the fires of Etna, if you had a father, a mother, a wife and children, you have no reason to dread the anxieties and wearisomeness of life.

"Yes, these are the only, the real pleasures of life, from which nothing can distract you, of which nothing can deprive you. It is vain for man to surround himself with all the blessings of fortune—as soon as these sentiments fly from his heart, tedium seizes upon him; sadness, gloomy melancholy and despair succeed; and if this condition continues, he relieves himself by death.

"Pontaveri was torn away from Tahiti, conducted to Europe, watched with care, and loaded with attentions; no means of distraction were forgotten or neglected. One single object attracted his attention and snatched him from the arms of grief. It was the mulberry tree; he embraced it with transport, exclaiming: 'Tree of my country! tree of my country!' All that the court of Copenhagen could offer was lavished in vain on five Greenlanders; anxiety for their country and their family brought on melancholy, and melancholy was the precursor of death. Instead of this, how many English, Dutch, and French are there who live among savages! These unhappy men were degraded in Europe, the sport of the passions, and the melancholy refuse of the great, whilst the man of nature lives happily in the bosom of sentiment and natural reason.

"We have now seen how sentiment enables us to enjoy ourselves, nature, our country, and those who surround us. It remains to observe how it makes us thrill at the contemplation of the different vicissitudes of life.

Here we become convinced that if it makes us friends of what is lovely and just, it fills us with repugnance towards the oppressor and the wicked.

"A young beauty has just entered her sixteenth year; the roses on her cheek are changed for the lily, the fire of her eyes is extinguished; the vivacity of her graces degenerate into the languor of melancholy: she loves. Does she inspire you with respect, with confidence? it is the respect, the confidence of sentiment. Does she inspire you with contempt for her weakness? Be it so, but never utter it, if you value my esteem.

"Nina loved; her well-beloved died; she would have died with him—she survived him long, but only to remain faithful to him. Nina knew well that the object of her affections was dead, but sentiment could not conceive his annihilation. She waited for it always, she would wait for it still. You complain contemptuously of her folly—harsh man! Instead of that, feel esteem for her constancy and the tenderness of her heart. This is the esteem and tenderness of sentiment.

"An adored wife has died—she was the wife of your enemy. The unfortunate husband is overwhelmed with his loss. He flees from the society of men; the drapery of mourning replaces the garments of rejoicing. Two torches are upon the table—despair in his heart. Thus he passes the languishing remnant of his life. With a good soul you feel your hatred appeased—you run to her tomb, and lavish upon it marks of the reconciliation of sentiment.

"You have read Tacitus; which of you has not cried out with Cato the younger, 'Let some one give me a sword, that I may kill this monster.' Now, at the expiration of two thousand years, the recital of the deeds of Marius, Sylla, Nero, Caligula, and Domitian, excite feelings of apathy and repugnance. Their memory is that of hatred and execration."

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It was thus, that those days which were a kind of living ephemeris, led the Emperor by the subtle and capricious thread of memory, sometimes to the days of his youth; obscure, indeed, but always laborious—sometimes to the years of his triumphal consulate, and sometimes to the more gloomy and stormy period of his imperial power.



## CHAPTER XVIII.

RECOLLECTIONS OF RUSSIA—RECOLLECTIONS OF EGYPT.—PAUL I.—KLEBER.

In the meanwhile, the Spey arrived with despatches and news from England. She brought accounts of the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth. This event made an impression upon the Emperor: "The destruction of these barbarian powers," he said to us, as soon as he heard the details of the news, "was one of my projects; I have never been able to understand how the maritime powers of Europe could submit to these corsairs. During the peace of Amiens, I proposed to England to put an end to them, and I do not at this moment recollect what prevented us from coming to an understanding on the subject. At a later period, I, at several times, gave orders to the minister of marine to study the question of Algiers; I do not think that England has adopted the best method by attacking their batteries by force; this was exposing their ships to almost certain destruction; a rigid blockade, or the landing of a few thousand men, and an attack by land, would appear to me likely to have produced a more certain result than could be obtained by the other course, and without the useless exposure of brave men to such *canaille*. And besides, what would Lord Exmouth have done, if, on the next day after the bombardment, the Dey of Algiers had refused to consent to any one of the conditions which England imposed upon him? it would have been impossible for him to renew the combat with his shattered vessels; he would have been obliged to change his tone, to await the arrival of a new squadron, or to depart without having accomplished anything, and to have all the disgrace of failure.

"If the Algerines are really struck with terror, and if they execute the treaty which Lord Exmouth has dictated at the cannon's mouth, England will have rendered a signal service to humanity; I cannot, however, believe that it will be so; and besides, these barbarians do not alter their practice with respect to their prisoners, and will only treat them the more cruelly, because they have no longer any hope of obtaining a ransom.

"The order of Malta entertained a noble thought, and had the English faithfully executed the treaty of Amiens, the Emperor Paul would certainly have restored this order to its former importance. This prince attached great importance to the title of Protector of Malta; his chivalrous spirit was pleased with the design of the flag of the order again becoming the terror of the barbarians, and the protection of commerce in the Mediterranean. When he heard of the refusal of the English minister to deliver Malta into his hands, his anger knew no bounds; he is said to have driven his sword through the despatch which conveyed the intelligence, and to have ordered his minister of foreign affairs to send it back directly to London.

"Paul was a man who had a soul, and was accessible to noble resolutions, but all his moral faults were concentrated by the restless forebodings

of that animal instinct which I have so often observed in some of my bravest soldiers: Lasalle, for example, who in the middle of the night wrote to me from bivouac on the battle-field of Wagram, to ask me to sign immediately the decree for the transmission of his title and his *majorat* of Count to his wife's son, because he felt that he was about to fall in the battle on the ensuing day; and the unfortunate man was right. Cervoni, who stood near me at Eckmühl, and now faced cannon for the first time since the war in Italy, said to me, 'Sire, you forced me to quit Marseilles, which I loved, by writing to me that the Cross of the Legion of Honour was only to be won by soldiers in the presence of the enemy. Here I am—but this is my last day.' A quarter of an hour afterwards, a ball carried away his head. Paul I. was constantly dreaming of conspiracies and assassination. He had brought a skilful mechanic from abroad, in order to make him a number of secret passages by which he might escape from the different chambers which he most frequently used in his palace. There was one man alone who had his entire confidence, and that was Count Pahlen, governor of St. Petersburg, and chief director of the police. He was at supper with the general the night before his assassination, when he received a letter revealing to him to the most minute details, the whole scheme of the conspiracy, naming Count Pahlen as the chief, and warning him that the plot was completely ripe for execution. Some fatality prevented him from breaking the seal, and he thought no more of it when he retired to his private apartments. Had he opened the letter, he would have been saved!

"On the evening before, he had received a similar warning, and having immediately commanded the presence of Count Pahlen, the following singular conversation ensued; 'There is,' said the Emperor, 'a plot against my life. The English ambassador is the prime mover; the consultations take place at the house of Madame de Gerbsdorf, and Prince Sabof is one of its most zealous promoters.'

"'I believe it,' replied Count Pahlen. 'My son Alexander is in league with the conspirators.' 'I believe it,' Pahlen again laconically replied. 'But you yourself are concerned in it.' 'If I had not been,' said Count Pahlen, interrupting him, 'how could I have found it out and saved you?' This *sang-froid* imposed upon the unfortunate Paul the First. Count Pahlen having perceived that the handwriting on the letter delivered during supper was the same as that of the informer of the evening before, no sooner left the supper table, than he ran directly to Prince Sabof, Count Orloff, and General Benigsen to inform them of their impending danger. The whole four went immediately to the house of the grand Duke Alexander, whose hesitation was likely to compromise them all. They said to him, 'It is absolutely necessary to finish the affair this very night; the Emperor, within these twenty-four hours, has received two important revelations; to-morrow your head and ours will fall upon the scaffold, if to-morrow Russia does not salute you as her Emperor.' 'Save the life of my father!' cried Alexander; covering his face with his hands. 'The will of God be done!' replied the conspirators, and they quitted him to proceed to the house of the grand Duke Michael, where the Emperor was then residing.

"Prince Sabof, being commander-in-chief of the guards, all the doors were opened to him; but the Cossack who was on duty at the door of the Emperor's chamber refused him permission to enter. The conspirators could not hesitate; they rushed upon him, and entered by force. Paul, terrified by the clash of arms, lost his presence of mind, and attempted to escape by the secret passage; but whilst he was trying to open the door, the

conspirators, conducted by General Benigsen, surrounded him, and one of them, Prince Sabof, presenting an act of abdication for his signature, said to him—'Sire, I arrest you, in the name of the Emperor Alexander.' On his refusing to sign and attempting to defend himself against his assassins, they fell upon him and strangled him; it is said that the General was the one who inflicted the mortal blow. The name of Benigsen reminds me, that after the battle of Friedland, an exchange of the *cordon* of our orders took place between Alexander and myself, and he asked me to bestow the cross of the Legion of Honour on this same general, which I refused, from the recollection of his crime. I said to him, 'I will bestow it with pleasure on the soldier whom you shall point out to me as the bravest in your army; but I must refuse it to a general who laid the hand of an assassin on his sovereign.'

"There can be no doubt that the Emperor Alexander retained the conviction up till the last moment, that the Emperor Paul would abdicate and save his life; but he ought to have delivered up the assassins of his father into the hands of justice; the bonds of nature imposed this upon him as a sacred duty; and if it be true, unfortunately for him, that the conspiracy imposed upon him a yoke of iron during the first years of his reign, he ought to have recollected that the hand which directed all, did not protect the murderers. It was of little consequence to the cabinet of St. James what became of the Emperor's murderers—what they desired they purchased at the price of a great crime, and that was, a complete change in the policy of the cabinet at St. Petersburg. Alexander might, without fear, have avenged the death of his father, by the exemplary punishment of the assassins, on the day on which he broke with me, and placed the whole power of Russia at the disposal of England. The Empress-mother was inflexible in the pursuit of vengeance, and never suffered the conspirators to approach her person."

In the meantime, the insult offered to General Gourgaud, by the sentinel at Hut's-gate, could not be long concealed from the Emperor. These repeated shocks affected his health, so that he always remained shut up for several days in his miserable apartments, and on each occasion, it was a species of diplomatic victory on our part, to prevail on the Emperor to agree to take the fresh air; and we only succeeded, when the want of exercise produced serious effects, and manifested itself by the swellings of his legs and pains in his head. The Emperor always persuaded himself that a bath of some hours, and working by night, were specific remedies against the discomforts arising from want of exercise. It is certain he often found them to produce salutary effects.

The Emperor conceived the hope of obtaining from the Prince Regent, some modification of the despotic power exercised by Sir Hudson Lowe. He could never bring himself to believe that a King of England, had no other power than that of naming his ministers. He dictated to me a long *exposé* of all the useless vexations of which he was daily made the victim, but this labour was laid aside, up till the moment when it served as a basis for the observations of the Emperor Napoleon on the speech of Lord Bathurst.

A visit made by Admiral Malcolm gave new life to the negotiations for a better understanding, which some concessions on the part of Sir Hudson Lowe, seemed at length to render possible. He came personally to the house of the grand marshal to inform him that, henceforward, the free enjoyment of the road from Miss Masson's cottage and Woody Range would

be restored to us, as before the restrictions of the 9th of October. On the next morning, however, all was changed. The restless and tormenting humour of Sir Hudson had resumed its empire, and taking his text from the observations made by the grand marshal on the restrictions of the 9th of October, he said to him that "the person who had dictated to him observations couched in such terms and containing so many falsehoods, could not have been guided by any desire of conciliation, and that he had decided on not doing anything which would be regarded as a concession on his part to such observations; that, in consequence he had returned to his determination of the preceding evening, and that things should remain as they had been prescribed by the restrictions of the 9th of October—that he thought the person who offered his mediation only did it with a view of previously obtaining an excuse, rather than in any hope of gaining concessions."

"Let General Bonaparte," he added, "send me his proposals by Admiral Malcolm, and I will give him an answer. In the meantime, the admiral came to Longwood, and the Emperor, after having received an assurance from him of his confidence in Sir Hudson Lowe's desire to put an end to those quarrels which closed the doors of the audience-room at Longwood against him, authorized him to say to the governor that he would receive with pleasure any explanations transmitted through the mediation of the admiral, and that if he would re-establish all things on the footing on which they stood in the time of Sir George Cockburn, all should be forgotten.

Journals, pamphlets, and letters received from England by way of the Cape, put an end, for some days, to these painful discussions. M. Miot's work on the Campaign in Egypt, as well as the articles in the Quarterly Review, and Pillet's collections upon the same subject, attracted the Emperor's attention. The accusation of having caused 1500 prisoners to be shot, and especially that of having poisoned those who were suffering from the plague, at Jaffa, excited his indignation, and he passed a considerable part of the night in dictating to me the following remarks:

"1st. El' Arish, the first port in Egypt, is a poor village in the desert which separates Africa from Asia. Five or six springs, furnishing the quantity of water necessary for an army of 30,000 men, are there found in the midst of a wood of palm-trees, and it is to this circumstance that the village and port of El' Arish are indebted for their existence: 4000 men, under the command of the Djezzar Pasha, the new Seraskier of Egypt, were in possession of this important position, when Napoleon was crossing the desert to occupy Syria. Orders were issued to General Regnier to make himself master of El' Arish; on the 9th of February he attacked the village, drove out the Turks, and took three hundred prisoners; 2000 Arnauts succeeded in shutting themselves up in the fort; these troops were commanded by chiefs independent of one another; their cavalry, 1500 strong, retired half a league from the fort, and took up a strong position with a view to protect the road to Syria. Regnier had only 900 hussars, and could not therefore venture to assail the Turkish cavalry, which were thus able to wait tranquilly for the army of Abdalla. On the first news of the presence of the French at El' Arish, this army commenced its march, consisting of from five to six thousand men, infantry as well as cavalry, among whom were the Mamelukes, with twelve pieces of cannon. On the evening of the 12th, this force pitched its camp within 1500 toises

of El' Arish, which would have rendered General Regnier's position very critical, had he not been joined at break of day on the 13th, by Kleber's division, and 300 cavalry, under the command of Murat.

"Kleber undertook the blockade of the fort, and Regnier posted his division on the sides of the ravine, or hollow way, in order to keep the Turkish army in check. He remained in this position during the 13th and 14th, and on the night between the 14th and 15th, he quitted his camp, ascended the hollow way a league, and then crossed it. His division was composed of three regiments of infantry, which he drew up in order of battle, changed his front, his right in advance, and his left resting on the ravine. His order of battle was formed in three close columns at a sufficient distance to be able to extend their ranks. Two hundred paces in advance of each column, he placed the grenadiers and light company of each regiment, forming, in all, about 150 men, and sixty men of the cavalry. About two o'clock in the morning, when he was at a little distance from the enemy's camp, he ordered a halt, arranged his men, marched forward with the advanced guard of the three columns, and dashed into the midst of their camp on three different sides. This produced the greatest confusion among the Turks; he marched directly to the tent of the Pasha, who had only time to escape on foot half-dressed. The whole army was dispersed, and abandoned their tents, baggage, artillery, and provisions, with about 150 killed, and more than 1200 prisoners, 1000 saddle and draft-horses, and 500 camels. The fugitives did not begin to rally till they reached Kan-zouses. On the next morning at day-break, Napoleon, who had crossed the desert in all haste upon a dromedary, arrived and summoned the garrison of El' Arish, which returned a haughty reply of defiance. A battery of 4—12 was erected by means of a quantity of stones, which lay at about a pistol shot from the fort; a partial breach was soon effected, and then the four chiefs proposed a parley. With this view, they came to the tent of the general-in-chief, asked an armistice of fifteen days, and offered to surrender, if they were not relieved in the meantime. At the end of two hours' useless discussion, during which these four chiefs, who exactly resembled four leaders of brigands, appeared very resolute, and confident of being relieved, the conference was broken up. The success of an assault was infallible, but it would probably have cost from six to seven hundred men, wherefore the artillery was again directed towards the fort, and the fire was kept up with such spirit and precision, that 800 bombs were thrown in the course of the morning, the greatest number of which burst in the fort. As it was very small, they committed fearful destruction, and covered it with dead bodies and streams of blood. The garrison lost courage, new parleys took place, and the four chiefs signed a capitulation. The fort was surrendered at the break of day, the enemy marched out with the honours of war, laid down their colours and arms, and took an oath not to carry arms against the French, but to return to Bagdad, and not to set foot in Syria for a year. Three hundred of them (Maugrabins) volunteered to join the French army, 500 had been either killed or wounded, and 3200 were escorted by a detachment, two days' march into the desert in the direction of Bagdad.

#### " 'CAPITULATION OF EL' ARISH.

" 'The Commandant of the Fort of El' Arish, and the other Commanders of the troops to the General-in-chief:

" 'We have received the terms of capitulation, which you have address-

sed to us ; we agree to surrender the fort of El' Arish, and will return to Bagdad by the desert. Herewith we send you the list of Agas in the fort, who promise and swear, for themselves and their soldiers, not to serve in the army of Djezzar, and not to re-enter Syria for a year from this date. We shall receive a passport and colours from you, and will leave in the fort all the ammunition which is there. All the Agas who are in the fort, solemnly swear by God, Moses, Abraham, and the Prophet, (to whom may God be gracious!) and by the Koran, to execute faithfully all these articles, and especially not to serve under Djezzar. The Most High and the Prophet are witnesses of our sincerity.

(Signed)

IBRAHIM, Commandant of the fort of El' Arish.

EL HADJY MAHOMMED, Col. of Maugrabins.

EL HADJY, Aga of the Arnauts.

MOHAMMED, Aga, Chief Commissary.'

" There were found in the fort, three pieces of cannon, 200 horses, several hundred camels, and great quantities of provisions.

" On the 22d of February, two hours before day, Kleber formed the advanced guard of the army, and marched towards Syria, with orders to advance on Kan-zouses, although the distance was equal to twelve leagues. Napoleon set out with one hundred dromedaries and one hundred cavalry, to join his advanced guard ; he proceeded at a trot, but as he passed by Santon Caaba, he remarked with astonishment, that the ditches in which the Arabs concealed their straw, their corn, and occasionally their roots, had not been plundered by his soldiers. He found no sledges, which however was not extraordinary, as the fear of the Arabs prevented them from having any in the army. Having arrived at the sources of the Rapho, where the two columns stand which mark the limits between Asia and Africa, he was surprised to find no traces of spilled water, as the advanced guard must have passed the place about two hours previously. He was only then about two leagues distance from Kan-zouses, he continued his march, and arrived in the neighbourhood of the village towards the close of the day. The Chasseurs of the advanced guard fired two shots, and immediately afterwards a very fine camp, belonging to the Turkish army, appeared in sight, and the Turks instantly flew to arms. What, then, became of Kleber and the advanced guard? A hasty retreat was determined on, although the horses were fatigued, and the French arrived at the sources of the Lawi, at ten o'clock at night, after having been pursued by the Turkish cavalry for more than half a league. The night having become dark, the Pasha became afraid of an ambuscade, and returned to the camp. For several hours the detachment was a prey to a thousand gloomy reflections, and seemed to have no resource from despair. However, at two o'clock in the morning, a detachment of dromedaries returned, which had been in a direction in which they hoped to meet with a miserable hut occupied by Arabs who possessed some herds of camels ; they brought back intelligence that a French army, as numerous as the stars of the firmament, or the sands of the desert, had taken the route of Kan-zouses.

" Napoleon, guided by an Arab, mounted his dromedary and set out at day-light. He soon fell in with some dragoons, who appeared worn out with fatigue, and from them he learned that Kleber had mistaken his way, and that the soldiers, surprised at not having arrived at Santon Caaba, where, according to what had been told them, they were to find the ditches

filled with roots, began to suspect that they had missed their way; that Kleber had ordered a halt, and that there was no more water than was sufficient to make soup; that in consequence of the original project, according to which the advance-guard was to avail itself of the wells of Rapho, and would arrive at Kan-zouzes in a day, they had taken supplies of water merely for a day. Two hours afterwards Napoleon came up with the division, and as soon as the soldiers saw him, they uttered shouts of joy. Worn down with fatigue, and dying of thirst, their spirits were completely broken; and some of the young soldiers, in their despair, had even proceeded to break their firelocks. Hope, however, returned at the sight of their General, who collected them and addressed them in the following terms:—‘There are on the way several camels loaded with water, which will arrive in less than three hours. I admit that there is still a great distance to march, but if it be necessary, learn how to die with honour and without complaint.’ In fact, they did not arrive at Jassy till midnight, where they met the detachment and the camels laden with skins of water. Napoleon now proceeded on the march, with Lasne’s division, and arrived at Kan-zouzes on the 24th, from whence the Turkish army had departed. The armies did not meet till they were near Gaza. The Turks did not resist the charge of the French for a moment; the fort and city of Gaza were taken. On the 1st of March, the French head-quarters were established at Azola, and on the 2d, at Rumsté. An advanced-guard was pushed forward towards Jerusalem, where multitudes of Christians were in irons and in momentary dread of the poniards of the Turks. Napoleon, however, secretly concluded an armistice with the Pasha, and finding all thus tranquil on his right flank, on the 4th he marched to Jaffa, which was regularly invested, and several batteries of 12-pounders made ready for action. Jaffa was only fortified by a wall, but it contained a garrison of from 6000 to 7000 men, among whom were a body of artillery sent from Constantinople, and trained by French officers. As soon as the batteries were ready to play, a cartel was sent to summon the place; a quarter of an hour afterwards, the army saw the head of the unfortunate bearer stuck on a pike, and his dead body was thrown over the wall. This was the signal for attack; in three hours, a breach was effected in one of the towers, forty or fifty grenadiers and a dozen of sappers made good a lodgment; the column followed, and the town was carried by assault. Nothing could arrest the fury of the soldiers; every person who came in their way was killed, and the place delivered up to plunder. During the night the disorder was terrible, and order could not possibly be restored even at daylight. All that were saved of that unfortunate garrison were sent prisoners to Egypt, with the exception of 800 men who were shot. These 800 were the remnant of the garrison of El’ Arish, who, after having proceeded three days’ march in the direction of Bagdad, had changed their route, violated the terms of their capitulation, and thrown themselves into Jaffa. Prudence did not allow them to be sent to Cairo. Accustomed to the desert, they would have found means to escape on the way, and they would have been found again in Acre. About 4000 Turks perished at Jaffa, and nearly 3000 were saved. Of these, 1200 were sent prisoners to Egypt; 1300 soldiers and servants, natives of Egypt, were set at liberty as countrymen, and 500 were sent to carry and diffuse the news of the victories of the French, to Damascus, Jerusalem, Aleppo, &c.

“2d. The army which had just raised the siege of St. Jean d’Acre was destitute of the means of transport. Its general, nevertheless, succeeded in conducting it, without loss, as far as Jaffa; a thousand sick, and about

the same number who had been wounded during the siege. On his arrival at Jaffa, he caused them to be put on board ship for Damietta, as well as all the sick who were in the military hospital, which he had taken care to establish at Jaffa. At this time the plague was making the most frightful ravages in the French hospitals: five or six daily fell as victims to this dreadful scourge. Those of the sick who were the strongest were sent away first, as soon as the vessel was loaded. The next vessel contained those of whose recovery there was but little hope. Napoleon gave orders for the departure of the army on the 27th of May, and on the 26th, according to custom, he sent one of his aides-de-camp (Lavalette) to visit the stores and hospitals, and to see that his orders had been punctually observed and executed. The aide-de-camp reported that the whole had been removed, with the exception of seven men, of whom the officers of health despaired, and who could not be removed, because they would infect with the plague all those whom they approached; that some of these unfortunates, seeing themselves thus about to be abandoned to their unhappy fate, earnestly entreated to be put to death, crying out that the Turks, on their arrival, would inflict upon them unheard-of cruelties. It was, in fact, the custom of these barbarous monsters horribly to mutilate the persons; to slit the noses and pull out the eyes of those who had the misfortune to fall into their hands. The surgeons on duty asked permission of the aide-de-camp to gratify their desires by giving them opium, at the last moment, for it would have been horrible and inhuman thus to have abandoned these unfortunate men in this condition; the maxim—'*Do unto others, as ye would they should do unto you,*' ought here to be applied. Napoleon sent for Desguettes, the physician-in-chief, and Larrey, the surgeon-in-chief, in order to learn with certainty whether it was impossible to convey these unfortunate men; he recommended that they should be put on horseback, with others to lead the horses, and offered, in fact, his own saddles. The medical officers assured him, that it was impossible, and observed that these men could not survive four-and-twenty hours. During this consultation on the possibility of removing them, they added, that they had consulted on the proposition of allowing opium to be administered, but that Desguettes said, that his profession being to cure, he could not give his authority to such a measure. After this, Napoleon put off the departure of the army for twenty-four hours. There was nothing urgent in the case; he was master of the country, and Djezzar Pasha had not set out from Acre. The rear-guard, consisting of 800 cavalry, did not leave the town till the next day at four o'clock in the afternoon, twenty-four hours after the aide-de-camp's visit to the hospitals, and only after being informed that the seven patients were all dead.

"This circumstance, which has been so grossly misrepresented by libelers and enemies, is, in reality, a proof of Napoleon's humanity, and of his solicitude for his soldiers. All of them regarded him as a father, and they were right, for he loved them as if they had been his own children.

"After the battle of Heliopolis and the re-taking of Cairo, in the months of March, April, and May, Kleber imposed a contribution of six millions of francs upon that city. Sheik Suddah, who was descended from a relation of the prophet, and very highly revered in the East, was taxed at a very considerable sum, which he refused to pay. Although the evil disposition of this sheik towards the French was very well known, Napoleon was accustomed to manage and flatter him, for which he was often even blamed by many persons in the army. It happened that this Suddah was



guilty of some acts of impertinence, for which Kleber caused him to be arrested and conducted to the citadel, where, according to the custom of the country, he was punished by the *bastinado*. This caused a great noise in the city, and the Ulemas were extremely indignant at his being exposed to such treatment. Some weeks afterwards, a person named Soliman, a native of Aleppo, was sent from Gaza by the Aga, who was with the grand vizier, to wage a SACRED WAR against Kleber. This man established himself at the Mosque of Semil Azar, and it was confidently said, that the sheiks were informed of his intentions, but that, being offended at the treatment inflicted on the Sheik Suddah, they did not interfere to prevent him.

The assassin, seizing upon a favourable moment, when Kleber was walking in his garden, advanced, and presented a petition; and whilst he was reading the papers, plunged his *kandjar* into his body; he was condemned and executed, together with four sheiks, his accomplices. Before this, several persons had been dispatched in 1798 and 1799, by Djezzar Pasha, to wage *sacred war* against Napoleon, but as the latter was a very great favourite with the sheiks, they opposed these designs, *and thus saved his life.*"

## CHAPTER XIX.

## DETAILS OF THE PRIVATE LIFE OF NAPOLEON AT ST. HELENA.

THINGS had just taken place which cast a fresh portion of acrimony into the disputes between us and the governor of St. Helena, when Sir Hudson Lowe adopted the very inexplicable idea of performing an act of politeness, and sent to General Bonaparte a small case of superior Bourbon coffee for his personal use, expressing his desire that this offer should be accepted as a testimony of his respect, and of the anxiety which he felt to anticipate the smallest wishes of the general. This, I repeat it, was an inexplicable circumstance, considering those feelings of irritation which prevailed in all our relations to one another, and above all, the sinister impressions which his visits and expressions had left upon the Emperor's mind. I hesitated to convey this strange message, so much was I convinced that the answer would be throwing oil upon the fire, but to my great astonishment, the Emperor merely said, "Cause the case to be carried to the pantry—good coffee is a precious thing in this horrible place." Cipriani thought me mad, when I put the case into his charge to be used by Pierron, the chief cook. I was obliged to repeat the Emperor's order, before he would consent to obey, declaring to me over and over again, that he would first of all submit it to a variety of trials before he allowed any of it to be served up to his master. In short, the coffee was excellent.

The weather had now become fine; the Emperor went out and terminated his walk by a visit to the grand marshal; he had not put his foot out of doors for forty-three days. On the next day, he complained of violent sickness, and remained four hours in the bath.

We have already spoken of the offers made to his brother Joseph by the Spanish Americans. The news of this offer was agreeable to him; he said, however, on hearing of it, "Joseph will certainly refuse; although possessing the mind, talents, and all the qualities necessary to make a nation happy, he loves his liberty and the enjoyments of social life too much to have any wish a second time to launch into the storms of royalty. His acceptance would be useful to these unfortunate people by saving them from the calamities of a long civil war, and would be also very advantageous to England, because she would acquire all the commerce of Spanish America. Joseph neither could nor would have any diplomatic connexion with the kings of France and Spain; and as Spanish America could not do without European productions, it would become necessary that all her markets should be supplied with English merchandise. Moreover, Joseph loves me sincerely, and he would avail himself of this new means to obtain from the English ministers some change in my position."

Some months afterwards, the crown refused by Prince Joseph was offered to the Emperor himself and rejected. The leader of the Spanish Americans, whose message reached Longwood, had foreseen all the obstacles resulting from the Emperor's captivity, and forgotten nothing to insure the success of their design; but that great mind, which had twice laid down the crown of France rather than be indebted for its preservation to a civil war, could not possibly accept the sceptre offered to him by a people at war among themselves and with the mother country, had not even a regard for his own dignity dictated a refusal.

Sir Hudson thought to make sure of victory in our incessant disputes by inditing a voluminous memoir, justifying his conduct, and throwing the whole blame upon Las Cases, the grand marshal, and myself. We had misrepresented everything—words, writings, actions; he was the best man in the world, and the most desirous of softening the rigours of the Emperor's captivity, and we were execrable calumniators.

The Emperor indignantly did justice to this mean accusation against us by throwing it in the fire.

This document contained one very remarkable passage. "Neither in the instructions given to me, nor in those given to Sir George Cockburn, have his majesty's ministers entered into any details. They have referred these to my own judgment, and I am at liberty to take such precautions as may seem to me desirable, and to do as I please. I have received, in general terms, the order to take the necessary precautions to prevent General Bonaparte's escape, as well as not to allow any correspondence to reach him which does not pass through my hands. The rest depends upon me." "All that," said the Emperor, "is a mass of absurd and infamous insinuations: I maintain that the acts of this man are worse than those put in force in Botany Bay; for even there, the convicts are not forbidden to speak. The man must be a fool to pretend to persuade me, that he has not treated us badly; we are neither fools nor ordinary persons, to suffer ourselves to be imposed on by such gilded phraseology. There is assuredly no free born man living whose hair would not stand on end with indignation on finding himself made the butt of such disgraceful proceedings as those which restrain us from addressing such persons as we may accidentally meet with in the narrow limits destined for our promenade. It is merely adding wrong to barbarism, to pretend that such measures as these are adopted from any feeling of their necessity. Am I deceived when I see in this man an executioner sent to assassinate me, a man wholly without a heart, and merely capable of discharging the office and duties of a gaoler?"

I have already mentioned the great lack of water to which we were exposed. There was no sufficient supply for the Emperor's bath, and the governor caused some to be carried to Longwood in casks used for providing water for ships; but this water exhaled such an unhealthy smell in the course of being warmed, as made its use unfortunately impossible, and the works, commenced with a view of providing an adequate supply for Longwood, were yet far from being finished. When I complained to Sir Hudson Lowe, he replied "that he would accelerate them as much as possible," and excused himself by saying, "that he was not, hitherto, at all aware, that General Bonaparte had any need of being *boiled* in hot water for several hours every day." This strange pleasantry gives a complete picture of the man!

At length a store-ship arrived with the famous iron grating, so long and so impatiently expected by Sir Hudson Lowe. One hundred and thirty-

five sentinels were insufficient to calm his nocturnal terrors, and he must have a grating by which we should be as it were hermetically sealed, and the key at night under his pillow.

The sudden variations of temperature always affected more or less the Emperor's health, but these effects had hitherto given us no serious uneasiness. On this occasion, it was different. Symptoms of dysentery appeared, and we knew too well, by daily experience, what were the dangers of this disease in the burning climate of St. Helena. For three days our uneasiness was extreme, although the disease did not increase, but there was danger as long as the calomel did not, as the physicians say, produce its effect. At length, on the 5th, improvement became sensible, and on the 8th, the Emperor felt himself sufficiently recovered to wish to breathe the fresh air in the garden. As soon, however, as he perceived Sir Hudson Lowe, accompanied by two or three officers, at full gallop towards our residence, he precipitately returned into his chamber.

Two vessels, arrived from Europe and the Cape, brought us newspapers, pamphlets and letters. We heard the contents of our letters from the officers of the camp, who being persuaded that we had read them, spoke to us on the subject of their contents; they had been on the preceding evening at a ball given by Lady Lowe.

Among the number of our pamphlets, there was one written by Dr. Warden, surgeon of the Northumberland, which the Emperor read with interest, and to which he dictated in reply, eight or ten letters, supposed to be written from the Cape. The notes which he had previously dictated to me on Egypt, were used in these letters. This was an occasion which he did not wish to allow to pass by without refuting some of those odious calumnies. Count Las Cases, to whom those letters from the Cape were attributed, has denied being their author, and has published notes or observations on this subject during his exile in Germany, which, like all his actions, are a proof of his fidelity and attachment to the Emperor.

Notwithstanding the pains taken by Sir Hudson Lowe to envelope Longwood in an impenetrable veil, the Emperor's attack of dysentery became known in the island. The commissioners were alarmed, called for official communications respecting the Emperor's health, and renewed their importunities to be allowed to see him. The governor did not yield upon the question of free communication with Longwood, but he consented to give a copy of the physician's bulletin which he received. This circumstance was the commencement of his serious and personal disputes with Dr. O'Meara. He wished the medical attendant to perjure himself; to prepare bulletins according to his convenience—or, to speak more correctly, to write them under his dictation. The bulletin of health would furnish him with an opportunity of making a report of all that he had seen, heard or learnt from the Emperor or concerning the Emperor during the course of the day. He wished to make the physician a spy.

About this time the Emperor received a visit from Admiral and Lady Malcolm, and saw again with great pleasure, Mr. Mackenzie, an officer of the navy, who served on board the *Indomitable*, when she was at the isle of Elba.

The tragical death of an employé of the governor, and one who possessed his fullest confidence, was for some days the subject of universal conversation on the island. It was wrongfully said that this man had hung himself, because Sir Hudson Lowe had discovered that he had betrayed him by send-

ing to me some copies of all the despatches from the ministry, as well as bulletins of all the news which he wished to conceal from us.

Several ships arrived from India and the Cape, and almost all the officers of these vessels obtained permission to be presented at Longwood. It was on this occasion that Captain \*\*\* availed himself of the opportunity to place his services at the disposal of the Emperor, and offered to conduct him wherever he pleased. He said that this feeling was inspired by his strong indignation at the conduct pursued by the English government, and above all, at that of Sir Hudson Lowe—an indignation, he added, which was shared by all classes in England, with the exception of a few private friends of the ministers.

The Emperor listened with the kindest interest to this noble and generous offer—but refused to accept it. It was about the same period, that one of the officers of the garrison conceived a plan of escape, the success of which was almost certain. His plan was to reach the shore at a point of the coast opposite to James' Town, which was guarded merely by a post of infantry; small boats alone could approach the shore at this place, but a boat well provided with rowers would have been sufficient to enable the fugitives to reach the vessel appointed to receive them. This point was only an hour's walk distant. But whether the Emperor at this time had relinquished all idea of desiring to escape, or whether he doubted the sincerity of the offers which were made to him, or the possibility of their success, he refused to accept them. In its proper place I will record another offer of a more serious kind which I was commissioned to make to him, and the reasons which he assigned for its refusal. Two ships just arrived, the one from India and the other from China, brought to Longwood new subjects for grave disputes with Sir Hudson Lowe; a master gunner had been commissioned to present the Emperor with a beautiful marble bust of the King of Rome, made at Florence, and which was said to have been made in compliance with the orders of the Empress Maria-Louisa, to be presented to the father and husband as a testimony of her affectionate remembrances.

But what consequences might not such a message produce, according to the imagination of Sir Hudson Lowe! It was perhaps all a conspiracy! The bust might contain a correspondence of the very highest political interest! Not to suffer it to go to Longwood, and to break it in pieces, was in his opinion the advice of sound reason; but what recriminations, and what an echo would these recriminations find in public opinion, should we become acquainted with these facts, and happen to divulge them! *When you are in doubt, abstain*, says the proverb, and Sir Hudson Lowe followed its advice. Six days were allowed to pass without the bust being brought to Longwood, although on the day after the arrival of the Baring, we had been informed of the gunner's commission. At length on the 11th, Sir Hudson Lowe came to the grand marshal's house, and told him, with an air of extreme embarrassment, that a statuery in Leghorn had made a bad bust of the son of the Archduchess Maria Louisa, and had sent it to St. Helena by the ship Baring, accompanied by a letter in which he states that the bust had been already paid for, but that he hopes the Emperor's generosity will lead him to send an additional 100 Louis-d'ors; a claim which in his, Sir H. Lowe's judgment, appeared exorbitant—so exorbitant, he added, as to be a sufficient reason for not accepting the bust—as it was evidently a shameful speculation of some inferior Tuscan sculptor. The grand marshal did not suffer himself to be imposed upon by the cunning governor, and assured him that the Emperor was all eagerness and joy at

the hope of seeing again the features of his son, and he begged him earnestly to send it that evening to Longwood. He did not, however, receive it till the next day. So much cunning and malevolence of purpose cruelly wounded the Emperor. He dictated the following letter to the grand marshal, to be sent to the gunner of the Baring.

“MR. RADWICK.

“Sir,—I have received the marble bust of the young Napoleon, and given it to his father. Its reception has given him the most lively satisfaction.

“I regret that it is not in your power to come and see us, and communicate to us details which would have the greatest interest for a father, and especially for one placed in such circumstances as he is.

“According to the letters forwarded to us, the artist values his work at £100 sterling. The Emperor has commanded me to put into your hands the sum of £300 sterling;\* the overplus is intended to indemnify you for the losses to which you have been exposed in the sale of your merchandise, by not having been allowed to send your goods on shore, and for the prejudice which that event may have raised against you, but which will secure you the esteem of every gallant man.

“Have the goodness to transmit to the persons who have paid him this obliging attention, the Emperor's best thanks.

“I have the honour to be, &c ,

“COUNT BERTRAND.

“P. S.—I beg you to acknowledge the receipt of the enclosed letter of credit.”

This precious article was succeeded by other presents not less unexpected. The honourable Mr. Elphinstone, with a view of discharging a debt of gratitude to the Emperor, sent to St. Helena several small cases, containing a set of chessmen in ivory, of marvellously beautiful workmanship, a box of dice, another of counters, and two magnificent baskets of large dimensions, all exquisitely carved. Each of these objects was ornamented with the imperial crown—eagles and letter N. We have already said, that this was an act of grateful homage on the part of Mr. Elphinstone, which arose from the following circumstances.

On the evening before the battle of Waterloo, Captain Elphinstone, brother of the gentleman in question, had been grievously wounded, and was lying stretched on the field in a hopeless condition. The Emperor happened to pass near him, observed his situation, and sent the surgeon in attendance on his person, to make the necessary application to staunch his wounds, from which the blood was copiously flowing. His natural goodness towards the wounded, prompted him also to give him some wine from the silver flask which one of the chasseurs of the guard always carried on service near his person, in case of a halt or bivouac. This providential assistance saved Captain Elphinstone's life. These presents, as well as some others, gave rise to very lively discussions between Sir Hudson Lowe and the grand marshal, whilst more than a month elapsed between their arrival at St. Helena and their being delivered to the Emperor. Mr. Manning, who had received the commission to deliver them, yielded to the wish of Sir Hudson Lowe, of leaving us in ignorance of the fact, and left the

\* In consequence of some unworthy manœuvres the poor gunner did not receive his money till nearly two years afterwards.

boxes at James Town, in order to wait for the decision of the government, as to whether they should be delivered to the Emperor or not.

This conduct of Sir Hudson Lowe gave rise to the following correspondence :

"TO THE GOVERNOR.

"SIR,—I have received the five cases which you have taken the trouble to send me, containing a set of chessmen, a box of counters, and two carved caskets in ivory, sent from Canton by Mr. Elphinstone. The Emperor was surprised to see by your letter that you thought it would have been your duty not to have transmitted these articles to Longwood. 'Did I act,' you say, 'in entire conformity with the established regulations, I ought not to forward them.' In this case, sir, you would have acted politely to keep them.

"But to what does this apply? Did not these articles arrive through the channel of the ministry? It is indeed ordained in the minister's restrictions that all letters must come through this channel; but not articles of dress, busts, furniture, &c. We have frequently received from the Cape articles which have been sent us. And besides, Lord Bathurst, in his speech, and you in your letters, indignantly denied that letters which came here through the post, or other opportunities, had been sent to London, to return to St. Helena. Your instructions therefore could not, nor cannot, authorize you to keep back such articles as busts, furniture, books, or any other effects which have no connexion with the security of the Emperor's detention.

"Is it because there is a crown on each of the counters? But no regulation can exist without our knowledge; now, we are not aware that we may not be permitted to possess any article on which there is a crown; if so, it would also be necessary to make new packs of cards, because there are crowns on those which are now used. The Emperor's linen, and the small quantity of plate still in his possession, are often taken to the town; they are marked with a crown.

"But from whom did this regulation, which you say is in force, emanate? From your government, which alone, by passing a bill, has a right to make regulations? Your minister declared, in open parliament, that no restrictions had been made since those which had been printed and communicated to Europe, which your predecessor had, and which he delivered over to you; he added, that you had no restriction, but had only taken measures of execution. In fact, then, you have no right to make restrictions.

"The Emperor wishes for favour from no one, and will have nothing from the caprice of any person whatever; but he has a right to know the restrictions which are imposed on him. Your government, the parliament, and all nations have the same right; I beg you then, sir, to communicate to us these fresh restrictions; if such as these did exist, they would be in contradiction of Lord Bathurst's assertion, 'that the only aim of the restrictions was to secure the Emperor's safe detention.'

"The Emperor charges me to protest against the existence of any restriction or regulation which shall not have been legally notified to him before being put into execution.

"I have the honour to be,

"&c., &c., &c.,

"COUNT BERTRAND."

## THE GOVERNOR'S ANSWER TO THE FOREGOING LETTER.

"SIR,—I have received your letter, dated the 9th instant. The frequent use which you make in it of the title, of 'Emperor,' and the tone in which you express your feelings to me when you employ it, would sufficiently authorize me to be silent respecting its contents, as having been addressed to me under an inadmissible form, and to refer you to my letter of the 30th of August, 1816, addressed to Count Montholon. I will not, however, avail myself of these motives to refuse to reply to them.

"The only object which I had in writing to you on the 8th of this month was, to prevent a belief from being entertained that I tacitly acknowledged, or approved of, the imperial rank being recognised in the crown placed everywhere above the initial letter of Napoleon, in presents sent to St. Helena, particularly by an English subject, and coming from an English factory.

"If I had forwarded these articles without any remark, it would necessarily have been taken for granted that I saw nothing improper in this; and I know but too well how far this precedent would have been used at any future departure from it, had I not explicitly declared the motives which induced me, on this occasion, to allow these articles to be forwarded to you.

"The person who sent these presents has his personal opinions, but I have the right of exercising my judgment in not permitting him to express them through me; and in forwarding the presents to their destination, without any other remarks than those contained in my letter, I did the utmost which could be required of me by the respect which the wishes or expectations of General Bonaparte demand from me. You ask me, sir, 'whether these articles did not come through the channel of the ministry?' &c. &c.

"I should have considered myself, according to the general tenour of my instructions, and even without reference to the decorations of these presents, fully justified in retaining them until I received from my government express orders to transmit them—except I made use of my discretionary power in examining them, and convincing myself that they contained no means of communication which might serve for a clandestine correspondence. The letter which I sent you, even before the articles were disembarked, is a sufficient proof that the latter alternative was that on which I was always ready to act, instead of awaiting the arrival of instructions from England.

"You remark, sir, that I repulsed with indignation the accusation of having sent back to London, to be re-sent to St. Helena, letters which had come through the post, or by private opportunities. I did without doubt, sir, indignantly repulse this accusation, as well as the reflections to which it had given rise, because they contained neither truth nor justice; because I was disgusted at the feeling which turned into sources of vexation and reproach, the marks of attention which I had shown, (for on seeing their family letters, I had used, in favour of the persons who applied to me, a discretionary power not authorized by my instructions;) but I did not admit that I had not a right, and was not perfectly authorized, to return letters to England, if I thought fit, when they came through irregular channels. Presents may be as contrary to the safety of General Bonaparte's detention as a letter, and might be liable to an examination which would entirely prevent their serving, in any way, either for ornament or utility. A letter can be concealed in the square of a chess-board, or under the bind-



ing of a book, as well as in the lining of a flannel waistcoat ; and I am not obliged to confide in the person who sends them, whoever this may be. If I have allowed articles to be forwarded to you, it was because I was persuaded that they were not of a reprehensible nature ; and you have certainly, sir, no reason to complain of the manner in which I have used my discretionary power, by consenting, as a general principle, to the transmission of all articles arriving here, and even by forwarding several others which arrived under cover to me, and the transmission of which was left by the persons sending them, through delicacy, entirely to my choice.

" You observe, sir, ' Is it because there is a crown on each of the counters ? ' &c. &c., and ask whether there exists any regulation forbidding you to have in your possession any article on which there is a crown ?

" Without doubt, sir, there does not exist any special and written regulation, forbidding any article surmounted with a crown, to be forwarded to Longwood, or preventing you from possessing any effects adorned with one ; but, in the present case, we find the imperial crown above the initial letter of Napoleon, cut and gilded, or engraved, and placed on every article. His abdication, the treaty of Paris, and the acts of the English parliament, render useless the existence of any regulation on this point. The effects surmounted with an imperial crown now at Longwood, bore this mark before the abdication. I have never disputed the possession, nor the satisfaction they may procure.

" As regards the passage which you quote from the debates of parliament, allow me to observe that it is inexact, according to all the newspapers which I have seen. The papers themselves do not agree ; one speaks of regulations, another of instructions, not restrictions, as being the same, at least without any substantial change, as those before prescribed.

" You say, sir, ' You have no right to make restrictions.'

" The act of parliament, the commission, and the instructions with which I am provided, are, sir, my surest guides in this respect. I shall, however, be allowed to add, that the first instructions which you demand should be my only rule, have received a more liberal construction than their strict and literal sense would seem to bear, relative to the degree of exemption from personal constraint which General Bonaparte now enjoys.

" You add—' The Emperor wishes for no favour,' &c. &c.

" I have not the presumption to grant a favour to General Bonaparte, and still less the arrogance to subject him to any act of my caprice. He is subject to no restriction with which the government is not acquainted, and which the whole world may not know.

" I will take advantage of this opportunity to recall to your mind, that General Bonaparte himself, in two interviews which I had with him, told me that, as a general officer, I ought to act according to my instructions, and not like an officer on duty ; but it seems that he now wishes me to fulfil it like one. Another time he declared that he would not recognize any direct or public *surveillance*. How do these suggestions agree with the narrow limits within which you now seek to restrain the exercise of my duties ?

" The views which you have expressed coincide the most with mine, seeing that all exercise of my discretionary power, even when I endeavour to act most favourably, only brings on new discussions ; but when none but such opposite sentiments are manifested, you will acknowledge, sir, the difficulty of reconciling them.

" You say, ' The Emperor charges me to protest against the existence of any restriction,' &c. &c.

" It is essentially my duty, whenever circumstances permit, to pay attention to any communication made to me in the name of the person you thus designate. It would, however, be impossible to notify a regulation called for by a sudden occurrence, before the circumstance which gives rise to it has taken place. The measure of which you speak was not of a nature to be communicated beforehand, but I venture to affirm, that it was not put into execution before information had been given of it.

" I have the honour to be, &c. &c. &c.,

" H. LOWE, Lieutenant-General."

## CHAPTER XX.

## LORD AMHERST.

EVERYTHING had been prepared for Lord Amherst's audience, as it had been for that of Sir Hudson Lowe, on his arrival at St. Helena. The presentation was to be performed by the grand marshal, one of us was to be in the topographic cabinet, which would serve on this occasion as an ante-room, and the valets de chambre, St. Denis and Noverras, were to be stationed at the doors of the ante-room and of the saloon in which the Emperor was. The suite of Lord Amherst was not to be presented till after the audience. Everything was done as had been arranged; and if Lord Amherst and his embassy had been received at the Tuileries, in the most splendid days of the empire, they could not have been more courteous and respectful, in manner as well as speech.

The mission of this ambassador formed the first subject of the conversation, and politics would not, probably, have been introduced at all, had not Lord Amherst offered to take charge of, and transmit to the Prince Regent, the requests which the Emperor might have to make to him.

This offer aroused in the Emperor's mind the recollection of the perpetual outrages which daily poisoned his life.

"Neither your king nor your nation have any right over me," said he, in a tone of deep suffering. "England sets an example of twenty millions of men oppressing one individual. Sylla and Marius signed their decrees of proscription in the midst of combats, and with the still bloody points of their swords; but the bill of the 11th of April was signed in the midst of peace, with the sceptre of a great nation, and in the sanctuary of the law.

"The right of nations should, at least, have been the law of your ministers; but it would have paralyzed the savage hatred of some of them; they wanted the arbitrary right; they lied to the parliament; they pushed the audacity of falsehood so far as to say, that they demanded the right of regulating my captivity, in order to treat me with more liberality than it was usual to grant to prisoners of war; and what use have they made of it? They have delegated this discretionary power to a man chosen *ad hoc* amongst men of a character known by their preceding missions, and have said to him—'*If your prisoner escape, your career and your fortune are lost.*' Is not this telling him to abuse his power? Does not this interest all that is dear to man? A gaoler in Europe cannot impose restrictions according to his own caprice or panic terrors, on the prisoner entrusted to his charge; he is obliged to confine himself to the execution of the regulations established by the laws or magistrates. There is but one means of taking from a prisoner all chance of evasion—to inclose him in

a coffin. The parliament which gave Charles I.'s head to the axe—the convention which condemned Louis XVI. to die by the hand of the executioner, found excuses for their crimes in national interest; the bill of the 11th of April only serves the purposes of personal hatred; it will, sooner or later, be the shame of England; the parliament which voted it forgot its sacred character, and, as a legislative body, committed a crime against English honour. I am not allowed to leave this unhealthy hut, unless accompanied by a guard; I am forbidden to receive letters from my wife, my mother, or my family, except they have been read and commented on by my gaoler.

“But of what use are these odious restrictions here? What man of sense can admit the possibility of my escape, when numerous cruising vessels hover round the island; when posts are established at all points; when there are signals always ready to correspond with each other; when no vessel can approach or leave St. Helena without having been visited by the Governor's agents; and, finally, when hundreds of sentinels are posted round the limits of this place, from six in the evening till six in the morning?

“But they do still more, if possible; they want me to deny a glorious fact—to acknowledge the shame of my country. They will have it that France had no right to place the imperial crown on my head; and pretend to wash away by a decree of Sir Hudson Lowe's, the holy oil with which the vicar of Jesus Christ anointed my forehead. The name of General Bonaparte was the one which I bore at Campo-Formio and at Lunéville, when I dictated terms of peace to the Emperor of Austria; I bore it at Amiens, when I signed the peace with England; I should be proud to bear it still, but the honour of France forbids me to acknowledge the King of England's right to annul the acts of the French people. My intention was to take the name of Duroc; your ministers, and their hired assassin, Sir Hudson Lowe, oblige me, by their ignoble intrigues on this subject, to retain the title of the Emperor Napoleon.

“If your government denies my right to this title, it acknowledges implicitly that Louis XVIII. reigned in France at the time when I signed the peace of Amiens, and when the Lords Lauderdale and Castlereagh negotiated with my plenipotentiaries. It does more: it acknowledges that the Cardinal of York reigned in England when George III. signed the peace of 1783, at Versailles; and denies the royalty of Charles XIII. of Sweden. To assert this opinion would be to give instability to all thrones, and to propagate the germ of revolution in every monarchy.

“Your ministers were not contented with giving parliament false information respecting my position; one of them said, in a numerous assembly in Ireland, that I had only made peace with England for the purpose of deceiving, surprising and destroying. Such calumnies against a man suffering under their oppression, and held by the throat to prevent his raising his voice, must be disapproved by all men of truth and honour.

“I always desired peace, and sincere peace, with England; and I know of no rivalries which should prevent two great nations from coming to an understanding with each other, and from advancing conjointly towards the end aimed at by my government. I wished to fill up the abyss of revolutions, and to re-construct, without shaking, the European edifice, to the advantage of all, by employing kings to bestow on continental Europe the blessing of constitutions, a blessing which your country, as well as mine, only acquired at the price of a fearful social commotion. England

had nothing more to fear from me, as soon as she would listen to me. If Fox had lived, the face of Europe would have been changed—his genius and his patriotism understood me—every great and national idea vibrated in his soul. He died, unfortunately for England, unfortunately for the world. Not a cannon-shot would have been fired on the continent after the battle of Austerlitz, if Lord Lauderdale's negotiations had been continued. I repeat, that I always desired peace; I only fought to obtain it. The congress of Vienna thinks it will secure this blessing to Europe; it is deceived. War, and a terrible war, is being hatched under the ashes of the empire. Sooner or later, nations will cruelly avenge me of the ingratitude of the kings whom I crowned or pardoned. Tell the Prince Regent—tell the parliament of which you are a principal member, that I await, as a favour, the axe of the executioner, to put an end to the outrages of my gaoler."

Lord Amherst had heard with emotion these complaints of a great and deeply wounded soul; he did not seek to conceal the interest which he felt in them. He promised to tell all to the Prince Regent; and respectfully offered his services to intervene with Sir Hudson Lowe.

"It would be useless," said the Emperor, interrupting him; crime, and hatred towards me are equally in this man's nature. It is necessary to his enjoyment to torture me; like the tiger, who tears with his claws the prey whose agonies he takes pleasure in prolonging."

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The evening after this audience, the Emperor said to us: "Lord Amherst has failed in his mission, but he is nevertheless a diplomatist of talent and skill. The precedent of Lord Macartney's embassy was an insurmountable obstacle at the moment when Lord Amherst determined not to submit to the Ko-tou. It appears that the ministers had foreseen this exaction of the Court of Peking, but that bad counsels had determined Lord Amherst to use, in refusing to submit to it, all the latitude left him by his instructions. An ambassador is not the sovereign, whatever the old diplomacy may say. No king ever regarded the ambassador of another king as his equal. The last prince of the royal blood takes precedence of the ambassador of the first king in Europe. The erroneous idea that an ambassador stands in the place of his sovereign, is a feudal tradition; because, when the feudal system was in operation, if a great vassal found himself unable to render oath and homage in person to his suzerain, he sent an ambassador as his representative, and to him all the honours due to his master were paid. The character of an ambassador is, in relation to that of a plenipotentiary minister, what the character of this latter is to that of an envoy—it is a hierarchy of rank; the ambassador in the first rank, the minister in the second, the envoy in the third; as negotiators, they all three have the same rights, their signatures are equally good, and must equally acquire their definitive value by the ratification of the sovereign. The difference between these three diplomatic degrees of rank, only exists as far as regards the honours to which they give a right. An ambassador, for example, has a right to be treated with all the honours, and to be granted all the privileges, allowed to men of the highest rank in the state; the ministers have a right to be treated as the chief nobility of the court would be; and the envoy has a right of precedence over the social masses. The *chargés-d'affaires* are merely accredited agents sent to the minister of foreign affairs."

"Lord Amherst recognized the truth of this diplomatic position; but he affirmed, that from this situation evidently resulted his right to exact that a deputy, of a rank equal to his own, should perform before the portrait of the King of England the ceremony of the Ko-tou, which he would then himself perform before the Emperor of China, unless the Emperor signed a declaration that if he sent an ambassador to England, this ambassador should perform the Ko-tou before the King of England. This demand was refused, and with justice; the same things could not be exacted from a Chinese ambassador in London, as were exacted from other ambassadors.

"Lord Amherst demanded that the Emperor of China would at least accept, as a compromise, the etiquette of presentation at the English court, which requires the ambassador to put one knee to the ground at the foot of the throne, and present his letters of appointment.

"The court of Peking persisted in its rejection of any modification of the Ko-tou.

"Lord Amherst did not comprehend all the force of the only reasonable objection against the Ko-tou, which was, the representing it as a religious act, a ceremony of paganism, which his religion forbade him to perform; he combated but feebly the demands of the mandarins, who displayed in this discussion much cunning and spirit of chicanery. And, in short, this embassy will have cost a great deal of money, and have only served to increase the unpleasantness of the relations between the two countries.

"Mr. Ellis, secretary to the embassy," added the Emperor, "interested me deeply by the details which he gave me of the intrigues at the court of Persia, at the time when I sent General Gardanne thither; Mr. Ellis was then the *chargé-d'affaires* at this court on the part of England."

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General Gourgaud meanwhile was melancholy; some letters which he had received from his mother had deeply affected him; the Emperor had perceived his sadness, but tried in vain to learn the cause of it. Two or three days passed thus. A vessel was about to sail for Europe. The Emperor sent for Gourgaud, and put into his hands an open letter, commissioning him to forward it to Paris, and giving him permission to read its contents. It was a bill for a pension of 12,000 francs, to be paid to M. Gourgaud, and transferred, at his death, to his son; this manner of proving to his officers the interest which he took in them was a custom of the Emperor's; I have often experienced it.

The affair of the bust was not yet terminated, and was fated to give rise to more vexations to the Emperor. Sir Hudson Lowe sent him information, that General Bertrand's letter was the most impertinent he had ever received in his life; that General Bonaparte must keep in mind in future, that General Bertrand only remained on the island through the favour of Sir Hudson Lowe; and that if he again committed such a fault, he should immediately be sent to the Cape; and begged General Bonaparte to inform him who was the author of the infamous calumny which accused him of having intended to break the bust, and of having hindered the gunner of the Baring in the sale of his venture.

The Emperor replied: "The gunner himself said this to the grand marshal. The governor complains of the letters which I caused to be written to him; let him fully understand that I wish to be under no obligations to him; if he is not authorized by his instructions to let me purchase the bust

of my son, and to allow me to receive the presents offered me by Mr. Elphinstone, in gratitude for my having saved his brother's life on the eve of the battle of Waterloo, why did he forward these articles to Longwood? But where are these pretended restrictions, and why has he never communicated them to us? The fact is, that they do not exist; and I protest against any restraints on my liberty of action, which shall not have been communicated to me before being put into execution. Lord Bathurst declared in parliament that Sir Hudson Lowe had no right to add, in any way, to the established restrictions, which have been communicated to me. If by chance he took a fancy to protest against the crowns on the chessmen, why did he not do it? I should have laughed heartily at it; but no; what he wanted to do was simply to torment me by quoting the tenour of imaginary regulations, in order to have an opportunity of insinuating, that it is to his extreme goodness that I owe the bust of my son, and some articles of Chinese workmanship. A man becomes accustomed to the dungeon of a prison, even if he has irons on his feet and hands, but never to the caprice of his gaoler. I wish for no favour from him; the only thing now wanting to his pretensions is that he should exact that I should write to him every day, to thank him for the air I breathe. Sir Hudson Lowe fatigues me with his insinuations; he is killing me by pin-wounds, morally as well as physically; an executioner would kill me with one blow; the governor's conduct is in everything crooked and mysterious; it is the way the petty tyrants of Italy act; crime alone walks in darkness; sooner or later, his king and his nation will be informed of his unworthy conduct, and if he escapes the chastisement of the laws which he is violating, he will not escape the decree of infamy and reprobation which will be pronounced on him by all enlightened and humane men; he is an unfaithful deputy; he deceives his government;—the twenty falsehoods contained in Lord Bathurst's speech, are an incontestable proof of this. His conduct with regard to the bust of my son, is odious, and worthy of all his acts since his arrival here."





# APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

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## ON THE BOURBONS.

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### CHAPTER I.

*In the sixteenth century, the Pope, Spain, and the Sixteen wished in vain to raise a fourth dynasty to the throne of France. Henry IV. succeeded Henry III. without an interregnum. He triumphed over the League, but could only maintain himself upon the throne by attaching himself to the party of the majority of the nation.*

HENRY IV. was proclaimed at St. Cloud on the very same day on which Henry III. died. His authority was recognized by all the Protestant churches, and by a part of the Catholic nobility. The Holy League which had been formed against Henry III., from a hatred to Protestantism, and on account of the assassination of the Duke of Guise, was then predominant in Paris, and commanded five sixths of the kingdom. The League refused to recognize the claims of Henry IV., but it did not proclaim any other master. Its leader, the Duke of Mayenne, exercised authority under the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom. Henry IV.'s accession produced no change in the forms adopted by the League for the maintenance and exercise of its power. Every city was governed by its own local or military authorities, as in the times of the troubles and factions. At no period, not even on the day after his entrance into Paris, did Henry IV. acknowledge any of the acts of the League, nor did the latter ever put forward any pretensions: no law or no public regulation ever emanated from the League. The Parliament of Paris was divided into two parties; the one which favoured the League held its sittings in Paris, and the other, which adopted the cause of Henry IV., assembled at Tours. The Parliament, however, could only register laws and perform judiciary functions. The provinces preserved their organization: their privileges remain intact, and they were governed by their ancient customs. We have said that the League never proclaimed any other master: it, however, for a moment, recognised the Cardinal de Bourbon, uncle of Henry, as king. The Cardinal would not consent to second the designs of the enemies of his house. Besides, Henry was in possession of his person; no act, therefore, emanated from him, and the League continued to be governed by the authority of the Duke of Mayenne as lieutenant-general. There was, then, no interregnum between the death of Henry III. and the accession of Henry IV. The League was divided into several parties; the Sorbonne had decided that the right of birth could confer no right to the crown upon a prince who was an enemy to the Church; Rome had declared that Henry IV., being a relapsed heretic, had forfeited his rights forever, and could not recover them, even by again entering into the bosom of the church. Henry IV., king of Navarre, was born in the Reformed faith; at the time of St. Bartholomew he was constrained to marry Margaret of Valois, and to abjure the Reformed religion. No sooner however, did he find himself among his co-religionists south of the Loire, than he declared that his abjuration had been made under constraint,

and re-entered the Protestant communion. This step led to his being denominated an obdurate heretic; but the majority of the League, all whose opinions were moderate, concurred in the expediency of calling upon Henry to enter into the bosom of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, and to acknowledge him as king, as soon as he had abjured his errors and received absolution from the bishops.

The Leaguers convoked the States-General of the kingdom at Paris; the ambassadors of Spain unmasked the designs of their master, and solicited the estates to raise a fourth dynasty to the throne of France. Henry and Condé having been declared relapsed heretics, had lost all their claims to the crown, and the male line of the Capets was therefore extinct. They then put forward the claims of the Infanta of Spain, who had been niece of Henry II., king of France, and was the nearest claimant in the female line; and should the nation be of opinion that the privilege of disposing of the crown had reverted to it, in consequence of the extinction of the male line, they still insisted that its choice should fall upon the Infanta. They alleged that it was impossible to find any one of a more illustrious house, and that France owed to itself this duty, in consideration of the efforts made by Philip II. to sustain the cause of the League. Spanish troops were in Paris, under the orders of the Duke of Mayenne; the Infanta would marry a French prince, and they even indicated the Duke of Guise, son of him who had been assassinated at Blois. An army of 50,000 Spaniards would be maintained in Paris by the court of Madrid, which was ready to lavish its treasures, and to put forth all its energies to ensure the triumph of this fourth dynasty. The Sixteen would support these propositions, sanctioned by the court of Rome, and maintained by all the efforts of the legate. All these attempts, however, proved vain: the national spirit was roused, and could not bear to see a foreign nation disposing of the throne of France. That party of the Parliament which held its sittings in Paris, having assembled its chambers, united in presenting a remonstrance to the Duke of Mayenne, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, urging him to watch over the fundamental laws of the monarchy, and especially the Salic law. Had the efforts of the Spanish faction been successful in prevailing upon the Parliament to declare that the descendants of Hugh Capet had forfeited their claims to the throne of France, it would have raised a new dynasty to the throne; and if this dynasty had been excepted by the nation and sanctioned by Europe, the rights of the third dynasty would have been extinct.

Henry conquered the League at Arques and on the plains of Ivry, and afterward besieged Paris. He, however, soon recognized the impossibility of reigning in France without adopting the party of the majority of the nation. He had proved victorious, with an army almost entirely French; for if he had under his orders a small body of English, the Leaguers had a much more considerable force of Italians and Spaniards. The combat of the two parties was thus one of French against French; the foreigners were only auxiliaries, and whatever might have been the result of the contest, neither the national honour nor independence would have been compromised. *Ventre Saint-Gris! Paris is well worth a mass!* was the language which Henry employed to sound the opinions of the Huguenots; and when at the council of Beauvais, he assembled the chief of his religious friends in order to deliberate on the course proper to be pursued, the majority, and, above all, the men of greatest wisdom, advised the king to abjure, and to adopt the party of the majority of the nation. Henry accordingly abjured at St. Denis, and received absolution from the bishops. Paris opened its gates to the conqueror, and his authority was recognised by the whole of the kingdom. Henry adopted the national party in good faith, and almost all the public offices were filled by Leaguers. His Protestant followers, those who had always served him, and by whom he gained his victories, often urged their complaints, and taxed him with ingratitude; but, notwithstanding all his circumspection, the nation long entertained feelings of distrust respecting the secret intentions of the king—and it was alleged that the “*cask would always smell of the herring.*”

## CHAPTER II.

*The Republic consecrated by the will of the people, by religion, victory, and all the powers of Europe.*

HUGH CAPET was raised to the throne by the choice of a Parliament composed of nobles and bishops, which then constituted the nation. The French monarchy never has been absolute, for the intervention of the States-General has always been regarded necessary in all the principal acts of legislation, and the ratification of all new imposition. Afterward, the Parliaments, assuming the privileges of the States-General, and seconded by the court, usurped the rights of the nation. In 1783, the Parliaments were the first to acknowledge this fact. Louis XVI. convoked the States-General in 1789, and the nation resumed the exercise of a portion of its sovereignty. The Constituent Assembly gave the state a new constitution, which was sanctioned by the opinion of the whole of France. Louis XVI. accepted this constitution, and swore to maintain it. The Legislative Assembly suspended the authority of the king; and the Convention composed of deputies from all parts of the kingdom, and clothed with special powers, declared the monarchy abolished, and created the Republic. All that held to the royal party quitted France, and appealed to the aid of foreign armies. Austria and Prussia signed the treaty of Pilnitz. Austrian and Prussian armies, aided by the army of the princes (*l'armée des princes*), commenced the war of the first coalition for reducing the French people to subjection. The whole nation flew to arms. Austria and Prussia were beaten. Afterward, Austria, England, and Russia formed the second coalition, which was vanquished like the first; and all the powers recognized the French republic:

1. The Republic of Genoa, by an extraordinary embassy, on the 15th of June, 1792;
2. The Porte, by the declaration of 27th of March, 1793;
3. Tuscany, by the treaty of the 9th of February, 1795;
4. Holland, by the treaty of the 16th of May, 1795;
5. The Republic of Venice, by a special embassy, on the 30th of December, 1795;
6. The King of Prussia, by the treaty of Basle, signed the 5th of April, 1795;
7. The King of Spain, by the treaty of Basle of the 22d of July, 1795;
8. Hesse-Cassel, by the treaty of the 28th of July, 1795;
9. Switzerland, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1795;
10. Denmark, by the declaration of the 18th of August, 1795;
11. Sweden, by the embassy of the 23d of April, 1796;
12. Sardinia, by the Treaty of Paris of the 23th of April, 1796;
13. America, by an extraordinary embassy of the 30th of December, 1796;
14. Naples, by the treaty of the 10th of October, 1798;
15. Parma, by the treaty of the 5th of November, 1796;
16. Württemberg, by the treaty of the 7th of August, 1796;
17. Baden, by the treaty of the 22d of August, 1796;
18. Bavaria, by the treaty of the 25th of July, 1797;
19. Portugal, by the treaty of the 19th of August, 1797;
20. The Pope, by the treaty signed at Tolentino, on the 19th of February, 1797;
21. The Emperor of Germany, by the treaty of Campo-Formio, 7th of October, 1797;
22. The Emperor of Russia, by the treaty of the 8th of October, 1801;
23. Finally England, by the treaty of Amiens, signed 27th of March, 1802.

The government of the republic sent ambassadors to, and received ambassadors from, all nations. The tri-coloured flag was acknowledged on every sea, and among all the people of the world. The Pope had treated with the Republic at Tolentino in the character of a temporal sovereign; but he also recognized its existence, and treated with it as a legal government in his character of the Head of the Church by the Concordat signed in Paris on the 18th of April 1802. Most of the bishops who had followed the princes into foreign countries made their submission, and those who wished to maintain their allegiance to them lost their sees.

Thus the Republic, sanctioned by the whole body of the people, victorious by its arms, recognized by all the powers of the civilized world, was also acknowledged by all religions, and especially by the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.

The Republic was not only recognized by all the powers of the civilized world after the death of Louis XVI., but none of these powers ever recognized a successor to this prince. The third dynasty was therefore terminated in 1800, just as the first and the second had previously been. The titles and rights of the Merovingians were extinguished by those of the Carolingians; the titles and rights of the Carolingians were extinguished by those of the Capetians, in the same manner as the titles and rights of the Capetians were extinguished by those of the Republic. Every legitimate government extinguishes all the rights and claims of that by which it has been preceded. The republic was then a government both *de facto* and *de jure*—legalized by the will of the nation, and sanctioned by religion and the acknowledgment of the whole world.

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### CHAPTER III.

*The Revolution made France a new nation; it freed the Gauls from the conquests of the Franks; created new interests and a new order of things, suitable to the well-being of the people—to their rights, to justice, and to the intelligence and light of the age.*

THE French Revolution was not produced by the collision of two families disputing for the throne, but was a general movement of the mass of the nation against the privileged classes. The French nobility, like that of the rest of Europe, dates from the time of the incursion of the barbarians, who shared the Roman Empire among themselves. In France, the nobles represented the Franks and the Burgundians; all the rest of the nation, the Gauls. The introduction of feudal government established the principle that every territory or estate must have a lord. All the political rights were enjoyed and exercised by the nobles and priests, while the peasants were slaves attached to the soil. The progress of knowledge and civilization enfranchized the people. This new state of things led to the encouragement of industry and commerce; and during the eighteenth century the greater part of the lands, wealth, and knowledge fell to the share of the people. The nobles, however, continued to be a privileged class—preserved the administration of justice, and possessed a great number and variety of feudal rights. They enjoyed the privilege of exemption from all the burdens of the state, and retained exclusive possession of all the most honourable employments. All these abuses excited the indignation and complaints of the people; and the principal object of the Revolution was the destruction of all these privileges and the abolition of seigniorial justice; for the administration of justice is an inseparable attribute of sovereign authority. It aimed at the suppression of feudal rights as a remnant of the ancient bondage of the people; at subjecting the whole body of the citizens and the whole property of the kingdom, without distinction, to an equal share of the burdens of the state. And, finally, it proclaimed the equality of all in the eye of the law. Every citizen was henceforward to be eligible to all the public offices of the state, according to his abilities and the chances of fortune. The kingdom was composed of provinces which had been united to the crown at very different periods. These provinces had no natural boundaries—were differently divided, unequal in extent and population. Each had its own peculiar customs and laws, in civil as well as in criminal affairs; their privileges were distinct; taxation unequal, both in the amount and nature of the impositions, which made it frequently necessary to isolate them by a chain of custom-houses. In fact, France was not a state, but a union of several states in juxtaposition, without being amalgamated with one another. Every thing had been determined by the events of past ages and by accident. The Revolution, guided by the principle of equality, both among the citizens of the state and all the parts of its territory, destroyed these petty nations and formed **ONE** new state.

Brittany, Normandy, Provence, Lorraine, &c., existed no more, and there resulted only one France. A new division of the country was made, without respect to former limits—to judicial or administrative organization—to differences in civil or criminal laws, or in taxation; the dream of good men of all ages was realized. The opposition offered to the progress of the Revolution by the court, clergy, and nobility, and the wars with foreign powers, led to the laws against emigration—to the sequestration of the estates of the emigrants, and to the application of their produce to the maintenance of the war. A great part of the nobility attached themselves to the cause of the princes of the house of Bourbon, and formed themselves into an army which co-operated with the Austrian, Prussian, and English armies. Noblemen brought up in the lap of ease and luxury, served as common soldiers. Fatigue and war destroyed them in vast numbers; many perished from misery in foreign lands; while the war in La Vendée, that of the Chouans, and the revolutionary tribunals, mowed them down by thousands. Three fourths of the French nobility were destroyed in this manner, and all the places in the judicial, civil, and military departments were filled by persons who sprung from the mass of the people. The confusion and change produced by the Revolution in persons and property were as great as those which had been effected in the whole principles of government. There was even a new church: the dioceses of Vienne, Narbonne, Frejus, Sisteron, and Rheims were replaced by sixty new dioceses, whose limits were circumscribed by the new concordat and new bulls, in a manner suitable to the actual divisions of the kingdom. The suppression of religious orders and the sale of all the property of the clergy were sanctioned, and the ministers of religion pensioned by the state. Every thing which had been the result of the long course of events since the time of Clovis ceased to be. All these changes were so advantageous to the people, that they were carried into effect with the greatest ease; and in 1800 there no longer remained a vestige of the ancient privileges of the provinces—of their ancient sovereigns, parliaments, jurisdictions, or dioceses. In order to ascend to the origin of the existing state of things, it was only necessary to have recourse to the new law which had established it. The half of the soil of the nation had changed hands, and the change had brought independence and wealth to the peasants and citizens. The progress of agriculture, manufactures, industry, and commerce, far exceeded all expectation, and France presented the grand spectacle of a nation of more than 30,000,000 of inhabitants governed by one law, one rule, one order. All these changes were in accordance with the well-being of the people and their rights, with justice, and the intelligence and light of the age.

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#### CHAPTER IV.

*The French people established the imperial throne in order to consolidate all the new interests. This fourth dynasty did not immediately succeed the third, but the Republic. Napoleon was consecrated by the Pope, and recognized by the powers of Europe—created kings, and exercised command over the armies of all the powers of the Continent.*

THE five members of the Directory were divided; enemies to the Republic contrived to get a footing in its councils, and introduced into the government men who were enemies to the rights of the people. This form of government kept the state in a continual fermentation, and the great interests which the French had conquered by the Revolution were incessantly compromised. A unanimous voice, proceeding from the remotest recesses of the country, from the heart of her cities, and from the bosom of her fields, zealous for the preservation of all the principles of the Republic, demanded the establishment of an hereditary system of government, which might protect the principles and interests of the Revolution from factions and the influence of foreigners. The First Consul of the Republic, by the Constitution of the year eight, was elected for ten years, the nation had extended the period of his magistracy for life; and it now raised him

to the throne, which was made hereditary in his family. The principles of the sovereignty of the people, of liberty and equality, of the destruction of feudal government, of the irrevocability of the sales of the natural desmesnes, and of freedom of worship, were consolidated. The government of France under this fourth dynasty was founded on the same principles as the Republic; it was a constitutional and limited monarchy. There was as great a difference between the government of France under the fourth dynasty and the third, as between the latter and the Republic. The fourth dynasty succeeded the Republic, or rather was merely a new modification of it.

No prince ever ascended a throne with more legitimate rights than Napoleon. The throne was transferred to Hugh Capet by a few bishops and nobles; the throne—the imperial throne, was conferred upon Napoleon by the universal wish of the people, thrice confirmed in the most solemn manner. Pope Pius VII., head of the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church—the church of the majority of the people—crossed the Alps to anoint the Emperor with his own hands, in the presence of all the bishops of France, the cardinals of the Church of Rome, and deputies from all the departments of the Empire. The kings of Europe emulated each other in their haste to recognize him, and saw with pleasure a modification introduced into the Republic which brought it into harmony with the rest of Europe, and consolidated the happiness and the state of this great nation. The ambassadors of the emperors of Austria and Russia, those of Prussia, Spain, and Portugal, of Turkey, and America, and, finally, of all the powers, came to compliment the Emperor. England alone sent none, having violated the treaty of Amiens, and being again at war with France; but even England approved of these changes. Lord Whitworth, in the course of the secret negotiations which were carried on through the medium of Count Malouet, and which preceded the rupture of the peace of Amiens, proposed, on the part of his government, to recognize Napoleon as king of France if he would consent to cede the Island of Malta. The First Consul replied, that if ever the well-being of France required him to ascend the throne, it would only be by the free voice of the French people. When Lord Lauderdale afterward repaired to Paris in 1806, to negotiate a peace between England and the Emperor, he exchanged his powers and negotiated with the plenipotentiary of the Emperor, as is proved by the minutes of the proceedings. The death of Fox put an end to the negotiations with Lord Lauderdale. The English minister might have hindered the campaign in Prussia, and prevented the battle of Jena. When the Allies afterwards presented an *ULTIMATUM* at Chaumont, in 1814, Lord Castlereagh, in signing the *ULTIMATUM*, recognized anew the existence of the Empire in the person and family of Napoleon; and if the latter failed to accept the propositions of the Congress of Chatillon, it was because he did not think himself entitled to cede any portion of the Empire, whose integrity he had sworn to maintain on his coronation.

The electors of Bavaria, Wirtemberg, and Saxony were created kings by the Emperor.

The Saxon, Bavarian, Wirtemberg, Baden, and Hessian armies fought in conjunction with the armies of France. The Russian and French armies fought together in the war of 1809 against Austria. Afterward the Emperor of Austria concluded an alliance with Napoleon in Paris in 1812, and Prince Schwarzenberg, under his orders, commanded the Austrian contingent in the Russian campaign, in which he obtained the rank of field marshal at the request of France. A similar treaty of alliance was formed at Berlin, and the Prussian army took part in the same Russian campaign, in conjunction with the French troops.

The wounds inflicted by the Revolution were cicatrized by the Emperor; all the emigrants returned, and the list of proscriptions was destroyed. This prince had the singular glory of recalling to their country, and of re-establishing in their homes, more than 20,000 families. All their unsold estates were restored; and, passing a sponge over the past, men of all classes, whatever might have been their previous conduct, were equally admitted to employments of all kinds. Those families which had rendered themselves illustrious by their services and devotedness to the Bourbons, occupied places at court, in the administration and in the army. All party distinctions were forgotten; there were no longer Aristo-

crats or Jacobins; and the establishment of the Legion of Honour, destined for the reward of civil and judicial, as well as military services, united in one body the soldier, philosopher, artist, prelate, and magistrate: this was the outward sign of the re-union of all estates and of all parties.

## CHAPTER V.

*The blood of the imperial dynasty was mingled with that of all the sovereign houses in Europe—those of Russia, Prussia, England and Austria.*

THE imperial house of France contracted alliances with all the sovereign families of Europe. Prince Eugene Napoleon, adopted son of the Emperor, married the eldest daughter of the King of Bavaria, one of the most distinguished princesses of her time for her personal beauty and moral qualities. This alliance, contracted at Munich on the 14th of January, 1806, filled the whole people of Bavaria with satisfaction and joy. The hereditary Prince of Baden, brother-in-law of the Emperor of Russia, solicited in marriage the Princess Stephanie, the adopted daughter of the Emperor; this marriage was celebrated at Paris on the 7th of April, 1806. Prince Jerome Napoleon, on the 22d of August, 1807, married the eldest daughter of the King of Wirtemberg, cousin-german of the Emperor of Russia, of the King of England, and the King of Prussia. Other alliances of this nature were formed with sovereign princes of Germany, of the house of Hohenzollern. These marriages all proved happy, and from all of them have been born princes and princesses, who will transmit the remembrance of them to future generations.

When the interests of France and of the empire demanded the severance of those bonds which existed between the Emperor and the Empress Josephine, which were equally dear to both, the greatest sovereigns in Europe sought for an alliance with Napoleon. Had not religious difficulties, and the delays occasioned by distance, interfered, it is probable that an archduchess of Russia would have occupied the throne of France. This honour fell to the lot of the Archduchess Maria Louisa of Austria, who was married to the Emperor Napoleon by procurator, given to Prince Charles, at Vienna, on the 11th of March, 1810, and afterward at Paris, on the 2d of April following. This marriage was a subject of great rejoicing to the people both of Austria and France. The Emperor of Austria no sooner heard that there was some likelihood of the marriage of Napoleon, than he expressed his surprise that his alliance had not been thought of. Attention had been at first directed to a princess either of the house of Russia or Saxony. The Emperor Francis explained his wishes to the Count de Narbonne, governor of Trieste, who was at that time in Vienna. Instructions on this subject had been sent by the cabinet of Vienna to Prince Schwartzemberg, then ambassador in Paris. A privy council was summoned at the Tuileries in February, 1810, at which the Minister of Foreign Affairs communicated the despatches which he had received from the Duke of Vicenza, then ambassador in Petersburg. The substance was, that the Emperor was well disposed to ally his sister, the Grand-duchess Ann, with Napoleon, but appeared to attach some importance to the question of the free exercise of her religion, and a chapel where service should be performed according to the ritual of the Greek Church. The despatches from Vienna made the council fully acquainted with the purposes and wishes of that court. There was a division of opinion; the advantages of the alliances with Russia, Austria, and Saxony were duly considered, and the votes of the majority were in favour of an arch-duchess of Austria. As the Prince Eugene was the first to deliver this opinion, the Emperor on the breaking up of the council, at two o'clock in the morning, authorized him to make proposals on the subject to Prince Schwartzemberg, and at the same time authorized the Minister of Foreign Affairs to sign the stipulations for the marriage during the course of the day. In order, moreover, to remove all difficulties respecting details, he authorized him to sign, word for word, the same contract into which Louis XVI. had entered in the case

of Marie Antoinette. In the morning Prince Eugene waited on Prince Schwartzemberg. The contract was signed during the day, and the courier which carried the news to the Emperor of Austria brought him a most agreeable surprise. The particular circumstances connected with the signature of the marriage contract led the Emperor Alexander to suppose that he had been deluded by the court of the Tuileries, which was, at the same time, engaged in two negotiations. He was, however, mistaken, for the negotiation with Vienna was begun and ended in one day. Never did the birth of any prince give rise to a greater intoxication of joy in a nation than that of the King of Rome, or produce a greater effect in Europe. On the first report of the cannon which announced the safe delivery of the Empress, all Paris was in a state of extreme suspense. The people stopped and listened on the promenades, in the streets, within their houses, and in public assemblies. The whole population was occupied in reckoning the number of guns, and the report of the twenty-second filled the city with universal joy. It was customary to fire twenty-one guns on the birth of a princess, and one hundred and one on that of a prince. All the powers of Europe pressed forward with their congratulation on this auspicious event. The Emperor of Russia sent his Minister of the Interior to compliment the Emperor; the Emperor of Austria sent Count Clary, one of the great officers of the crown. The latter brought to the young king a collar, set with diamonds, of all the orders of the Austrian monarchy. The baptism of the King of Rome was celebrated in the presence of all the bishops, and of deputies from all the countries of the Empire, and with the greatest sovereign pomp. The Emperor of Austria, the godfather of the young king, was represented on the occasion by his brother, the Archduke Ferdinand, at that time Grand-duke of Würzburg, but now Grand-duke of Tuscany.

## CHAPTER VI.

*Which touches incidentally upon the campaign in Saxony, and proves that the League of 1813 was, in its object, foreign to the Restoration.*

THE victories of Lutzen and Wurchen, gained on the 2d and 22d of May, 1813, completely re-established the reputation of the French arms. The king of Saxony had been brought back in triumph to his capital, the enemy driven from Hamburg, and one of the corps of the Grand Army was at the gate of Berlin. The Russian and Prussian armies, discouraged, had no other course to adopt but to recross the Vistula, when Austria interfered, and recommended France to agree to a suspension of arms. The Emperor returned to Dresden; the Emperor of Austria went to Vienna, and then to Bohemia; while the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia established their quarters at Schweidnitz. The conferences were opened: Count Metternich proposed the Congress of Prague; the proposal was accepted, but it was, in reality, merely a pretence. The court of Vienna had, in fact, already entered into engagements with Russia and Prussia, and would have declared herself in the month of May, had not the unexpected success of the French armies compelled her to proceed with greater prudence. Notwithstanding all her efforts, her army was not yet sufficiently numerous—badly organized—by no means in a condition to enter on a campaign. Count Metternich required the cession of the Illyrian provinces, and one half of the kingdom of Italy—that is, Venice, and the country as far as the Mincio—besides Poland; the Emperor's renunciation of the Protectorate of Germany, and of the departments of the thirty-second military division. These extravagant conditions were only proposed in order to be refused. The Duke of Vicenza repaired to the Congress of Prague. The choice of Baron d'Anstetten as Russian plenipotentiary was a clear evidence that the object of Russia was not a peace, but to give Austria time to conclude her military preparations. In fact, the evil augury which had been drawn from the selection of this negotiator was confirmed, and he speedily proved that he wished for no conference. Austria, who pretended to act the part of a mediatrix, declared her adhesion to the coalition as soon as her army was ready,



without having required the opening of a single sitting, or the record of a single minute. This system of bad faith, and of contradictions between her words and actions, was constantly followed by Austria at this period. The war recommenced. The splendid victory gained by the Emperor at Dresden on the 27th of August, 1813, over the army commanded by the three sovereigns, was immediately followed by the disasters which Macdonald's manœuvres in Silesia brought upon his army, and the loss of Vandamme in Bohemia. Notwithstanding, the superiority still remained on the side of the French army, which was supported by the fortresses of Torgau, Wittenberg, and Magdeburg. Denmark had concluded a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, and her contingent augmented the army of Hamburg. In October the Emperor left Dresden, and set out for Magdeburg by the left bank of the Elbe, in order to deceive the enemy. His project was to cross the Elbe at Wittenberg, and to march upon Berlin. Several corps of the army had already arrived at Wittenberg, and the enemy's bridge at Dessau had been destroyed, when a letter from the King of Wirtemberg announced the surprising and unexpected intelligence that the King of Bavaria had suddenly changed sides, without any declaration of war or preliminary warning; that the Austrian and Bavarian armies, encamped on the banks of the Inn, had united their forces, and formed only a single camp; that these 80,000 men, under the command of General Wrede, were about to advance to the Rhine; and that he himself, overwhelmed and constrained by this force, was obliged to join with his contingent. The letter stated, moreover, that the fortress of Mayence might be soon expected to be surrounded by a body of 100,000, the Bavarians having made the cause of Austria their own. This unexpected news compelled the Emperor to change the whole plan of the campaign, on which he had resolved two months before, and for which he had made all the necessary dispositions of his fortresses and magazines. His plan was, to draw the Allied armies between the Elbe and the Saale, and, resting on the fortresses and magazines of Torgau, Wittenburg, Magdeburg, and Hamburg, to transfer the scene of war to the country between the Elbe and the Oder, on the banks of which river the French army was still in possession of Glogau, Custrin, and Stettin; and, farther, according to circumstances, to blockade Dantzic, Thorn, and Modlin, on the Vistula. Great expectations were entertained of such success in this vast plan, that the coalition would have been completely disorganized, and all the German princes confirmed in their alliance and fidelity to France. It was hoped that Bavaria might have delayed her change of sides for a fortnight, and then it would have been certain she would not have changed at all.

The armies met on the field of Leipzig on the 16th of October. The French proved victorious; the Austrians were beaten, and driven from all their positions, and Count Meerfeld, one of their generals of division, was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding the check experienced by the Duke of Ragusa on the 16th, the victory still remained with the French on the 18th, when the whole Saxon army, with a battery of sixty guns, and occupying one of the most important positions of the line, went over to their countrymen *en masse*, and turned their guns upon the French lines. Such an unexpected and unheard of act of treachery necessarily changed the whole face of affairs, brought ruin upon the army, and gave the honour of the day to the Allies. The Emperor made every possible exertion to repair the disaster—flew to the scene of treachery with one half of his guard—repulsed and drove the Saxons and Swedes from their positions. At the close of the 18th the enemy made a retrograde movement along the whole extent of their line, and bivouacked behind the field of battle, which remained in the hands of the French. During the night the French army made a movement to secure themselves behind the Elster, and maintain a direct communication with Erfurt, whence they expected to receive the convoys of ammunition of which they stood in need. During the days of the 16th and 18th the army had fired more than fifty thousand cannon shots. The treachery of the Saxons was followed by that of several of the other German corps of the Confederation; and this, together with the accident of the unseasonable springing of the bridge of Leipzig, brought upon the army, although victorious, all the evil consequences of the most disastrous defeats. The French repassed the Saale by the bridge of Weissenfels, and

it was intended there to rally, and wait the arrival of munitions of war from Erfurt, which was abundantly provisioned, when news was received of the Austro-Bavarian army. It had advanced by forced marches, and arrived on the banks of the Maine, and it became necessary to march to meet it. On the 20th of October the French army fell in with the Allied forces, drawn up in order of battle, in advance of Hanau, intercepting the road to Frankfort. Although strong, and occupying an admirable position, it was overthrown, put completely to rout, and driven from Hanau, which was occupied by General Bertrand. General Wrede was wounded. The French army now continued its retreat behind the Rhine, and recrossed that river on the 2d of November. Conferences were opened. Baron St. Aignon was at Frankfort. He held conferences with Counts Metternich and Nesselrode, and Lord Aberdeen, and arrived in Paris as the bearer of terms of peace, based on the following conditions: That the Emperor should renounce the protectorate of the Rhine, Poland, and the departments of the Elbe, but that the integrity of France should be preserved within the limits of the Alps and the Rhine, Holland inclusive; and the question of boundary between France and the Austrian dominions in Italy should be a subject of discussion and settlement. The Emperor acceded to these conditions; but the Congress of Frankfort was a mere *ruse*, like that of Prague, in the expectation that France would refuse its assent. The object was, to obtain a text for a new manifesto, which might serve to rouse and stimulate the public feelings; for at the very moment in which these conciliatory propositions were made, the Allied army was entering Switzerland, and violating the neutrality of its cantons. The Allies, however, soon displayed their real intentions. They named Chatillon-sur-Seine, in Burgundy, as the place for holding the Congress. The battles of Champ Aubert, Montmirail, and Montereau destroyed the armies of Blucher and Wittgenstein, and no negotiations took place at Chatillon. The power of the coalition merely presented an *ultimatum*, the conditions of which were, first, the abandonment of the whole of Italy, Belgium, Holland, and the departments of the Rhine; and, secondly, that France should bind herself to remain within the boundaries occupied before 1792.

The Emperor rejected this ultimatum; forced by circumstances, he was ready to sacrifice Italy and Holland, but refused to abandon the limits of the Alps and the Rhine, Belgium, and particularly Antwerp. Treachery gave a triumph to the Allies, in spite of the victories of Arcis and St. Didier. Up to this time the Allies had exhibited no pretensions whatever to interfere in the internal affairs of France. This is fully confirmed by the ultimatum of Chatillon, signed by England, Austria, Russia, and Prussia. Many of the emigrants who had returned, however, no sooner saw the Austrian, Russian, and Prussian on the French soil, than they began to entertain new hopes and expectations of seeing their dreams realized. Some mounted the white cockade, while others raised the cross of St. Louis. The Allied sovereigns disapproved of these measures. Even Wellington, at Bordeaux, disavowed them, although he secretly favoured all those who were desirous of raising the standard of the house of Bourbon. In all the transactions, therefore, which detached Prussia from the French alliance, and reunited her to Russia by the treaty of Kalitsch; in that which united Austria to this coalition; in all the public and secret diplomatic acts which followed, till the treaty of Chatillon; and, finally, in that treaty itself, made in France in February, 1814, the Allies never thought of the case of the Bourbons.

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## CHAPTER VII.

*The Allies had not, and have not, any right over France. Louis is an outlaw. He might recover his rights by receiving the crown from the nation, and signing a constitutional agreement with the people. Thus placed at the head of a new order of things, created by the Revolution, he would become the legit. mate head of the fifth dynasty.*

It was in Paris that the Allies first conceived the idea of rendering France a

nullity for a century. By establishing a family upon the throne to whom the French people felt so strong an antipathy, they destroyed in their source those generous sentiments by which the nation had been animated for thirty years; the Allies, however, could transfer no rights to the Bourbons but such as they possessed themselves. France was not a conquered country, and had she even been, such rights can only be founded upon treaties. The Allied sovereigns felt the importance and necessity of a national authority, and had recourse to the Senate. It was, however, impossible for the Senate to deliberate freely in a city over which the Russian flag was floating, and, besides, the Senate had no right to assume the initiative in its deliberations; that was reserved for the Emperor, with the advice of the privy council. These difficulties, however, were disregarded, and a minority of senators, among whom figured Belgians, Italians, and Dutch, at the very moment in which their respective countries were separated from France, met under the presidency of the Prince of Benevento, and assumed the functions of the whole body. This body presented the singular spectacle in history of a French authority deliberating upon the summons of an Emperor of Russia. The Senate adopted the draft of a constitution, which, by its first article, transferred the crown to Louis of Bourbon. It was resolved that this prince, before taking possession of the throne, should swear to maintain the Constitution, which was defined in the succeeding articles. This Constitution, adopted by an illegal assembly, nevertheless guaranteed the new order of things established by the Revolution. Its acceptance by the people would have legalized all, and, by virtue of a new contract made between his house and the French nation, Louis would then have become the head of the fifth dynasty. Kings are made for nations, and not nations for kings. Proceeding with sincerity, according to this principle, he would have become a legitimate sovereign. It was therefore to be expected that he should have been called Louis I., by the grace of God, and the Constitution of the kingdom, King of the French; that he would have sworn to maintain the Constitution, by virtue of which he was raised to the throne, and by which all the interests of the nation were consolidated; that he would have removed from his presence and court all those who had made war upon France; that his almoner would have been one of the bishops or archbishops of the Empire, by virtue of the Concordat of 1801; that the great officers of his court and household would have been chosen from among the men who for twenty-five years had enjoyed the confidence of the nation; that the captains of his guards would have been marshals of the Empire, and the guard itself composed of veterans selected from the ranks of the army; and that, having no other guarantees to give to the French people, who for twenty-five years had only looked upon him and the princes of his house as enemies, he would have studied to recover their confidence and affection by the spirit and opinion of the persons by whom he chose to surround himself, whether as officers of the crown, agents or members of the ministry or the Council of State, or members of the Chamber of Peers. It was foreseen that, by pursuing this course, Louis would consolidate, conquer, and obtain the confidence and love of the nation, and cast the fourth dynasty into oblivion. This course of action would not have been new; he had before him the example of Henry IV., who, although the conqueror of his subjects, was desirous of giving them a guarantee of his dispositions, and of inspiring them with confidence, and, therefore, surrounded himself with the party of the League, and kept at a distance all those by whose means he had proved victorious on the fields of Courtrai, Arques, and Ivry. This prince knew that the affections and hearts of men lay beyond the province of force, and that a king of France, who did not reign in the love of his people, was nothing. And yet Henry IV. succeeded to the throne without an interregnum; he had neither the rights of an acknowledged republic nor those of a fourth dynasty to extinguish, nor had he to efface the stain which had been fixed upon the national honour by the presence of foreigners. Finally, the principle of conduct which would have made the reign of the Bourbons legitimate is to be found in the words dictated to the Count d'Artois: *Nothing is changed in France except that it contains one Frenchman more.*

## CHAPTER VIII.

*Louis pretends to have reigned since 1794; he therefore disavows the treaty of Fontainebleau, and the Republic and the fourth dynasty are consequently illegal governments. Consequences of this principle in reference to the emigrants, the old clergy, and ancient privileges.*

LOUIS, when arrived in Paris, entitled himself, in the first act of his government, "Louis XVIII., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre," and dated the act in the nineteenth year of his reign. If this pretension were well founded, he must have already reigned eighteen years, and been the legitimate continuator of the third dynasty. If he were king by the grace of God alone, he could not have been a constitutional monarch; and, finally, if he were king of France and Navarre, he was a feudal prince. The appellation, King of France, or King of the French, would have been indifferent, had not the Constituent Assembly, by changing the former for the latter, determined the sense in which these titles were to be understood, the one denoting a feudal, and the other a constitutional king. Louis entered upon the exercise of unlimited power without any guarantees for the rights and interests of the nation, and disavowed the Constitution adopted by the Senate. These operations were wholly without danger as long as they were supported by 500,000 English, Russian, and German bayonets. It has been said that Henry IV., on his entrance into Paris, also dated his acts in the tenth year of his reign, but Henry IV., as has been already stated, had reigned without interruption. Louis disavowed the national colours, and regarded as the legal army that which had always carried the white colours, those of La Vendée and Condé. That army which had performed such prodigies of valour, and conquered the world under the national colours, was obliged to lower its ensigns, and to hoist the standard over which it had been continually victorious. This was to allege that the army had fought in a bad cause; that it was a rebellious body, and had need of indulgence and pardon. All the acts of Louis were the results and consequences of this criminal pretension. He appointed as his almoner the Archbishop of Rheims, a refractory prelate, who called himself chief of a diocese which had been suppressed by the Concordat. He placed the Prince of Condé at the head of his household, and made the Prince of Lambach master of the horse, because they had filled these offices under the third dynasty. He named the Dukes of Richelieu, Duras, Fleury, and Aumont, first gentlemen of the bed-chamber, because they had been so under the third dynasty, and possessed rights of reversion. The Dukes of Avr , Grammont, Luxembourg, and the Prince of Poix were appointed captains of the guards for the same reason. He re-established the noble body-guards, the one hundred Swiss, gray and black musketeers, gendarmes, light cavalry, and channel guards—in short, everything which experience had taught all other countries in Europe to suppress and abolish. All the members of the old body-guards were anxiously sought out, as well as all those who had formed a part of the household of Louis XVI., and who had been dispersed and conquered on the 6th of October and the 10th of August; men, most of whom were now aged and decrepit, and for four-and-twenty years without military habits or exercise. Many of them, to escape from misery, had been vegetating for twenty-five years in subordinate places in the administrations, hospitals and commissariat. The Bourbons, as if unable in their own persons to present sufficient objects of repugnance to the nation, surrounded themselves with every thing most foreign to its manners, physiognomy, and rights. In this way Louis was proclaimed as the legitimate successor and continuator of the third dynasty. The old bishops, returning from England, were allowed to reclaim their sees, which had been suppressed by the Concordat of the 2d of April, 1801; the clergy were authorized to demand the restoration of their estates—first of all, those which were still in the hands of the public commissioners, (of which there were many millions of acres of forests, or buildings employed for the public service,) and those which had been alienated by the authority of usurpers, (nearly a fourth of the kingdom.) Ecclesiastical jurisdictions were re-established, and the clergy exempted from taxation; the Catholic

Church was henceforward to be dominant in the state, according to the principle of the third dynasty. The ancient seigneurs and other privileged persons were encouraged to prefer their complaints against the spoliating laws of the Republic, and to require the restitution of their seignorial administration, feudal rights and property, which they had lost in consequence of their emigration. They and all their estates were to be exempted from any share in the public burdens, and to resume their titles and honours, which they held from their ancestors by right of birth. Because a king of the third dynasty had recovered the throne, all the services rendered against the nation were to be recognized and rewarded. In fact, crowds continued to rush in from all ends and corners of France, claiming the reward of their services against France—for having delivered up Toulon and its arsenal to the English; for having designed to do the same by Brest and its squadron; for having served against the nation during the first or second coalition; for all the crimes committed in the Vendean and Chouan wars; for the massacre of generals and soldiers; for the plunder of diligences and public chests; for having taxed the acquirers of national property, and for the infernal machine of the 3d of Nivose. All their complaints were well-founded, on the supposition that the Republic and the fourth dynasty were usurping and illegal governments, and that the legitimate sovereign was then in the midst of the armies of the enemies of France. It was found impossible to satisfy all their complaints. The old clergy, the emigrants, the privileged classes, and the Vendéans, were all dissatisfied, and complained that the Bourbons never thought of them or their interests. In order to appease them, the princes told them to hope, and to wait for better times, which would no doubt come, and realize their expectations. The nation comprehended and shuddered before these fallacious hopes! On their part, the privileged nobles replied that, in the course of twenty-five years, they had lived fifty years, in consequence of the miseries, imprisonments and sufferings which they had endured in the cause of their princes, and that they were no longer in a condition to wait.

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## CHAPTER IX.

*Consequences of this principle in reference to the new clergy—to the new nobility and purchasers of national property—to the employés of the various civil and judicial administrations—to the army and the whole people.*

Louis having thus destroyed the national title which the Allies themselves had thought it necessary to obtain, was proclaimed as Louis XVIII., by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre; and having dated his accession as if in the nineteenth year of his reign, it follows that the republic and the fourth dynasty were illegitimate governments, and that all that was done under them was illegal. Thus all the orders and rules for the administration of public affairs, the laws which were passed, and the civil and criminal regulations which were adopted, became null and void. Notwithstanding this, the King, in all his acts, recognized and acted on the laws of the Republic and the fourth dynasty. All the civil, correctional, and criminal judgments which are passed—all settlements of disputes—all questions of finance and of administration, continue to be arranged and disposed of according to the practice which has prevailed since the Revolution. Men are condemned to death for having favoured the cause of the imperial dynasty, by applying to their cases the laws which were passed by the Republic and the Emperor against the Bourbons. By following this principle, there is not a single general who has conferred so much glory on the country, in the battlefields of Jemappes, Rivoli, Marengo, Hohenlinden, Ulm, Austerlitz, Jena, and Friedland, who might not be condemned to death by the application of the same laws. The clergy who were faithful to the Concordat of 1801, became disquieted at the sight of the refractory bishops, who alone enjoyed the confidence of the court. The committee of ecclesiastical affairs was presided over by a refractory prelate, who knew what he had reason to fear, and what he must expect from the vengeance of the

princes whose cause he abandoned in 1801. Hereditary titles were established by the Emperor, in order to transmit to posterity the recollection of services important to the state, whether they were civil, military, or ministerial. He conceived it to be just and agreeable to the public interests that the remembrance of great services should be transmitted from father to son, in the same manner as the civil code permitted the transmission of estates; and that he thereby created a means of reward more noble in itself, and better calculated to excite generous sentiments, than any pecuniary recompense, while, at the same time, he spared the public money. Moreover, this was one method of bringing France into a state of harmony with all the rest of Europe, and of giving rank and dignity to the new families which had sprung from the mass of the people. The arms bestowed on these men were the emblems of public liberty; this new nobility, which must necessarily feel some disquietude at the very call to the throne of a prince of the house of Bourbon, could never rally round a feudal king. The purchasers of national property, to the number of several millions, were filled with apprehension for their properties, because the persons around the throne had a direct interest in annulling their acquisitions; because bigotry and fanaticism resumed their interest at court, and led them to reclaim the property of the clergy. Different decisions of the royal council gave a colouring to these alarms. Those who had filled places in the magistracy, or other civil employments under the fourth dynasty, were offended at hearing themselves designated as the agents of a usurping and illegitimate government. The army saw with indignation the names of those who had served in the wars of La Vendée, of the Chouans, and in the army of Condé, placed at the head of the list of French generals. The army itself was merely preserved, because it was feared; but by degrees it will be robbed of all its privileges, and of the fruits of twenty years of victories. It is true, the charter guarantees the equality of the citizens, the liberty of the press, the irrevocability of the sales of national property, the suppression of feudal rights and the Legion of Honour; but this guarantee is merely nominal, inasmuch as the Chamber of Peers is a majority composed of individuals having interests diametrically opposed to these principles, and almost all of whom have made war upon the nation, and lost their privileges and their estates: and the Chamber of Deputies, previous to being elected after the manner which the king shall determine, furnishes no guarantee to the nation for the defence of its rights. These considerations are of such importance as entirely to annul the benefits of the charter, since it gives no bond to the people but merely the form of election.

The Bourbons were desirous of substituting a feudal for a constitutional oath, and wished for no oaths of fidelity to the Constitution or the Charter; and, in consequence, the taking of the oath was suspended, in order to wait for a favourable circumstance. Neither the army nor the magistrates took any oath: the cross of the Legion of Honour was lavishly bestowed, and became the decoration of all the enemies of the country. The pecuniary liberalities granted to the Legion, and the houses for the education of their orphans, were suppressed. The king preserved the orders of the Holy Ghost and of St. Lazarus, which require proofs of several centuries of nobility; and the former was declared to be the first order of the state. The statutes of the Legion of Honour were violated, in order to be lavish of the GRAND CORDON, at the time when no nominations were made in that of the Holy Ghost. They awaited the time when affairs should be better consolidated, and when they would be obliged to have recourse to less management, in order to be able to follow out the statutes of the order, and to admit knights who could prove their centuries of nobility. The king, whose principal characteristic is dissimulation, never wore the ribbon of the Legion of Honour. The army every day saw the soldiers of La Vendée and the emigration boasting with enthusiasm, and the newspapers were filled with articles intended and calculated to tarnish its glories. That alone was sufficient to render it irreconcilable to the Bourbons, and daily to increase the repugnance which it felt toward the principles raised to the throne by 500,000 foreign bayonets. How could the army ever become attached to princes who were enemies of its glory, and strangers to all its great and memorable days! The whole people felt themselves threatened with a return of the days of feudal privileges, and saw that they would

no longer be called upon to share the honours, but to support the burdens of the state, having passed under the yoke of their masters. Their children will be soldiers, but never become officers; the paths of civil honours, of the magistracy, and of military renown, all effectually and forever closed to them; these sentiments are so much the more painful, as there is not a village which has not given birth to a general, a colonel, or a captain—to a préfet, or a judge, or an administrator—each of whom has been raised by his own merits, and done honour to himself and his country. It was this which insured that sincere attachment to the fourth dynasty, in consequence of which it may be truly said, that if Louis of Bourbon is the king of the nobles, Napoleon was the king of the people.

## CHAPTER X.

*Louis wishes to ascend the throne of the third dynasty: he sits upon a mass of ashes; he is isolated, a stranger to the nation, without rights and without power.*

THE title of King of France only conferred on the third dynasty the rights of *suzerains*, and that of Navarre merely the dominion over a small province. They reigned over the people in virtue of particular titles, viz., as dukes in Brittany, Normandy, Burgundy, Provence, &c.; and in order, therefore, to re-establish the rights of the third dynasty, it would have been necessary to re-establish also the provinces, together with their rights and privileges. The Britons, Normans, Burgundians, &c., never recognized the duty of obeying their sovereigns till the latter had sworn to maintain their respective constitutions, rights, laws, and privileges. The kings of the third dynasty were the heads of a feudal system, and the minor feudatories were possessed of rights and privileges as sacred and legal as those of the superior lords. It was necessary, therefore, to re-establish the whole of this system, and to restore all these privileges. The Bourbons were the heads of the nobility, whose jurisdictions and rights they were bound to maintain. These things, however, could not be done, except to the great detriment of the nation, and injury to the best interests of the people, and without provoking a bloody and terrible reaction. In order to effect this retrograde movement in civilization, and again to plunge a whole nation into the depths of ignorance and superstition, nothing less could have been requisite than the permanent presence of a powerful foreign army. The throne of the third dynasty is already reduced to ashes; it exists no more, and the pretension of occupying it is absurdity and madness; it is merely plunging into the midst of a thick fog, in order to fall over a precipice. If the Bourbons wish to regain by hereditary right, and to require the obedience of the people, they must first re-establish the rights of the nation, the States-General, Parliaments, and Constitutions of Brittany, Burgundy, and the other provinces. Nothing of this kind, however, has been done; they have given a constitution intended to replace and compensate for all these ancient institutions, which in this case is merely an emanation of the simple royal authority, and an act of reformation destroyed at its pleasure. There was a nation in France, however, before there were kings; and the assemblies of the Champ de Mars, the Champ de Mai, and the States-General were superior, more ancient, or at least equal in power to royalty itself. In order to suppress all the ancient laws and constitutions of the state, and to replace them by new ones, it was certainly at least necessary to enter into a new contract with the nation. The kings of France have never reigned except upon conditions and with a limited authority, at least in law. If the Bourbons have seized upon the throne by right of birth, have not all the feudatories in the kingdom the same right to seize upon their fiefs?

If Louis reigns as the head of the fifth dynasty in consequence of a new and free contract with the nation, he ought not to be called King of France and Navarre, but King of the French; he ought not to date from the nineteenth, but from the first year of his reign; he ought not to have given a charter as an act of grace, but have negotiated a treaty with the people. As long as the mode of

election is not fixed, constitutional, and immutable, the Charter is nothing, and confers no guarantee. It would be right to suppress the orders of the Holy Ghost and St. Lazarus, because they require proofs of nobility to enjoy the honour of admission.

The system by which France is actually ruled is one of *pride, arbitrary contradiction, and falsehood*, and has served to raise up a new barrier between the Bourbons and the people. Louis reigns by the grace of God, and therefore does not condescend to recognize any contracts, either ancient or modern—neither the privileges of the kingdom nor those of the provinces. All are gone, and nothing remains but himself. In order to replace the great national bodies, he confers a charter which emanates from himself alone: such is his *pride*. The system is no less false than contradictory. He has suppressed feudality, and yet declares himself king by a feudal right. He proclaims the equality of the citizens before the law, the irrevocability of the sale of national property, and the free exercise of religion, and yet he summons around his person, and admits into the offices about his court, none but persons whose interest and existence are bound up with the re-establishment of privileges, the recall of those sales, and with religious intolerance. He has promised to the army the preservation of its rights, and yet he orders it to raise and carry the white banner; he neither grants his confidence nor opens his heart to any but Chouan officers, emigrants, or Vendéans. He professes to be proud of the national glory, and acknowledges at the same time that he owes his throne to the Prince-regent of England, and enters into the most shameful and dishonourable relations.

The crown of the third dynasty is dissolved—evaporated; it can no longer confer either right or power. Louis did not wish to be, and he is not, the head of the fifth dynasty, but the mere agent of the powers who are the enemies of France.

He has marched from London to the Tuileries over a bridge of foreign bayonets dripping with French blood; he enjoys no independence, but is the mere instrument by which the enemies of France chastise and humiliate his country. Foreign armies, however, have left France, and Louis, by the grace of God, King of France and Navarre, is in the nineteenth year of his reign, and calls himself master of a people, in the midst of whom he stands isolated, and who see in his person nothing but the enemy of its rights, the author of its misfortunes, the instrument of its dishonour and of the loss of its glory. He is guarded by, and in the power of, an army which is completely the army of the nation. Foreign armies quit France, and Louis has yet come to no understanding with his people, not even in the nature of the oath which he ought to require!!!

The mummy of one of the descendants of Sesostris, which had lain for ages in the interior chamber of the great Pyramid, was clothed with all the trappings of royalty, and placed upon the throne of its ancestors; when the priests of Memphis wished to present it to the homage of the Egyptians, it crumbled into dust, and was no longer in a condition to bear either the breath of the atmosphere or the warmth of the sun.











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